THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

From the Year MDCXIII. To the Year MDCXLIV.

IN XVIII BOOKS.

Written Originally in *Italian*,

By *Pietro Giovanni Capriata*, D^R at Law.

And rendred in *English*

By *HENRY Earl of MONMOUTH.*



MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

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IMPRIMATUR,

Whitehall, January 10. 1662.

William Morice.

THE Epiſtle to the Reader.

IT hath always (Judicious Reader) among the wiſeſt of men been eſteemed a Task moſt difficult, to compoſe the Hiſtories of thoſe Times wherein the Perſons chiefly concerned might (yet living) behold their great or more minute Actions unmasked or diſplayed to the world; And therefore moſt have been, and ſtill are of opinion, That ſuch an Attempt ought not to be made by any but a Perſon of ſo reſolute a Temper as might neither be ſwayed by Fear nor Flattery, nor yet ſteered by an over-weaning Opinion; for whilſt the Biaſs runs on the firſt ſide men dare not ſpeak even the truth it ſelf; the ſecond gloſſes even bad Actions, as if to the World it would make Vice appear Virtue; and the third repreſents things not as indeed they were, or were intended, but as we fondly imagine or conceive them.

The Task performed by the Learned *Capriata*, Author of the enſuing Hiſtory, was not only of this difficult Nature, but had likewiſe many other Embroils and Entanglements ſufficient to have daunted any leſs Judicious Undertaker, ſo many both particular and interwoven Intereſts of a number of petty Princes (though all united or relying upon thoſe three great Ones, of the Church, King of *France*, and King of *Spain*) being ſufficient to create ſuch infinite Entrigues as were not to be cleared or deſcribed but by a great and perſpicacious Intelligence: And yet hath our Learned Author waded through all theſe difficulties, and by taking no leſs care in clearing the Cauſes then deſcribing the Effects of theſe late *Italian* Diſſentions deſervedly gained the name of an Excellent Hiſtorian.

And it was certainly a true and deliberate knowledge of all this and more that induced the ever to be Honoured *Henry* Earl of *Monmouth* (after having made ſo many Excellent *Italian* Pieces ſpeak *Engliſh*, with an Induſtry ſeldom

dom found in the Nobility of our Nation) to make choice of this, which is now become the Poſthume Child of ſo Excellent a Parent, and which may look (though there needs no farther Remembrancer of his never dying Fame) like a new Phœnix raiſing it ſelf out of his aſhes.

And ſurely beſides the Excellency of the Compoſure and Delicacy of the Stile, he was invited or enticed by Delights far more ſublime to the Tranſlation of this Hiſtory. To find what Cauſes ſhould engage the Potent Monarchs of *France* and *Spain* in the Quarrels and Diſſentions of theſe little Princes of *Italy*, and how their Intereſts are involved or dependent, muſt needs be pleaſant; To trace the Policies of the grave *Spaniard* and ſober *Italian*, accounted Crafts-Maſters in that Art, cannot be leſs delightful; but to behold ſuch a connexion of Entrigues, as if the whole Tragedy were rather a Comedy, where the end of one Act leaves but a greater deſire and expectation of what ſhall ſucceed in the next, muſt needs be the moſt agreeable of all.

Theſe, or ſuch like, might poſſibly be the Motives or Incentives of the Earl of *Monmouth* to continue (with a Generous Soul) to communicate the Excellencies of Forreign Nations to his own Countrey-men, which elſe muſt have been hidden to all except himſelf or ſome few more who by Travel or Induſtry might have learnt the *Italian* Tongue; unleſs ſome other Worthy Spirit, like to his, would have undertaken ſo good a Work, though few are now found ſo induſtriouſly to proſecute the Publick Good.

But leſt, being hurried into a Diſcourſe that may poſſibly require a Satyre, I ſhould obſtruct my intended brevity, give me leave to aſſert thus much, (omitting all that I might ſay of my own Judgment or Experience) and I think I may do it without *Hyperbole*; That the Hiſtory in its Original muſt needs be Excellent, becauſe the Earl of *Monmouth* made choice of it to Tranſlate; and the Tranſlation cannot be ill rendred, becauſe the Earl of *Monmouth* did it, who was Maſter both of the *Engliſh* and *Italian* Tongues.

THE

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BOOK I.

FRancis *Duke of* Mantua *and* Montferrat, *being dead,* Charles Emanuel, *Duke of* Savoy, *pretends the return of his Daughter* Margaret, *Wife to the late* Francis, *into* Piedmont, *together with* Mary *her only Daughter. Cardinal* Ferdinando, *Brother and Succeſſour to* Francis, *retards his ſiſter in Law's return, and keeps his Niece in* Mantua: *Hereupon differences ariſe between the two Dukes; wherefore the Duke of* Savoy *renewing his ancient claim to* Montferrat, *which was pretended to by his Predeceſſours, aſſaults that State at unawares; poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Cities of* Alba *and* Trino; *endeavours the like of* Montcalvo, *but not being able to get the Fort, levies people to take it. The condition of* Italy *is alſo given in the* Proœmium; *then by way of digreſſion, the Duke of* Savoy's *pretences to* Montferrat *is diſcourſed upon; and many other Intereſts and Accidents which occurred between the ſaid Duke and the Court of* Spain, *at ſeveral Times, and upon divers Occaſions.* Page 1

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The Duke of Savoy *goes over to the French, more out of neceſſity then of good will. The great Duke of* Tuſcany *is conſtant to the Auſtrians. The Dukes of* Modena *and* Parma, *and the Lord of* Mirandola, *negotiate with the French: the Duke of* Parma *cloſes with the French, the others adhere to the Spaniards. The Common-wealth of* Genoa, *notwithſtanding the great damages ſuffer'd by her Citizens from the Spaniards, and notwithſtanding the diſtaſtes ſhe had received in her reputation, refuſeth to declare manifeſt neutrality, or partiality, yet in fact keeps conſtant to both parties. The State of* Millain *is aſſaulted by the French, and by the Dukes of* Savoy *and* Parma; *who going againſt* Valenza del Poe, *beſiege it, but it is relieved, and quite freed by the Spaniards. The Duke of* Rhoan, *having routed the Dutch and* Millain *Forces, remain abſolute lord and maſter of the* Valtoline. 528

BOOK XV.

The King of Spain, *for the preſervation of the State of* Millain, *ſends a new Governour, new men, and good ſtore of money, thither. The Duke of* Savoy *returning thither with his men, and with thoſe of* France, *takes* Bremi, *and reduceth it to a Fort Royall; and by frequent inroads troubles that ſide of the Country. The Duke of* Parma's *Dominions are aſſaulted by the Spaniſh Forces, after his going for* France; *and are defended by Marquis's* Villa, *who is ſent thither by the Duke of* Savoy, *with a good ſtrength of Horſe and Foot, and are defended by ſtrong diverſions till the Spring; in the beginning whereof, the Duke of* Parma *returns from* France, *endeavours by meanes of the Colleagues Forces to get into his Country, goes to* Nizza Della Paglia; *being to throw down a great Trench which was made upon the bank of* Scrivia, *he turns back; and repaſſing the* Poe, *endeavours to effect his deſign on that ſide; but meeting with ſtrong oppoſition there alſo, he is forced to return; and paſſing again with ſome men over the* Poe, *he tarries with them in* Nizza, *till ſuch time as the Duke of* Savoy, *going with the body of the Army into the Confines of* Novara, *to annoy that part of the State, may divert the Governour from guarding the grand Trench, and leave free paſſage by that way for the Duke of* Parma; *Who by ſeverall accidents abandoning the deſign, marched with a few men towards the Sea; where getting into a little Veſſel, he paſſeth* Incognito *into* Lavigiana, *and gets into his own Territories. The Duke of* Savoy *paſſeth ſucceſſfully the* Teſino, *and cauſeth ſuch terrour and confuſion in* Millain, *as the Governour is forc'd to abandon the Trench, and defend* Millain. *And going with all his men towards the Enemies Camp, he aſſaults it in* Tornaventa; *but the Duke freeing himſelf from the aſſault returns to the greater Lake; where being come, and fearing the Governour who was gone to* Romagnano *would aſſault him on that ſide, reſolves to return towards* Piedmont. *The Governour ſeeing the State freed of the Enemies Army, betakes himſelf, partly, to recover the Towns taken by the Enemy, partly, to reſent himſelf on* Piedmont, *and the Duke of* Parma's *State; and having ſeen what Forces he could thither, he proceeds ſo far, as the Duke who was retired to* Piacenza *maintains a ſiege till ſuch time as, ſeeing no ſucceſſe, he is forc'd to compound with the Governour. The Warr of* Parma *being appeaſed, the Governour turns upon the Towns in the* Langhe, *which were yet held by the Enemy; and having taken ſome of them, he hears that the Duke raiſeth Forces in the* Canavese; *he marcheth towards him, and having in vain provoked him to battle, he ſends* Don Martino *of* Aragon *with a ſtrong body of men to diſcover* Vercelli, *againſt whom Marqueſs* Villa, *who was returned from the State of* Parma, *coming forth with a no leſs number of men, a great skirmiſh is had, wherein the Marqueſs hath the better. The Governour underſtanding afterwards, that* Count Verrua *was gone to beſiege the* Roccad' Arazzo, *he prepares to defend it: And ſucceeding fortunately therein, his happineſs was embittered by a great defeat which the Duke gave to* Don Martino *of* Aragon *before* Monbaldone. *After which the Duke returning victorious to* Vercelli, *within a month after dyed. Some Iſlands in* Provence *are taken by the Fleet which came from* Naples. *A French Fleet comes from* Britany, *enters the Mediterranean, with which another joyns which was provided in* Provence; *both which*

keep in the Ligustick Sea, doing but little good, and less in Sardignia, and Winter in Tolone, but putting to Sea in the Spring, they recover the Islands which were taken the year before by the Spanish Fleet. The Pope labours to compose the Wars between Christian Princes, but in vain. A League is concluded between the Crown of Spain and the Grisons, by which the Valtoline returns, upon some conditions, under the ancient Dominion of the Grisons. The State of Millain is at last freed from the French Forces, by the recovery of Breni. 572

BOOK XVI.

The Duke of Savoy being dead, differences arise between the Dutchess Dowager, and the Princes, her Husbands Brothers, touching the Guardianship of the young Children, and the Regency of the State. The Dutchess in the Princes absence is sworn Governess and Regent; being compel'd by the King of France, she renews League with him. The Governour of Millain goes to before Vercelli, and after a long Siege takes it upon Articles. The Princes of Savoy assisted by the Spaniards and Piedmontese take many Towns, and make much progress; they go to before Turin, and having tarried before it some days, retire without doing any thing; falling as before, to over-run Piedmont, they are received every where; till Forces being sent to the Dutchess from France, under the Duke of Longueville, she recovers Chiavasco, and other Towns which the Princes had taken. The Prince Cardinal, fearing Corneo, goes to defend it; and Prince Thomaso, going once more with the Spanish Forces to before Turin, surprizeth the Town; and the Governour of Millain coming in unto him, with all their Forces, attempt the taking of the Citadel, whither the Dutchess was retired. The Siege is suspended by a Truce, which being ended, the French under the new General, Count Harrecourt, take Cheri; but being presently besieged by the Governour of Millain, they are forced through Famine to quit it, and retreat in the face of the enemy to Carmagniola. 628

BOOK XVII.

You shall read in this Book, the Treaties of Agreement between the Dowager and the Princes; and the interests between the Princes and the Governour of Millain; how the Governour goes with a powerful Army to Cassalle; how it is relieved by Harcourt; how he fought the Governour before he could bring in the succour, and had the better of the Fight, and did not only relieve, but perfectly free the place. Harcourt, being victorious, goes presently to Turin; he takes the Capuchins Bridge over the Poe; fortifies himself there; and afterwards begirts the City with a vast Line, and endeavours to get it by Famine, Prince Thomaso being in it; but ere long he seeth the Governour upon the Hills with a powerful Army, coming to relieve the besieged Prince; the Governour finding it impossible to bring the succour by that way, strives to get a pass over the River, towards Montcalleri: and having gotten it, he passeth over the Poe; where quitting the Hills, he takes up new quarters; and thinking to make the French abandon the enterprize by Famine, he possesseth himself of the Avenues by which Victuals were brought to the Camp; so as they would have been quickly made to remove, had not the Prince Thomaso, who was impatient of delay, made the Governour to fall upon the Enemies Trenches, and to relieve him so; which falling out unfortunately, and the Governour not thinking himself any longer safe in his quarters beyond the Poe, returns to his quarters upon the Hills, where he tarried, assisting the besieged in what he was able, till the City was surrendred; which hapned two moneths, and eleven dayes, after the unfortunate assault given to the French Trenches, that the besieged City might be relieved. Prince Thomaso comes out of Turin, and retreats to Inurea; where he is desired by Monsigniore Mazzarini, who was come Embassadour from the King of France into Piedmont a little before Turin was surrendred, to joyn with the French: but Count Siruela coming to him from the Governour of Millain, he makes new capitulations with him, to joyn with the Crown of Spain; and the Count Della

Rivera, *being sent by the same Governour, to the same purpose, to the Prince Cardinal, the Embassadour* Mazzarini *having notice thereof forceth Prince* Thomaso *to joyn with the French upon conditions; one of which was, that the Prince should go to* Paris *within one moneths space; which condition was not observed; for the Prince instead of going to* France *passeth secretly to* Nice, *where he and his brother re-conform their union to the Crown of* Spain, *to* Rivera; *the Embassadour* Mazzarini *who went to* Nice, *to confirm the one Prince, and to draw the other over to the French party, laboured the contrary very much; at the same time the Governour of* Millain *is sent for into* Spain, *and is succeeded in that Government by Count* Siruela; *the French go to* Montcalvo, *take the Town at their first arrival, and afterwards the Castle, which yields without expecting succour.* 686.

BOOK XVIII.

The Crown of France, *and French Commanders, being but badly satisfied with Prince* Thomaso, *for his non-observance of the Capitulation made by him, go to drive him out of* Inurea; *which being better defended then assaulted holds out till the Governour sends succour: who going afterwards to before* Chiavasso *Forces the French almost to quit the Enterprise, that they may relieve* Chiavasso; *and Don* Vincenzo Gonzaga *coming to the French quarters before* Inurea *forceth them, to their much prejudice, to give over the Enterprise wholly; and the Prince enters joyfully into the City. The Dowagers Generals recover* Ceva, Mondovi, *and the Castle of* Carru, *and then joyning with the French go to before* Cuneo, *and take it. The Spaniards take* Montcalvo. *The Prince of* Monaco *drives out the Spanish Garrison, and introduceth the French, to the great prejudice of the Spanish Affairs; the misfortunes whereof are by a short digression related. Cardinal* Richlieu *dies. The* Conde Duca *falls from all Authority and Greatness in the Court of* Spain. *The differences between the Dowager and the Prince, are at last composed. The Princes forsake the Spanish party and adhere unto the French. Prince* Thomaso *joyning with the French, after some small actions done to the prejudice of* Spain, *goes with the Duke of* Longueville *with a strong Army to before* Tortona, *which after a long time is taken; but some months after is re-taken with much ado by the Spaniards; in which interim Prince* Thomaso *recovers* Asti *and all the Towns that were held by the Spaniards in* Piedmont, *except* Vercelli. 744

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

BOOK I.

The Contents.

FRancis, *Duke of* Mantua *and* Montferrate, *being dead,* Charles Emanuel, *Duke of* Savoy, *pretends the return of his Daughter* Margaret, *Wife to the late* Francis *into* Piedmont, *together with* Mary *her only Daughter. Cardinal* Ferdinando, *Brother and Successor to* Francis, *retards his Sister in Law's return, and keeps his Niece in* Mantua: *Hereupon differences arise between the two Dukes; wherefore the Duke of* Savoy *renewing his ancient claim to* Montferrat, *which was pretended to by his Predecessors, assaults that State at unawares; possesseth himself of the Cities of* Alba *and* Trino; *endeavours the like of* Moncalvo, *but not being able to get the Fort, levies people to take it. The Condition of* Italy *is also given in the* Procemium; *then by way of digression the Duke of* Savoys *pretences to* Montferrate *is discoursed upon, and many other Interests and Accidents which occurred between the said Duke, and the Court of* Spain, *at several Times, and upon divers Occasions.*

ITALY hoped long to continue that Peace which She had already injoyed for so many years, when by the unexpected death of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, she was freed of the great suspition of War, which she had cause to apprehend, by reason of the great preparations of that Kingdom: This hope was much augmented, when *Philip* the Third, King of *Spain*, was friends with *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, and laid down those Arms, and dismissed

those men, wherewith he threatened that Duke; so to oppose the French in the Dukedom of *Millain*; which Duke *Emanuel* having at the same time made great preparation of Arms, and holding strict Intelligence with King *Henry*, made it be doubted that he intended to trouble *Italy*, and to assault the State of *Millain*, had he not been interrupted by the death of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, just when he was ready for so great an Enterprise: And the less it was expected that King *Philip* should let slip the occasion of resenting himself when the Duke was bereft of his assistance from *France* by the death of King *Henry*, the more was his goodness praised, and his mildness pleasing; for not minding what might peradventure have happened if affairs had succeeded otherwise, he had more respect to the good of Christendom, to the peace of *Italy*, and to his Alliance with the Duke, then to the desire of revenge; a great incitement to all men, but more to powerful Princes, when they think themselves injured, not only by their inferiours, but by their equals: The Kings rage was much mitigated towards the Duke by the great desire which the Princes of *Italy* seemed to have thereof, by the intercession of Pope *Paul* the Fift, and by the efficacious intreaties made with much affection by *Philebert*, the Dukes second Son to the King his Uncle, who was sent by his Father into *Spain*, to give satisfaction on his behalf; but the Authority and favour of *Mary* Queen of *France*, was of no less help herein; who by the death of her Husband having the Government of her young Son the King, and being Regent of the Kingdom, did very seasonably interpose her self in this Reconciliation: For, though the Intelligence held with the Duke, and the great preparations of that Kingdom, had caused great Commotions and diffidence in the Court of *Spain*; yet it not being manifest against whom the Arms and aids of that King were intended, it so fell out, That his magnanimous thoughts ceasing by his death, as also the doubts and suspicions conceived in *Spain*, by reason of those great preparations, the same Peace and good correspondency continued between *Spain* and *France*, which (though, if the King had lived, was very likely to have been disturbed) was never demonstratively broken; And it making for the Queen to keep peace with *Spain*, so to shun the troubles and contestations, which her Authority, and the guidance of her Son King *Lewis* his affairs, a Minor of ten years old, might probably meet with amidst Arms and Commotions in *France*, which was yet full of many humours and Factions, and of so many Religions; and wherein the wounds and scars of the late civil Wars were not yet well healed, she wisely chose rather to be aiding to the Duke by Negotiation then by Forces, which she must have sent into *Piedmont*. The necessity of her backing the Dukes cause being made to appear in *Spain* by reason; and the readiness of her Self and Kingdom also by some preparations upon the Confines of *Italy*; the King pardoning so great offences, at the mediation of such Intercessors; partly admitting of the Dukes justification, with such dissimulation as is sometimes used by Princes, he gave order for the disbanding of his Army in the State of *Millain*, which was designed to have assaulted *Piedmont*.

Affairs being thus composed, and Peace being proclaimed, to the satisfaction

satisfaction of all men, the publick Affairs of *Italy* were in so good a posture, and so consolidated in a continual quiet, as there was no signe seen of any the least appearing storm, which could any ways shake the solid Basis of her peaceful condition, or the tranquillity of her former quiet; For the French, who were the only, and without all question, the most powerful means to cause Novelty and Commotions in *Italy*, being detained by their Kings minority, and busied in the necessary care of the preservation of the Domestical affairs of the Kingdom, were unable to imploy themselves for the space of many years in foreign affairs. Whence it was to be believed, that they would not, unprovoked, disturb that peace which had been, with some Anxiety, indeavoured by themselves, and for their own interests: And the Spaniards, who being Masters of the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardigna*, of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and State of *Millain*, did rule over the greatest and best part of *Italy*; though as being Superior to the other Potentates, they might easily cause and continue Commotions in her; yet being naturally apt to preserve peace, and having by the experience of many years known how happy it was for them to keep the chief place of Authority in *Italy*, by means of their so ample Dominions, peacefully and quietly, it was no question but that they would be solicitous in preserving her quiet for the future, as they had profest themselves to be in the former and present Occurrences. The Dutch and Switzers adhered unto the Authority of *Spain*; the latter by reason of the streight League with the State of *Millain*, whereby they reaped much advantage, both to the private, and to the publick: And the former in respect of the Kings of *Spain*, who were the chief of the House of *Austria*; so powerful in *Germany* by reason of the many Adherences and great States which she hath there, and of the Imperial Crown which hath continued in her by so many successions; by which means those Kings did not only preserve *Italy* unprejudiced by the Forces of those two fierce Nations, so formidable by reason of their vicinity and power; but did the better secure the Majesty of their own Empire, and the large Precincts of their Dominions; and do also keep the Kingdoms of *Spain* in more security (which are at the present richer then any other Kingdom, through the immense Treasure which are abundantly subministred to them by the unexhausted Mines of the *Indies* and *new World*) by a Fleet of seventy Gallies, distributed in the Havens of *Spain*, *Genoa*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*: The other Princes of *Italy*, divided into unequal Seigniories, did therefore reverence, and yield observancy to, so great and so well grounded a power; the lesser whereof did for sundry respects absolutely adhere thereunto, and injoy'd quiet under the protection thereof; and the greater placing the ground-work of Principality upon Peace, minded more the preservation of their Dominions by counsel, then inlarging their Confines by Arms; and all of them, though they saw so great a forreign Empire radicated in the bowels of *Italy*, yet not having for many years been thereby molested, and therefore accustomed to injoy their own Territories a long time in a happy and secure Peace, they were better contented to bear with the condition of the present Times, though upon some disadvantage, then out of a desire of absolute liberty, to irritate those Forces against them, whereunto they were not of them-

themſelves equal: Nay, that which better preſerved the Publick peace was, leſt, as in former times, Quarrels amongſt themſelves, had made way for the Spaniſh greatneſs into *Italy*, and confirmed it there; they might now make it more formidable by affording it matter of more progreſs, whereby to augment it ſelf: Therefore all former ſtriſe and contention being forgotten; and all turbulent and ambitious thoughts being laid aſide, they were very intent in quenching all ſeeds of ſcandal or diſſatisfaction which might diſcompoſe that Union and telligence, wherein the neer and eminent danger (the trueſt Ligament of any whatſoever Agreement or Convention) did keep them tacitely conjoined in the defence of themſelves. *France*, a powerful and neighbour Country, and Rival to the Spaniſh Name out of antient pretenſions, as a ſtout Counterpoiſe to the greatneſs of the Spaniſh Nation, did alſo adde much to the ſafety of their Affairs, and did the more confirm the King of *Spain* in his good will to the peace of *Italy*, and in his not diſturbing nor diſtaſting the Italian Princes in their antient peacefull poſſeſſions. *Italy* being for the aforeſaid reaſons thus ſecure for forreign Nations, and ballanced within her ſelf, and well eſtabliſhed in peace by the counterpoiſe of reciprocal apprehenſions, both of the Natives, that by troubling their Affairs their liberty might be hazzarded; and of Forreigners, that the Empire might be prejudiced; every one, and not without reaſon, was perſwaded, that being now eſcaped the ſo terrible Tempeſt wherewith ſhe was threatned, ſhe would eaſily, nay, of her ſelf, ſettle her former peaceful condition, and long continue in it.

But all humane reaſons and judgments are eaſily expoſed to even the ſleighteſt accidents. *Francis*, Duke of *Mantua* and *Monſerrate*, dyed of an unexpected death about the end of the year 1612. *Mary*, his young and only Child, ſurvived him, whoſe Mother was *Margaret*, eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*; in which *Francis* his death, though the main courſe of common Affairs ſeemed not to be much concerned, (the Bond of common Concord remaining uninjured;) yet did his death ſhake the Foundations upon which the Publick Peace ſeemed to be ſo firmly grounded, and occaſioned much miſery and calamity to *Montferrat*, and to the neighbouring people, by the Wars which immediately inſued in thoſe parts. The great Rains, fierce Winds, and terrible Thunders, which happened but a little before in *Lombardy*, wherewith the fields were for many days overflowed, to the great prejudice of the ground, and terror of the Inhabitants, ſeemed to be a ſad Augury of this. Theſe States fell, for want of Heirs Male, upon Cardinal *Ferdinando*, Brother to the deceaſed Duke; Who, though he was acknowledged by all to be the true Heir, and that the People, Officers, and the whole Court, did with much joy congratulate his Acceſſion to the Dukedom; yet becauſe it was thought that the Dowager Dutcheſs might be with child, he would not as then accept either of the Crown or Title of Duke; but deferred doing ſo, contenting himſelf with the Government of the Dominions, till he might be ſure he was true and Legitimate Heir. And Prince *Victorio Amadeo*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Savoy*, coming not long after to *Mantua* to conſolate the Dowager his Siſter, and to bring her back to her Paternal Country, he deſired leave that he might likewiſe carry the little Daughter a-

long

long with him to *Piedmont*: which desire having been much insisted upon formerly by the Dukes Grandfather to the young Lady *Mary*, begat not a little commotion in the Cardinal, and in the whole *Mantuan* Court; who very well knew how such demands strike at the Foundation and safety of the States: And it being thought too dangerous to give way thereunto, as also unseasonable then to deny, the result of so weighty a business was deferred; hopes being sometimes given therein, difficulties sometimes objected; till it might be more certainly known whether the Dowager Dutchess were with child or no: who, for better satisfaction, it was resolved should keep in the State of *Mantua*, the mean while also: But their delays making the Duke more fervent in his desires, he did all he could to remove them; he also made herein use of the favour and Alliance which he had with the Catholick King; in whose Court, (whether by means of Officers, or no, it is not known) the young Lady *Mary* was Proclaimed Heir to *Montferrat*; *Whereof they affirmed women were, by the Laws, capable; and that women had more then once inherited it; For it was said to have passed by the means of* Violante, *Daughter to* William *the Fifth, firnamed the* Great, *from the Paternal Family of* Alarame, *into that of the* Paleologi; *and it came into that of* Gonzaga, *by no other means then by* Margaret Paleologa, *who succeeding therein, past it over to those that descended from her by* Frederick Gonzaga: *That therefore it ought not to be held a new thing if that State should now be seen to pass by Female succession into another Family, which was come into the Family of* Gonzaga: *That Succession, in the first place, belonged unto the Children, without distinction of Sex, all other Relations being wholly excluded: That it was thus Ordered by the Civil Law, and Law of Nature, according to which the Succession of great Kingdoms; yea, even that of* Spain *was governed: That therefore it was too inhumane a thing to permit that that Infant, descended from the* Austrian *Blood, Neece by the Sisters Side to the King, should be brought up with so much danger in those her so tender years with her Rival; who by excluding her, aspired at the Succession of so great a State: But that it was no less dangerous not to take such order, as that the succession of* Montferrat *might not occasion some important insuing disorder in* Italy. The *Italians* thought that these, or the like pretensions, might make great impression in that Court, when they saw the Duke of *Savoys* demands were so much favoured in *Italy* by the Kings State-Ministers; and that they did afterwards indeavour that that Infant should by common consent of all parties be placed in *Millain*, as in a place in the midst between the Dukedoms of *Savoy* and *Montferrat*; but the people and Court of *Mantua* were much more troubled, when they saw greater demonstrations added to so pressing desires: For many persons of quality being in that City, who were come to accompany Prince *Victorio*, part whereof were *Savoyards*, and part *Millanese*, and *Spaniards*, who were sent thither under several pretences from *Millain*; the *Mantuans* began much to distrust that the Duke had some more hidden end: The Cardinal was therefore forced to have a greater care of the custody of the Child, and to give order that that *Corps de Guard* should be kept round about the City, and that the most convenient places should be diligently looked unto; so to obviate any inconvenience which might happen in such a Commotion:

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and the Child being declared, as well in *Italy* as in the Court of *Spain*, to be Heir of *Montferrat*, a greater deſire was daily found to be in the Spaniſh State-Miniſters, of having her either conſigned over, or depoſited; which deſire could the leſs be concealed, for that at the ſame time, by their means, and in her behalf, the Cauſe touching the Succeſſion of that State was ſtudied by ſome of the beſt Lawyers, and in ſome of the Academies of *Italy*; wherefore not only Cardinal *Ferdinando* grew jealous, but even thoſe who had a care of his particular Affairs, and of the Affairs of *Italy* in general: Nor was this without reaſon; for great were the pretenſions which the Houſe of *Savoy* had to *Monferrat*, againſt the Houſe of *Gonzaga*; and much ſtrife and contention had formerly paſt between the two Families in that Point. It was likewiſe thought that the Citadel of *Caſſalle*, of a very large circuit, well Gariſoned, and which was very ſtrong, might prove prejudicial to the State of *Millain*, if it ſhould fall into the hands of a Prince who did not wholly confide in the King; as there were many reaſons then to make it be believed the Cardinal did not: So as, ſo many indeavours concerning the Child, afforded reaſon of ſuſpicion, that if ſhe ſhould come into the Duke of *Savoys* hands, he might by marrying her to one of his Sons, intend to adde new claims to that State; ſo alſo it was not a little doubted, that if ſhe ſhould chance to fall into the Kings hands, his Officers might make uſe thereof as of a means whereby to diſturb the affairs of *Montferrat*: and becauſe if either of theſe ſhould happen, it would be contrary to the quiet and ſatisfaction of the Italian Princes, they did in private and in publick exhort Cardinal *Ferdinando* not to ſuffer that the Child might by any means be taken out of his power: And the Queen of *France*, Siſter to the ſaid Cardinals Mother, gave order to the Marqueſs of *Trinello*, whom ſhe ſent Embaſſadour in Extraordinary upon other occaſions to the Pope, that taking *Mantua* in his way, he ſhould adviſe the Cardinal not to give way to the Dukes demands, but to withſtand the fervent indeavours of the Kings Agents; publickly profeſſing alſo, that ſhe would protect him in what particularly concerned the preſent Occurrences: She made theſe her Reſolutions be known to all the Italian Princes, and eſpecially the Duke himſelf, who by the Spaniſh favour appeared to be more then meanly ſet upon theſe Indeavours: Nor did the Emperor *Matthias*, who was neerly allied to the Cardinal by his Wife, Daughter to a Siſter of Duke *Vicenzo*, the Cardinals Father, ſhew himſelf leſs favourable in this Cauſe. The Duke proceeded, from friendly indeavours, to juſtifie his demands by the Prerogative granted by all Laws to the Mother to have the Guardianſhip of her Children: The Cardinal ſaid, that it was not, notwithſtanding, lawful for her to carry her Daughter out of her Fathers Dominions, nor to withdraw her from the ſight and company of her neareſt friends, under the name of Guardianſhip. He likewiſe urged the minority of the Mother, who was incapable of being Guardian to another, ſhe her ſelf being in need of one by the ſame Laws which ſhe had alledged. And though this Exception made alſo againſt the Cardinals own Perſon; yet the Emperor, Supream Judge of both their Perſons, and of both their Eſtates, confiding in his Integrity, and judg-

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ing that a Prince was not incapable of being Guardian to a young Child, who was without any exception judg'd to be capable of the Government of two Dukedoms; declared him to be his Nieces lawful Guardian, and gave him order, that not suffering her to go out of *Mantua*, he should not trust her custody with any other: But it was the pretensions to *Montferrat*, which, though not publickly owned as yet, was thought to be the chief scope of this Negotiation; and which, in all mens opinion, was the hidden fire which inflamed the one's desire, and made the other more diffident. These Flames breaking out afterwards into so much a greater combustion, by how much they were at first suppres'd by dissimulation; it will be necessary to proceed to their Declaration, as well for what belonged to the House of *Savoy*, as also to the Princess *Mary*, who's Guardianship was that which was only then disputed between these two Princes; so to know the better what it was that secretly brought this business into many streights and difficulties; as also whence the so many rumours arose, which were after publickly given out.

Montferrat *now in the possession of the Family of the House of* Gonzaga, *Dukes of* Mantua, *as being then an Appendix to the sacrum Empire, was given by the Emperour* Otho *the first, in fee, to his Son in law* Alareme *of* Saxony, *and to those that should descend from him, both Male and Female: In whose Line Male the Dukedom of* Montferrat, *continuing a long time, fell at last upon* Violante, *Daughter to* William *the fift surnamed the* Great, *and Sister to* John, *the last of* Alarem's *line Male: who being married to* Andronicus Paleologi, *Emperour of* Constantinople, *made* Theodorus, *her second Son by* Andronicus, *Heir to that State, intailing it upon those that should descend from him.* Theodorus *married a Daughter of his, named also* Violante, *to* Aimone *then Count of* Savoy; *with an addition of Dowry, by (as was afterwards pretended by those that descended from her) an express Article, that if her Line Male should at any time fail, her said Daughter* Violante *should succeed to the Dukedom of* Montferrat; *and after her death those that should descend from her.* Theodorus *his Line male failing the year* 1533. *by the death of Marquess* Johanni Georgio Paleologi; Charles *the third, then Duke of* Savoy, *who was descended from* Violante, *began to pretend to the succession of that State, excluding* Margaret, *Wife to* Frederick *Duke of* Mantua, *who being Daughter to* William *the Second, elder Brother to* Jovan Georgio, *and remaining in possession of* Montferrat, *by the death of her Uncle, defended it against* Charles *of* Savoy, *as her proper and Paternal State.* Charles *alledged, as the first ground of his pretension, that since he and* Margaret *did both of them equally descend from* Theodorus; *and* Montferrat *being to pass from the Male Line to the Female, he,* Charles, *ought by reason of his sex, to be preferred before* Margaret, *though she were of Parentage, and nearer in succession to* Jovan Georgio, *last possessor of the State in Controversie. Thus (*said he) *goes the Succession of all such Marchionate Fee Tenure and birth-right; by all Laws: He produced for his second Argument the aforesaid Matrimonial Agreement, whereby he pretended to be prefer'd before any Female, or before any one that was descended from* Theodorus *by the Female Line, as come from* Violante: *For his last plea, he made use of the Lady* Bianca's *last Will and Testament, who was Heir to the first* William Paleologus,

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marquess of Montferrat, who dyed without any Issue male; which Bianca having married to Charles the first, Duke of Savoy, did at her death nominate him Charles the Third, for Heir General; so, as if the succeeding to that State had belonged to her, since her Father dyed without Issue Male, he inferred that the right of the same Succession was past to him by the universal institution. Charles laid these three ground-works for his universal Succession to Montferrat: To which wherewith he laid also a particular claim to a good part of the same State; which being given by Jovan Giacomo Paleologus, and by John his Son, to Amedeus the first, Duke of Savoy, 1435. was the very same day given by Amedeus, to those that had given it him from themselves, and for those that should descend from them on the Fathers side; all which being extinct (as Duke Charles pretended) in Jovan Georgio, he said that that part was, without all dispute, fallen to him, as to the Soveraign Lord. On the contrary, Margaret alledged that the Succession of Montferrat belonged to her, as the nearest Heir to her Uncle the last Lord thereof: and saying that the Heir male should by any legal disposal be preferred before the next of kin; yea, when the Succession should go out of the Male line, she disputed the reality of the Matrimonial Contract urged by the Adversary: and howsoever, she said, that that Contract did no ways operate to the prejudice of Succession which did belong unto her by other means then by the person of Theodorus, without the Emperours consent: She said that no heed was to be given to the Lady Bianca's Testament, she never having had any thing to do in that State, as being excluded by others of Paleologus his male kindred: how much less then could the kindred on the Fathers side be excluded from inheritance by Will, who had more right thereunto then the Testatrix her self. Then she alledged that the Donation of Jovan Giacomo, and Georgio Paleologi, was null in it self, and against the Nature of the Fee-farm: And moreover, that it was by violence extorted from the said Amedeus; when John, eldest Son to John Giacomo, being set at a Festival in Piedmont, was afterward detained Prisoner there; so as John Giacomo was constrained for his Sons Liberty, and John for his own, to give way unto their will, into whose custody John was unadvisedly fallen: And that therefore the said Donation was revoked 30. years after by a long and solemn Decree which the Emperour Frederick made, Out of which Reasons Margarets cause prevailing, the Emperour Charles the fifth, who as Lord, and Supream Judge of the Fee, had sequestred the possession after the death of Marquess John Georgio, ordered that it should be freely restored to her, as lawful Heir to her Uncle; rejecting by name the Dukes three Actions to the Universal State; but made good the Testament of the Lady Bianca, in relation, notwithstanding, to the Dowry of 80000. Crowns; for the payment whereof she might have recourse to the improvement of the State made by her Father, Marquess William: And without deciding any thing else touching the Donation made in favour to Amedeus of Savoy, he left it free for all pretenders to alledge any thing they could at any time about it. The Pretenders were no ways satisfied with this Sentence; Duke Charles thought that it was given by the Emperour in favour of Margaret; and pronounced by Frederick out of reason of State, so to Ballance the Princes of Italy in an equal power, which might be inferior to his; lest that Duke Charles might counterpoise the State of Millain, by the addition of Montferrat to Piedmont, which he could not apprehend from Margaret,

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nor Frederick; *who poſſeſſing two States disjoyn'd within themſelves, would by conſequence be neceſſitated to depend totally upon the State of* Millain: *On the contrary,* Frederick, *and thoſe that were for him, complained privately; as if the queſtion touching the Donation had been left undecided, for no other end, but that Pretentions and Concurrences being kept on foot between the Parties, the Indeavours and Inclinations of ſuch as pretended towards the Affairs and Intereſt of common Judicature, ſhould alſo be kept the more ſtrongly on foot in* Italy: *And, notwithſtanding, though* Margaret *and* Frederick *were quiet, Duke* Charles *appealed from the Sentence: which* (as he ſaid) *was made more in reſpect of the preſent times, then with any conſideration had to the merits and juſtice of his claim: Wherefore thinking himſelf injured, he appealed to* Cæſar's *Self; and his Appeal was admitted: But the buſineſs proceeding on, at length he obtained another Edict from the Emperours Self, That no time might prejudicate his Title, nor the proſecuting of his Appeal; and thinking, belike, that theſe were not times for ſuch a buſineſs, he reſted content with the Decree, and forbare proſecuting judgment; chiefly becauſe having loſt* Savoy, *and almoſt all* Piedmont, *a little before, by wars made by the French; both he, and his Son* Emanuel Philebertus *minded more the regaining of what they had loſt, then the recovery of that by Law which they were then in ſuit for with* Frederick: *Yet theſe differences kept theſe Princes and their Succeſſors at continual odds; inſo much as* Charles Emanuel, *the now preſent Duke of* Savoy, *having obtained another Decree from the Emperour* Rodolphus *the Second, in the year* 1587. *by which his pretentions were not only preſerved unprejudiced by lapſe of time, but confirmed as much as was requiſite; and being nearly allied to* Philip *the ſecond, King of* Spain, *whoſe ſecond Daughter* Katherine *he had married; he afforded no little jealouſie to Duke* Vicenſo, *Nephew to* Margaret, *that by occaſion of ſuch Decrees and aſſiſtance, he would in ſome ſort revive his antient Pretentions, and trouble his poſſeſſion in that State: Wherefore, for his greater ſecurity, he built the Citadel from the very ground which is almoſt contiguous to the City of* Caſſalle.

The Dukes pretentions to *Monferrat* were upon theſe terms; but that which was ſpoken of in name of the young Princeſs had in it more of ſhew then ſubſtance: For though women, by antient Inveſtment, were intituled to the Succeſſion of that State, and had really ſucceeded therein twice; it was only when there was not, nor did not appear to be, any Male remaining of that Line. Thus did *Violante* and *Margaret* Inherit it; but when there was any Male left of the Family, though of remote Branches, the Daughters of the late Poſſeſſors were excluded, as they had been twice before: Thus *Bianca*, Wife to *Charles* the firſt, Duke of *Savoy*; and *Joan*, Wife to the Marqueſs of *Saluzzo*, both of them Daughters to the firſt *William Paleologus*, Marqueſs of *Monferrat*, came behind *Boniface*, next Brother to their Father *William*: And the Marqueſs *Boniface* the ſecond, Brother to the ſame *Margaret*, dying without Iſſue, *Jovan Georgio*, her Fathers Brother, was preferred in the Poſſeſſion before her: Nor was ſhe admitted to ſucceed in that State, till the whole Male Line of the *Paleologi* was extinct in the aforeſaid *Jovan Georgio*: By which he who is acquainted with the Nature of Fee-farm, and with antient obſervance thereof, may eaſily conceive what the right of pretence was which that Maid had to ſtrive for ſucceſſion in that State with her Uncle: But as Princes through Ambition

are usually ready to imbrace any apparent colour to aspire unto the States of other men; and the worser Cause is often favoured by the condition of times, by force of Arms, and the power of the Pretenders; So on the contrary, the apprehensions of not being able to preserve their own Dominions, makes them carefull in avoiding all occasions whereby others may get any the least shadow which may disturb them in the cleer possession of what is their own; whereforethe greater the indevours were which were made in the behalf of the young Maiden, and how much greater the Authority of the Intercessors was, the more jealous was Cardinal *Ferdinando*, that the objects of these demands were not such as were publickly given out. To these were added other no less troublesome demands, concerning the Dowry and Jewels of the Dowager Dutchess, and touching the execution of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth's Decree in the Dowry of the Lady *Blanca*; which together with the Interest which was due, was said to amount to the sum of 800000. Duckats. But what did yet import more, the Duke seeing himself frustrated in his demands which concern'd his Niece, by the Cardinal, did openly lay claim to *Montferrat*, as that which belonged to him by antient pretence; which though they had been silenced for a while, he began now at this time, and upon this occasion, hotly to revive. The first two demands were readily yielded unto, upon the allowance of some time, and downright denial of any interest. Touching that of *Montferrat*, though at the first, to avoid exasperating the Duke, some intentions of friendly agreement were made known; at last the Answer was, That there were competent Judges before whom their Predecessors had long pleaded their Title thereunto.

These were the Negotiations, which being treated of with some bitterness, was feared would prove (as they did) the Seeds of further disturbances: But on the other side (as hope goes often along joined together with fear) in this fluctuation of contrary opinions and pretences, some benigne Rays appeared, which promised a no less Union and Friendship between these two Princes, then had been before the last Dukes death. Some youthful desires and inclinations appeared in the Cardinal towards his Brothers Widow: It was therefore thought that for his own satisfaction, for the quiet of those Inhabitants, and for the security of his own Affairs, (leave being first had from the Pope, who did not appear unwilling to consent thereunto) he would willingly imbrace marriage with the Dowager Dutchess; which though it was at first diversly rumoured in the Courts of those Princes, and throughout *Italy*; yet was it approved of by such as wished well to peace, and by the wisest men, who did best understand the Affairs of *Montferrat*, as the only remedy for the appearing evil. Nor was it thought out of any respects, that the Duke of *Savoy* would appear averse to this Marriage: And particularly in consideration of the Cardinals conditions, which came not short of those of his Brother; and for the good of his own Daughter, for whom there was hardly a better Match to be at the present found: The Kings consent, which was almost requisite in such Resolutions, was more doubted; the uniting of great Italian Princes being usually suspected in the Court of *Spain*: And it was known, that in that respect the first Marriage of the said *Infanta*

fanta, was not much approved of there; yet it was somewhat hoped that the King would prefer his Nieces good before the other respects; the rather because that she being totally of the Spanish side, she might be an excellent means to turn her future Husbands mind, who was openly declared to be of the contrary faction: And as the differences concerning the Child, and the Dowries, would vanish by this Marriage; so it was thought that the disputes about *Montferrat* (all former Suits giving way to this new Conjunction) would be at least quieted a while, if not quite extinguished: And it made much for the Duke, at the same time, to Match his Daughter well; and, together with publick peace, (preserving friendship with the House of *Gonzaga*) to make use of the present occasion, as of an Honourable pretence to terminate his demands touching his Niece, and his other pretensions, with some credit: wherein being much dipt, it was impossible for him to obtain the one without the Cardinals consent, and to prosecute the other by reason of the times: And yet (so often do Princes minds alter) the Duke of *Savoy*, who was so ready, and so well pleased to marry his Daughter to *Francis* then Prince of *Mantua*, did not consent to her Marriage now when she was a Widow, with his Brother who succeeded him in that Dukedom: And the King, who was not then well satisfied with that Match, did not only now consent to it, but desiring it might be effected, propounded it not long after affectionately to both of them. This change in them proceeded (as it usually doth in great Princes resolutions) from the variety and mutation of times; But if we shall sift more narrowly into the occasion thereof, it will be necessary, that breaking off the Thred of our begun Narration for a while, we look a little backwards into the ends and designs of their former proceedings; which though it may peradventure seem to deviate somewhat from our purpose, is notwithstanding requisite to be known, for the better knowledge of several accidents, whence the occasion of many important effects rose, which shall be by us hereafter related; and therefore it will be no lost labour, nor useless, to winde up that in this place, and upon this occasion, which if pretermitted, would obscure the Thred of this present Narration; and if divided and recounted in several parts, would be a greater interruption thereunto.

The Dukes of *Savoy*, whose State lies between the Confines of *France*, and the Dukedom of *Millain*, get this of good by the situation thereof; That being placed between two powerful Kings, of Nations which do disagree, though they be far inferior to either of them in forces, yet cannot they be not only not so easily oppress by so neighbouring powers, but receive further establishment and security in their Affairs by that Neighbourhood: For it being dangerous to the affairs of both the Kings, that either of them should draw nearer the others Confines, by suppressing the Dukes of *Savoy*; and these Dukes being moreover very fit to be made use of in such Enterprises as the one King might sometimes attempt against the other, their friendship is willingly imbraced by them both, and better secured by tye of neer Alliance: And as out of these respects *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, gave his Sister in Marriage to *Emanuel Philiberius*, Father to the present Duke; and the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was King

of *Spain*, wrought it so as *Beatrice*, Daughter to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, and Sister to the said *Charles* his Wife *Isabella*, was married to Duke *Charles*, Grandfather to the present Duke; so for the same respects *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, contracted a more then customary Union with this present *Charles Emanuel*, by giving him his second Daughter, *Katherine*, for Wife, with a Portion of many yearly Revenues assigned to him in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to boot, with great Pensions which were paid unto him before Marriage out of the State of *Millain*, to keep him the more interessed in the maintaining of those Territories: High aspiring thoughts began then to appear in this Prince, and much greater then became his Fortune; Ardent desires of new Acquisitions; greater inclination to war then to peace; and therefore he applied himself to military Exercises; and just as we read of *Alexander* the Great, that not bounding himself within the limits of *Macedon* and *Greece*, he thought the whole World too little for him: It might, peradventure, be affirmed of this present Duke, That esteeming himself too much streightened within the Precincts of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, he sought to inlarge his State and Fortune, by the prejudice of his neighbours. This his dispostion was increased by this his Alliance, which like fire in well-prepared metals, set this young Prince his mind on flame, and made his hopes the greater; and thinking that the civil wars of *France* made much for this his purpose, he first assaulted and took *Saluzzo*, which was possest by the King of *France* in *Piedmont*: and entring into war with those of *Geneva*, he afterwards entred Armed into *Province* and *Dolpheny*, intending to make himself Master of those Provinces; And if Fortune had smiled upon these his high designs, his hopes led him on so far, as not to think himself inferior to any that pretended to that Crown; but the Valor, Fortune, and Right of *Henry* the fourth, getting the better over all other Competitors, who appeasing the Tumults, and allaying the Factions, possest himself of that Kingdom by right of Succession: The Duke was forced not only to forego his Enterprises unluckily undertaken in *France*; but if he would retain the Towns which he possest on this side of the Mountains, he must pay a very great price for them. In the progress of these Affairs there therefore arose no sleight accidents, which disturbed the good Intelligence which ought to have been maintained between the King of *Spain* and the Duke, by reason of their so near Alliance; for the Duke, when he first busied himself in the affairs of *France*, built much upon the assistance which he had reason to expect from the King his Father in law; not so much in respect of his Alliance, as that the things which he undertook were of no small help to the Kings self; who at the same time assisting the Catholick League of the French Princes both with men and monies, against King *Henry* who was then a *Hugonot*, made himself Master of many Towns in *Britany*, and in other parts of that Kingdom; and therefore made his ends and intentions be much suspected: But though the Father in law might for those respects be inwardly pleased with his Son in law's Actions; yet wisely foreseeing how much those Enterprises did exceed his Forces, and the mischiefs which might thereby accrue unto him, he profest the contrary; and seeming rather desirous of the peace and safety of his Son in law's Dominions, he dissw-

ded him from thoſe Enterpriſes; fearing alſo leſt by provoking *France* thereby, he might draw many bad humors into *Italy*, whereby his peaceful poſſeſſions might be diſturbed, and the common Affairs indangered; And yet that he might not ſeem to abandon him, rather then to incourage and foment him in thoſe wars, he furniſhed him with forces; but not ſuch as were anſwerable, either for readineſs or numbers, to the neceſſity of the Times; and no otherwiſe then with limitation, that they ſhould ſerve only to defend his own Dominions, if they ſhould happen (as they did) to be aſſaulted by the French; but not to offend or diſquiet others: Wherefore the Duke finding the Spaniſh Commanders directions contrary to his deſigns, in his moſt urgent occaſions; and thinking himſelf thereby injured, he was much troubled: And as he who ſees himſelf fallen from high hopes which he had fancied to himſelf, uſeth to think it a ſhame that he hath not compaſſed his ends, and to believe that he is deluded more by the will of others, then by his own perſwaſion; the Duke eſteeming that for ſo many reſpects he might freely have promiſed himſelf abundance of help from his Father in law, thought he had reaſon to hold himſelf too ſeverely treated by him; wherefore beginning to be jealous of the Kings mind and Magnanimity, he doubted that, (though he peradventure might for his own particular ends be well enough pleaſed to ſee him buſied in thoſe wars) indeavouring to keep him in a moderate condition for the greater ſecurity of his own affairs in *Italy*, and that he might depend the more upon him the King; he had rather held him unfortunately in hand by thoſe weak ſuccours in thoſe wars, then aſſiſted him to the acquiring of more Dominion and *Grandezza*, as he the Duke had hoped: and this his diſlike was the more increaſed, when he found that the Kings Authority was not afterwards ſufficient to include him in the peace which was afterwards made between the ſaid King and the King of *France*, without the reſtitution of *Saluzzo*: The Duke thought that his Father in law being now very old was the leſs careful to leave his Son, who was but then young, in peaceful poſſeſſion of his State by that Agreement, for that he had not appeared to ſolicit his intereſts; for many places of much importance being by vertue of this peace reſtored to the French, the Duke thought that if his Father in law had ſtuck a little cloſer to him, he might ſtill have kept the little Marqueſite of *Saluzzo*, which it was likely King *Henry* would not have ſtood much upon, having by this Peace many very noble Towns of *France* reſtored to him, which were poſſeſt by the King of *Spain* in the time of war: But the King, who had made publick profeſſion that he had poſſeſt himſelf of the Towns of that Kingdom, to no other end but to keep the Hereticks from being Maſters of them, with intention to reſtore them afterwards to whoſoever ſhould be lawfully choſen King of *France*; covering the neceſſity of his own intereſts, which forc'd him to make that Peace, with the cloke of fair proceeding, ſeemed as if the time of his promis'd reſtoring them was then come; ſince King *Henry* was declared by all the Orders of *France*, and by the Apoſtolick See, to be lawful and Catholick King; and that therefore the Duke having profeſt that he had poſſeſt himſelf of *Saluzzo* upon the ſame pretences and promiſes, and being by the ſame reaſon bound to reſtore it, the King as he would not that by the

Dukes

Dukes interests prevailing over his, that peace should be disturbed; so could he not without manifest repugnancy allow of that retention in another, which he did allow unto himself: But because the Duke alledged that that Marquesite appertained to him of antient right, the King thought that he had sufficiently provided both for the publick quiet, and for his Son in law's Indempnity, by obtaining (as he did) that the Dukes pretentions should by the Articles of Peace be referred to *Clement* the Eighth, who was then Pope: which Reference when it should be setled, the universal Peace was afterwards to be agreed upon between the King of *France*, and him, and the Duke: But the Pope deferring, or not resolving to decide these differences, the Duke resolved to go to *Paris*, hoping by his presence, and by his doing Homage, to make that King favourably to relinquish unto him the controverted Marquesite.

The King of *Spain*, and the whole Spanish Court, were much troubled at this Resolution; fearing lest the Duke, being ill satisfied with their proceedings, should close with the King of *France*, to their prejudice: But their suspicions were vain, as vain were his hopes; for a setled resolution of re-having whatsoever was taken from the Crown in the late troubles prevailing in the King of *France*, over all other considerations, he was not to be moved by any indeavours or artificial offers; but did absolutely demand the Marquesite or some Territories equivalent thereunto: And he was so stedfast in this Resolution, as being tempted by the Duke to assault the State of *Millain*, and from thence to proceed to the getting of the Imperial Crown; the Duke offering him to assist him in any of these, or in any other Enterprise, and to confederate with him, so as he might enjoy the Marquesite, The King did constantly refuse to do it; so as the Duke, not being able to obtain any better Conditions, was forced to yield the Marquesite unto him within a certain limited time (without any prejudice, notwithstanding, to his right, (which was again referred unto the Pope) or else all that part of *Savoy* which lies between the *Rosne* and the *Lioneis*, called the Country of *Bresse*. Thus the Duke returned to *Piedmont* not well pleased with the King, and not observing what was agreed upon, the King took *Savoy* immediately from him, threatening to descend armed into *Piedmont*: And though notice was come to the Court of *Spain* of the Dukes indeavours with the King of *France*, in prejudice to the Crown of *Spain*, and to the publick quiet; yet other respects prevailing upon this occasion, over his anger conceived against the Duke, the King caused a powerful Army to be prepared in *Millain* for the defence of *Piedmont*, and to oppose King *Henry*, if (as it was feared) falling into *Italy*, he should turn his forces upon other Enterprises: But this Commotion was once again quieted, for the Pope interposing himself, the Duke chose rather actually to surrender up *Bresse* unto the King, then the Marquesite of *Saluzzo*; reserving, notwithstanding, in favour to the King of *Spain*, passage through that Country, that his men might go from *Italy* into *Flanders*, for the defence of those Provinces, which did so much import the Crown of *Spain*: Yet subject of discontent arose out of this Agreement; for the Duke thinking that he had not a little advantaged the condition of the Crown of *Spain*, in having

having totally excluded the French out of *Italy*, by the so great lessening his former Territories, thought he deserved a very good recompence: On the contrary, the Spaniards, though they had perswaded the Duke to that Agreement, yet they thinking that he had got more advantage then, having excluded the French out of the bowels of his State, professed that the Restitution of *Saluzzo* would have been less prejudicial to them, the smallness whereof would have been but of little avail to the French affairs in *Italy*, though it had been possest by them; whereas by the Concession of *Bresse* they were totally deprived of the passage reserved, to the evident prejudice of the affairs of *Flanders*; since the Duke having received no caution from the King in that behalf, but his bare promise, viz. was absolutely in the French mens pleasure, whether they would observe it, or no: and yet the Duke thinking that the advantage was not sufficiently acknowledged, held himself to be much injured, that the King, instead of the Grandezza, and the bettering of his estate, which he had hoped for, by his alliance contracted with him, and by his continual adherence to that Crown, should suffer him to be deprived of so noble a part of his Paternal State, without any recompence. This his pretention was made the greater by the same Kings giving of *Burgundy* and the Low-Countries in Portion with *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, his eldest Daughter, married at this time to *Albertus*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*; for though the Duke received from the Crown of *Spain*, in Portion with his Wife, in Pensions assigned over afterwards to his Children, and in other Donatives, little less then 200000 Duckats of yearly Rent, yet holding the disproportion to be too great which was made between his Wife and her Sister, he thought there ought some amends to be made him, at least by the reason of that equal hand which the Father ought to bear to his Daughters: Failing whereof he was much troubled, and could the less bear with his aforesaid Loss. The King, his Father in law, died a little before his journey into *France*; and a little before *Katherine*, Wife to the Duke, and Daughter to the King: So as by the death of the one the knot was slackened which fastened him to the Kingdoms of *Spain*; so the Court of *Spain*, and the Government thereof being much altered after the other was deceased, those evil seeds began to get root, which not long after produced fruits of often distastes, which exasperated the minds of both parties, and did at last totally alienate the Dukes devotion from the Court of *Spain*: For *Philip* the second, as wise a King as *Spain* ever had, relying upon himself in the Government of so many Kingdoms, satisfied the Grandees of the Court with honourable usage, not making use of them in publick Affairs, except of some few, in whom he found the capacity of understanding annexed to their greatness of birth: for other things he chose men more excellent for worth, then eminent for title or dignity; assisting in the publick Government with incredible diligence, and sustaining the weight of so great an Empire himself, which past humane judgment; for in him alone did Majesty and regal Authority shine forth: His Commands and Resolves were punctually observed by the Natives, and greatly reverenced by Forreigners, being by them acknowledged to proceed from the award and absolute will of so wise and so great a King: Hence it was that the

Duke

Duke himself, not being able to avoid them, was inforced patiently to give way thereunto, though they were oft-times not answerable to his ends.

His Son King *Philip* the third succeeded him, a good and pious Prince; but one who could not intirely inherit his Fathers infinite wisdom, neither by reason of his years, (not exceeding the age of twenty three) nor of his experience: Therefore the condition of times being changed together with the Prince; great men grew to be of more Authority with the King in the Administration of State Affairs, which was more largely, and more indifferently shared out unto them by him, then by *Philip* the second. Amongst these, *Don Francisco Scandoval*, and *Roxas*, Duke of *Lerma*, were highest in favour with the King; upon whose liking all important Resolutions, as also the distribution of Offices, the Government of Provinces, and the Crown Revenues, did depend; rather as upon a Moderator, then Court-Minister: The eyes of all men were therefore, with much applause, fixt upon him as upon the chief manager of so great a Monarchy; Who being of a good and pleasing disposition, and for his understanding sufficiently capable of so great Imployment, sate long at the Helm of Government in so great an Empire, not only with Loyalty to the King, but with general satisfaction; It is true, that being grown very jealous of his own Grandezza, he diligently studied the preservation thereof; which finding that he might the more easily do in times of peace, he hated all novelty, and neglected no means whereby the Affairs of the Crown might be quietly proceeded in, both at home and abroad. Nor was it hard for him to do it, the publick interests of the Kingdom concurring thereunto in many respects; as also the peoples desire, and the minds of the great ones; who being rich and happy, loved rather to injoy the publick and their private fortune in peace and quietness, then to increase it by uncertain and dangerous war: But the Affairs of *Italy*, and particularly those of *Lombardy*, did depend, almost absolutely, upon the Authority and Arbitrement of *Don Pierd' Alevedo Henriquez*, Count of *Fuentes*, a man of high imployment and great worth; who being sent by the new King to be Governour of *Millain*, governed that State long with extraordinary Authority: And being good both at peace and war, and generally held to be of a military spirit; seeming more inclined to Arms then quiet; he, without altering the publick peace, held up the Kings Affairs at so high a pitch, and brought them unto such reputation in *Italy*, as they were never formerly done by any Governour.

The government of Affairs being in this posture, the Duke, though the new King, forgetting former distastes, had made one of his Sons Grand Prior of *Castile*, and another Son of his the like of *Crato*, the latter worth 30000 Duckats a year, the other of 100000 Duckats, did continually aspire, out of his accustomed pretences and desires, to the augmentation of his Fortune; which was impossible to be afforded him, either without lessening the Kings Revenue, or without disturbance to the publick peace, to which the Government of the Crown was then so much inclined: And therefore whilst beyond all expectation he found all access to further greatness blockt up under the new King, he

he had some colourable pretence to vent his anger, which by reason of the King his Father in law's Majesty, he had kept long concealed; for not being of like employment and Authority in the Resolutions of that Court, as he had been formerly, he began to complain thereof with less respect, thinking that it proceeded rather from the State-Ministers being ill-minded towards him, then from the King himself. Hereunto was added, that it being necessary to make the Duke of *Lerma* chief in Court, as the Arbitrator of the Kings Resolutions; and in *Italy*, *Fuentes*, Governour of *Millain*, for the relation and executing of things resolved upon; and not finding himself satisfied with their proceedings, or pleased in his ends, which did totally differ from their ends and intentions; and finding sometimes, at least seeming to find a certain ambition in them, and in other Court-Ministers, which doth usually accompany eminent power, and the Princes immoderate favour, whereby he thought they meant to keep him under, he could by no means beat with it: He openly exclaimed against them, as if making use of the Kings name and Authority for the establishment of their own greatness, they would arrogate unto themselves the more Authority over him, who was a free Prince, and Cousin to the King; Hereupon anger and rancor broke forth between the Duke and the Kings Ministers of State, especially between him, and *Scandoval*, and *Fuentes*; so as tokens of ardent indignation appearing in the Duke, and the like in them, for the practises he had held with *Henry*, to the prejudice of that Court, and of the universal peace, they at last seemed as if they were not able to pay the Pensions which appertained to him, as if the exasperating him were the only cure for that wound, for which gentler applications would be too disproportionate. Their hatred grew the greater, when the Duke demanding his Pensions of his Father in law, and after his death, of his Cousin, he resolved to send his eldest Son, Prince *Philip Emanuel*, with two other Sons of his, into *Spain*, that they might be brought up in the Kings Court, upon whom (the King not having as yet any Sons) the succession of so many Kingdoms might probably fall: The Duke being come with this intent to the Sea side, and having agreed upon the time of their Imbarking, and upon other things concerning their Voyage in *Ongelia*, with Prince *Doria* the Kings Lord Admiral; wherein they were to be conducted by *Don Carlo Doria*, Duke of *Turfi*, and Son to the Admiral, it so fell out, as *Don Carlo* departing unexpectedly from *Villa Franca*, whether he was come with the Kings Gallies to Imbark those Princes, he left both their Father and them much astonished at his unexpected departure; wherefore the Duke credibly believing that a resolution of such importance proceeded not from *Don Carlo*, but rather from the Court Ministers of State, and particularly from the Duke of *Lerma*, who for his own interest would be loth to see the Kings Nephews so near their Uncle; he therefore, and for that the King did not appear afterwards to resent it, thought himself therein very much injured; and yet being resolved that his Children should pursue their intended journey, he sent them to the Court; where they were graciously received by their Uncle, and were by his command treated with all the demonstrations of Honour, and with the Title of *Infants* of *Spain*, a name which is given to the younger Children of that King: But on the other side, the

States men, and great ones of the Kingdom, fearing that it might much prejudice their own greatness, and their Administration of publick affairs, that Authority should be added to those that were so nearly allied to the King; they did not only keep them at distance from the publick Negotiations of the Kingdom, but from any privacy with the King; and not being able to suffer their so much preeminency, they seldom visited them, or discoursed with them, rendring the Grandeza of their condition almost irksome to them through solitariness: They were honoured only with Titles and exterior demonstrations; but were not otherwise in any favour or Authority at Courts.

The eldest Prince died not long after, who upon the like occasions had great disputes with the Duke of *Lerma*; and the rest returned into *Italy*, if not displeased with the King, at least but badly satisfied with the Court, as not finding that countenance and welcome as they thought became their condition. These and the like accidents, though out of private occasions, and proceeding rather from the State-Officers, then from the King, wounded the Duke to the very soul; who was much exasperated by former proceedings; and if he had met with any occasion, he would peradventure have been willing to have vented his disdain; but neither the times, nor the condition of his own affairs, corresponding with his desire of resentment, he was forced to cloke his passions, and to expect a more opportune time; whilst thus fought with by inward hatred, such occasions at last happened, when he least expected them, as brought those opportunities home unto him; then which if he had sought after them, he could not have met with greater.

William della Marche, Duke of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, died about this time, in whose death all his whole Family failing, many several *German* Princes pretended to the Succession of those States: Amongst the rest *Leopold*, one of the Arch-Dukes of *Austria*, and the Princes of *Brandenburge* and *Neoburg*; which latter two joining against the Arch-Duke, possest themselves of all that appertained to those Dukedoms, except *Juliers*, which fell into his power. *Leopold*'s Cause was not adhered unto only by the House of *Austria*, and by the King of *Spain*; but by all the Catholick *German* Princes; who thinking it pernitious for the Catholick Religion, that those States should fall into the hands of Heretick Princes, constituted a League in the behalf of the Arch-Duke; and chose the Duke of *Bavaria* for their Captain-General: The two Princes finding themselves not able against such a League, had recourse to the King of *France*; whose Kingdom after so many calamities of preceding wars, having now injoy'd peace for many years, and consequently flourishing more in Arms, people, and riches, then it was ever known to be before; himself being obeyed by all the Orders of this Kingdom, and reverenced by all the Princes of Christendom; and not thinking it became him that the Crown of *Spain* and House of *Austria* should grow to a greater height, took upon him the protection of those Princes; and with caution to the Catholick Religion of those Inhabitants he promised to assist them in the possession of the controverted States; in whose cause the Protestant Princes of *Germany* did also adhere: And the King of *France* being made their Head, they prepared openly to oppose the Arch-Duke: the King perceiving that from hence great combustions were likely to arise, applied his mind to much greater designs. Betaking him-

himself therefore not only to make stout preparations of Arms throughout his whole Kingdom, but also to negotiate new Leagues and Unions with Foreigners, he sollicited many of the *Italian* Princes, to whom he thought the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards* was either suspitious or troublesome; promising them great Rewards, and increase of Dominions, if by joyning their Forces with him they would take up Arms in *Italy* against the King of *Spains* Dominions: The chief of these were the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Savoy*; the former, in respect of the great opinion which was held not only of their forces and wealth, but of their Counsel and Wisdom: The other, for the Neighbourhood of his Dominions, and for the vivacity of his military Spirit, naturally inclined to new Enterprises; as also out of the distastes and bad satisfaction which he had often received from the Spanish State-Ministers, Count *Fuentes*, who though he was very old, and upon the confines of death, was yet alive, and much feared and reverenced; and the Affairs of *Spain* flourished much (as hath been said) under his Government.

The *Venetians*, notwithstanding, either professing to abhor turbulence and novelty; or fearing to provoke the *Spaniards*, refusing the first great offers made to them by the King of *France*, would have no hand in a business of such moment, which was like to work great Revolutions in the world, not without danger to their own Affairs: The Duke, who on the contrary, though strangely scandalized at the Court of *Spain*, would not let slip such an occasion willingly, and was therefore willing to listen to the Kings great offers; whereof one was, to marry the Kings eldest Daughter to Prince *Victorio*; yet calling to mind the long and bitter wars which the Kings of *France* had made upon his Father and Grandfather, by whom they were beaten almost out of all their Dominions: And on the contrary, his recovery, and being kept in long possession of them by the favour and adherence of the Crown of *Spain*; the annual Revenues which he received from thence, which would upon any the least occasion be taken from him; to boot with the troubles and wars which he was to undergo by incensing the *Spaniards*; in all these respects he began to doubt, lest to pass from the one adherence to the other, would be too dangerous for him, and for his Children, who were, by so streight interests, and by so near alliance joyn'd to the King of *Spain*: wherefore not totally excluding, but keeping the Treaty on foot with the French, he thought to make use of this occasion as of the means, whereby retaining his former friendship with the King of *Spain*; but upon better conditions, he might get a greater esteem put upon himself and his affairs: Or totally foregoing Union with *Spain*, which he thought would be now reduced to subjection and slavery, indeavour to link himself close with *France*; and by the favour and assistance thereof arrive at that Grandezza and Augmentation of State, which having long looked for in vain from the Crown of *Spain*, he could never attain unto: He therefore demanded one of the Daughters of *Spain* for Wife to his Son, together with a Portion in Land, which might serve in recompence for his antient pretences; and other annual Revenues and honourable places for his other Children; to the end that they might live in Port and Splendour suta-

table to the Nephews of so great a King: And to remove the obstacles and difficulties which he might meet with in these desires, he thought it necessary to win the Duke of *Lerma*, and to interest him in these his demands; for when he should have got him, he hoped he should succeed the more easily in all the rest. Laying aside therefore all former contentions and emulations, he loaded him (as it is said) with hopes and mighty promises, which depending absolutely upon his own will, might bring unusual greatness and splendour upon his Family and descendants, whereby to make so powerful a Minister of State give way unto, and facilitate whatsoever he should demand of the King for his Sons: And at the same time, keeping on the Treaty of the new League, and his Sons Marriage, in *Paris*, he hoped that each of these Crowns would grow to such jealousie by reason of this double Negotiation; as that, the one not to lose him, and the other to gain him, they might both of them vie who should give fairer conditions for this Marriage, when it should be hotly negotiated at the same time in both these Courts: Chusing therefore for Agents, in these his so great designs, Count *Verrua*, a Counsellor who was in great favour with him, and Monsieur *Jacob*, he sent them both at the same time, the former into *Spain*, the latter into *France*, where both of them negotiated their Commissions. The Duke of *Lerma* greedily imbracing this occasion in the Court of *Spain*, that by assisting to make this Match he might aggrandize his own Family; so the Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Victorio* and the Kings Daughter, seemed to proceed on fairly: For though the King would not Treat of his eldest Daughter, whom he had destined to a much greater Marriage; yet not being averse to part with his youngest Daughter, this Match, though not totally agreed upon, yet was it likely to be speedily concluded; And *Don Philiberto*, the Dukes second Son, was destined to be made Admiral at Sea; and the Dukes third Son, the Cardinal, was to be furnished with the chief Church-livings which should be vacant in that Kingdom, to a large proportion. In pursuit of which Negotiation, there were two Gallies already provided by the Duke in *Italy*, to bring the Prince *Victorio* into *Spain*, together with two of his Sisters, that they might be brought up there with the Queen; yet many were not fully of an opinion, that this would really succeed: As if the Duke had juggled in this Marriage with *Spain*, or that he had done it out of cunning to accelerate the Negotiations in *France*, which were carried on with hopes of prosperous success, by *Jacob*: For the King, having drawn *England*, and the States of *Holland*, into the new League, and giving out that he would put the Princes of *Brandenburge* and *Newburg*, into full possession of the Dukedoms pretended unto by them, had already prepared a powerful Army; with which, and with the Forces of the Colleagues, it was thought that he really intended war against *Flanders*, and those parts of the Low-Countries which were under the King of *Spain*. And at the same time he put a Fleet in order at *Marselles*, with intention to assault *Genoa* and *Millain*; and offered the Duke of *Savoy* an Army of 20000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, to be paid by him the King; to the end that the Duke might enter into the State of *Millain* with 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse of his own; which State he propounded to the Duke of *Savoy* as a surplus of Portion in

respect

respect of the future Marriage. These practises, were they either true, or but reported, did no good to the Treaties of *Spain*, which seemed to be as good as already concluded: for the King of *Spain*, growing incens'd thereat, did not incline any more to the Marriage of his Daughter; and the Duke of *Lerma*, who had cordially listened to *Verrua*'s proposals, finding that he was not well looked upon by the Court where the practises held between him and *Verrua* were known; to shew himself averse to the Dukes interests and intelligence, who was grown odious to the Court for the same respects, did all he could to clear himself thereof: And the whole Court, out of the same reasons, being at the same time scandalized with the Duke of *Savoy*; he, thinking that he could promise himself no good from that Crown, and despairing to make any progress in that Court, quite foregoing any thought of further pursuing his Affairs there, and betaking himself to the Kingdom of *France*, he indeavoured to joyn in League, and to make Alliance with that King.

Hence it was, (that we may return to where we gave over) that the Duke of *Savoy*, to the end that he might have greater adherences in *Italy*, as also that he might interest other Princes in his ends and designs; married forthwith two of his Daughters (wherein King *Henry* had a hand) the eldest to *Don Francisco*, then Prince of *Mantua*; and the other to *Alphonso*, Prince of *Modena*; which was not done without much jealousie, that the Dukes, their Fathers, did privately partake in the same ends and designs: And at this very time another Marriage coming strangely to light, which was very privately treated of in *Rome* for the Prince of *Sulmona*, the Popes Nephew, with a natural Daughter of King *Henry*; it made people very jealous of the Popes Intention: This suspicion reached also to many of the Lords of *Rome*, which by many Arguments drawn from their indeavours and inclinations, seemed to follow King *Henries* party. King *Henry* was then in greater Fortune, Authority, and Grandezza, then peradventure any of the preceding Kings of *France* had for a long time been; he was admired by all Christendom; wherefore part of *Italy* being full of expectation, other part full of fear, of these so great preparations, *Italy* was partly inclined unto, and did tremble at the name and reputation of the French Forces: But to the end that the Differences touching *Montferrat* might not disturb so great hopes as were promised by this Conjunction; the Duke of *Savoy* thought it not good to look too narrowly into them then, though they fell into consideration in the conclusion of the Marriage with the Prince of *Mantua*; and therefore he thought it better to hasten the conclusion of that Marriage, leaving those differences undecided. On the contrary, the King of *Spain*, finding whether the confederacy or Affinity of the Italian Princes did at that time tend, and indeavouring to disturb it, laboured, though in vain, that the same Marriages might be crost; but King *Henries* so unexpected death, having either dissipated the ends, or allayed the jealousies of that so great Union; and the Duke being afterwards pacified, and joined with the King of *Spain*; and the Kingdom of *France* foregoing the Match with the Duke, as having, after the Kings death, entertained new Negotiations of a double Marriage with *Spain*, whereby *Lewis*, the new King of

France,

France was to marry the King of *Spains* eldest Daughter, and King *Lewis* his Sister, (she who in her Fathers time was intended for Prince *Victorio*, was also to marry the Prince of *Spain*; to the conclusion of which Marriages there was no let at that time, but the tender years of those that were to be married; Therefore the King and Court of *Spain* confiding much more in this new Conjunction, then they had formerly distrusted the Union of the Italian Princes, and their Intelligence with the French, did at the same time indeavour that the Marriage might be concluded between the Cardinal and the Dowager Dutchess; a thing which made very much for the preservation of peace in *Italy*, and for the new Union which was agreed on with the King of *France*. On the contrary, the Duke of *Savoy*'s intentions seemed to differ according to the condition of times, from what they were when he married his Daughter to the Prince of *Mantua*; for failing of the Grandezza which he hoped for if King *Henry* had lived, by his death, and by the streight Union of the two Crowns, he did not listen to the new Marriage of his Daughter; for that thereby his designs of inlarging his Principality by some other means, and the leaving it greater to his posterity, then he had received it from his Ancestors, would be disturbed: He saw *Montferrat*, a great State, and very convenient for him, as lying almost in the bosome of *Piedmont*, furnished but with few forces, and lesser Garisons, far from the City of *Mantua*, was now almost vacant, between the uncertain Succession of the off-spring which was to come, and his Nieces questionableness therein: He knew how many Reasons he himself had to pretend thereunto; how much the Dukes, his Predecessors, had laboured to get it; and having not only had it in his thoughts whilst his Son in law was alive, but given manifest signs of his desire thereof, he thought the occasion was now very ripe, and the time fit, to execute his secret designs of making himself easily Master thereof, if, when he should have got his Daughter and his Niece into his possession, he might honest his ends by the Title of Succession of the Male Issue which he hoped for by his Daughter, or at least by that of his Niece, who was already in being: and when by shewing those of *Montferrat* their true Lord and Master, he might either cunningly bring them to accept of him for the Protector of their State, and young Duke, or force them by arms to obey him: Nor were there some wanting who incouraged him in these designs by fair hopes and promises of the peoples rising.

Guido de Conti di S*t George* was then in the Court at *Turin*, the chief of the Nobility of *Montferrat*, rich in Inheritances and personal Estate, and powerful in friends and adherents: This man had not many years ago a Cardinal to his Uncle, of very much esteem; and who, as it was commonly believed, would have been Pope, had he not been kept from it (as was thought) by the contrary indeavours of Duke *Vincent*; who, it may be, was jealous to see a subject of his so highly exalted; or resenting the displeasure he had received from him, whilst being left Legat by Pope *Clement* the Eighth in *Ferrara*, which was but newly regained to the Church, he entred with Sword in hand into the State of *Mantua*, touching the difference of Confines; where he did much prejudice to the Towns neighbouring upon the State of *Ferrara*:

rara: and though the Count's Predeceſſors had formerly been riſed to great Authority and Honour, from but meaſ fortune, by the extraordinary favour of Duke *William*, Father to Duke *Vincent*; yet the memory of former good turns being of leſs force with the Count, then the prejudice and injury which he had newly received, he was but badly inclined to the Houſe of *Gonzaga*. And therefore not thinking himſelf looked upon by the Duke according to his quality, and that his ways were narrowly pry'd into, he had almoſt given over his Country, and was retired into *Piedmont*, where he was in no little Authority and favour with the Duke, by whom he was highly graced with the Order of the Annunciata, and other imployments and dignities; he being as much alienated in mind from his Prince, as in perſon from his Country, out of revenge, and out of hopes of further preferment, profeſt he had much Intelligence with the Inhabitants of *Monferrat*, and promiſed much to the Duke in their behalf. The recourſe and inclination which the Citizens of *Caſſalle*, and formerly to *Emanuel Philiberius*, Father to the preſent Duke of *Savoy*, when *William*, Duke of *Mantua*, uſurping upon their pretended liberties, got abſolute dominion over them, and their being ſtill but ill ſatisfied therewith, gave more of credit to theſe his promiſes. And as the buſineſs ſeemed in theſe reſpects to be eaſie enough of it ſelf to be effected, ſo neither did the Duke want other reaſons which would ſecure him from meeting with any impediments from elſewhere; for though *Monferrat*, and the Dukedom of *Mantua* had formerly been under the protection of *Spain*, wherefore the Dukes of *Savoy* not taking themſelves to the way of Arms, had only civilly made trial of right of Reaſon; yet this protection ſeemed to totter in the perſon of the Cardinal; for that he having in the Court of *Rome*, where he was choſen Protector of *France* by the Queen his Aunt, exerciſed that Charge not only with extraordinary affection and inclination to the French, but ſometimes much diſtaſted the Spaniſh Agents. He ſeemed upon occaſions to make leſs account of the favour and grace of that King and Nation; and though being by his Brothers death near poſſeſſing the Scepter, he thought it neither reaſonable nor fit for him to obey the Cardinal Protector of *France*; but neceſſary to preſerve the friendſhip and countenance under which his Anceſtors had for ſo many years happily injoyed the Principality; wherefore he had immediate recourſe to the King of *Spain* for the favour of his wonted protection, he could not as yet obtain his deſire, for the King deferred and protracted the expedition of this affair, not without much jealouſie in the Cardinal and in all his Court; wherefore the Duke, who was not ignorant of theſe difficulties, thought he might probably hope, that that King and Nation, either out of anger to the Cardinal, or for the ſafety of the State of *Milain*, for which it did not make that *Monferrat* (eſpecially in reſpect of the Citadel of *Caſſalle*) ſhould fall into the hands of a Prince in whom the Crown did not confide, and who having diſcovered himſelf to adhere to *France*, was likely to incline more thereunto in the future troubles, then unto its adverſary: and though, for the aforeſaid reaſons, the King had doubtleſſy more cauſe to ſuſpect the very perſon of Duke *Charles Emanuel*; yet (as the deſire of obtaining ones ends makes the means of obtaining

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in appear more likely and easie) he peradventure perswaded himself, that many other things would cause that King, and that Court, not to oppose his intention; the Alliance which he and Duke *Francis* his Sons had with him, the design which amidst these troubles the Kings party might peradventure have of securing themselves of *Casselle*; the desire which it was probable the King and his Officers might have of giving him satisfaction; so to avoid giving him occasion of disordering *Italy* again; and because it made not for the Kings advantage to satisfie him by the lessening his own Dominions, he thought that out of all, or out of some of the aforesaid Reasons, the King passing by his antient, and now doubtful protection of *Montferrat*, ought, at least, not to hinder him from possessing himself of that State whereunto he had long pretended: Hereunto was added the streight and antient friendship between the Duke and the new Governour of *Millain*; to whom, as to a chief Minister of State, the charge of acquainting the Court with the condition of the Affairs of *Italy*, doth belong: So that as the Authority and rigidness of Count *Fuentes* had continually hindred the Duke in compassing his ends and enterprises; so this mans easiness, and the great friendship which he profest to have for the Duke considered, it was thought they would make him more apt to attempt novelties; since he might assist the Dukes affairs sundry ways, at least till such time as the Duke having possest himself of a good part of *Montferrat*, the King might be necessitated (it being the lesser evil) to suffer him to keep it.

Don John, of the most noble Family of *Mendoza*, Marquess of *Inoiosa*, did then govern the State of *Millain*, Count *Fuentes* being dead a little before. He was newly raised to so great a Government, from a lesser condition, by the extraordinary favour of the Duke of *Lerma*, whose Creature he was. The Duke of *Savoy* had given him, many years before, the Marquesate of *St. Germain*, in acknowledgment and reward for the service which he had formerly done him in the Wars against the French; and therefore being made Governor of *Millain* some Months before, he in his passage entered into *Asti*, where he was received with great civilities by the Duke, and much private discourse past between them. In these very Ruptures, Count *Guido*, who had deserved very well of the Crown of *Spain*, and was a great Confident to the whole Spanish Nation; for having fought on the Kings behalf in the wars of *Flanders*; past several times secretly between *Turin* and *Millain*, and had had private discourse with the Governour of *Inoiosa*; wherefore, and for the news which was given out in *Italy* of great gifts that he had received from the Duke, he was much suspected in the troubles which insued after between these Princes: and as out of the aforesaid Reasons the Duke thought the Court of *Spain* might favour him in this Enterprise; so he imagined upon better grounds, that he had no reason to doubt the French. For he had found, two years before, by his own experience, how much that Queen did detest war in the Kingdom during the minority of her Son; and though her Nephew the Cardinals danger should make her take a contrary resolution, it was to be believed that those Forces and those Succours would rather have been prejudicial then of any help to the Adversary, as those which would infallibly

infallibly have made the Spaniards join in favour with the Duke, against the Cardinal, as against one who did trouble *Italy*; and who, with little of reputation or safety to the Kings Dominions, did call in Forreign Nations, a thing which was much abhorr'd by the Spaniards in this Province. As for the Princes of *Italy*, he thought them much less able to disturb his Enterprise, since not any one of them, whilst the King was favourable unto him, could succour *Monferrat*, which was far distant from all their Dominions, and every where surrounded by the State of *Milan*, *Piedmont*, and by the River of *Genoa*. He was likewise incouraged by many things wherein he knew he did far exceed the Cardinal: the Authority he had won by being esteemed a Prince of great Courage, Sagacity, exceeding diligent, and very dexterous at all great affairs: Besides moreover, by his long experience, very well acquainted with the affairs of the world, and well versed in State Affairs, by reason of his intelligence held with many Christian Princes: That he was by the natural disposition, by his long experience in war, far much the more of his Military Affairs, in that he was not to be equall'd there in by any Prince of those times: The opinion which was held of his Vnwary and warlike Spirit, practised both in good and bad Fortune, which made him capable of any whatsoever weighty employments; that he was, for State and natural forces, a Prince powerfull enough in *Italy*; and that by reason of his confining upon many warlike nations he might easily come by many Souldiers, which he might feed in the fertile soil of *Piedmont*: Wherefore thinking that all difficulties were to yield to his will and courage, he imagined that Cardinal *Ferdinando*, being as yet but a young man, newly seated in his Principality, wanting many of those things wherein he knew himself did so much abound, not being able to contend with him upon such disadvantages, would either yield unto him, or at last come to some composition, as *Francis Guicciardine*, and *Francis Villerogi*, had formerly done with his Progenitor *Amadeus*.

Having considered all these things, and being of a great Spirit, and full of extraordinary confidence; and incited by an ardent desire of inlarging the limits of his Dominions (a thing which over-sways all other humane affections) being moreover inflamed with indignation for the injury which he afterwards pretended was done him; they appeared greater, and more secure to him, then peradventure they would prove; they therefore prevailed more with him then the consideration of any difficulties which he was likely to meet with in this his resolution; which either not dreaming of, or not caring for, he thought it necessary, as it becomes all great Spirits to do, to make use of the present condition of times; thinking (as he was wont to say) that they would be as favourable unto him, as they had been contrary to his Grandfather, when by the Decree of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, he was excluded the possession of *Monferrat*: Therefore neither wholly refusing, nor yet wholly consenting to his Daughters Marriage, he demanded that he should first come into *Piedmont*, and bring her Daughter with her; and that his pretensions to *Monferrat* should first be decided, under pretence that he would have no cause of contention left behind him and Cardinal *Ferdinando*, when he should be become his Son in law.

It was not yet three Moneths since Duke *Francis* his death; and therefore, though it was not certain whether the Dowager Dutchess was with child, or no, yet the thought thereof growing daily less, and the Cardinal being with some resentment incited thereunto by the Duke her Father, he at last consented that she should return to *Piedmont*: And he began to take upon him the Government of the State in his own name, without any consideration of the Child that might be born, and took upon him the Title of Duke of *Mantua*, not foregoing that of Cardinal. The indeavours nor hopes of the future Matriage, were, notwithstanding, quite given over when the Dowager Dutchess departed: wherefore when she was ready to take her leave, she intreated the new Duke, even with tears in her eyes, that he would give her leave to carry her Daughter (at least) to *Modena*, that she might be brought up there with her Sister *Isabella*, where she did rather chuse to live, then to return, without her Daughter, home to her Father: Upon the occasion of her departure, Prince *Victorio* was again returned from *Turin* to *Mantua*, and Princess *Isabella* her self from *Modena*, who joyning in their fervent intreaties with the Dowager Dutchess, they indeavoured to make Duke *Ferdinando* grant her request: The young Prince could not gainsay such Intercessors, though he had formerly refused many other indeavours to the same purpose: Being therefore overcome by the intreaties of these Princes, or wrought upon by the tears and affectionate speeches of the Mother, he condescended to a request of so great Importance; but upon condition, that the Duke of *Modena* should return back his Niece whensoever he or the Emperour should desire; and that in case her Mother should return to *Turin*, the Match unconcluded, the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Modena* should be obliged to send her back to *Mantua*.

This Agreement being yielded unto upon Prince *Victorio's* Paroll, if it were not the chief cause, and original of the troubles which did afterwards insue, was a great occasion of their commencement; but the Duke of *Modena* foreseeing how much trouble and difficulty he might incur if he should meddle in this affair; and how hard it would be for him to keep the condition stipulated without offending some of the parties; and perchance also the Emperour or the King, if they should demand the young Lady, and being unwilling to enter into Oaths or Cautions, required of him by the Duke of *Mantua*, absolutely refused to receive her: Wherefore the Dowager Dutchess and the young Prince, failing in this their hope, returned to *Piedmont* without the young Lady. When they were come to *Millain*, the Governour desiring their satisfaction, did of himself mediate with the Duke of *Mantua*, that the Niece might be left with him upon the same conditions, which not being granted him, he desired that the Duke of *Modena* would oblige himself to stand to covenanted Conditions; which having at last, but not without the Duke of *Savoys* urgent pressing, obtained, *Don Diego di Leva* was suddenly dispatch'd away from *Millain* to *Mantua*, to see the first Agreement executed: but the Duke of *Mantua's* mind was for many respects already altered; for no small commotion was raised in his Court; nor were there small complaints made of him for this his so easie consenting to trust his Niece with others; and the great desire

the Governour had to have her by any whatſoever means out of his hands, made him look more narrowly into the importancy of the buſineſs: It was alſo ſaid by many, That when ſhe ſhould be come to *Millain* many would ſwear Loyalty to her. Hereunto was added *Ceſar's* command touching the recreation of his Niece, which peradventure he had forgot when he promiſed to part with her: And that which bore moſt weight with it was, He thought himſelf free from his promiſe, which being made when the Duke of *Modena* tied himſelf to Conditions in the diſpoſing of her, the Duke having already diſſented, all Obligations ſeemed to be diſſolved, which without a new Agreement could not be in their full former vigor, by the ſole conſent of the ſaid *Modena*. Being therefore become more wary out of the aforeſaid reſpects, he would not again commit the ſame fault whereof he thought he was as happily acquitted as he eaſily had at firſt run into, by his good nature, and (as he himſelf ſaid afterwards) through an exceſs of love: wherefore the Biſhop of *Dioceſarea*, who was in his Court, being ſent to *Millain*, the Duke was not ſo ſtrict in ſatisfying thoſe Princes and the Governour, as that the Biſhop, who was a great Confident of the Dutcheſs, ſhould appeaſe her anger for this his new denial, by keeping the Treaty of Marriage on foot: But the Reaſons alledged by the Biſhop were not admitted of by the Prince; for pretending that whenſoever the Duke of *Modena* had accepted of the demanded Conditions the Promiſe ſhould, without all queſtion, have been obſerved to them, he complained freely thereof in a Letter ſent back by the ſame Biſhop; and going with his Siſter from *Millain*, he went to *Vercelly*, where they were much expected by the Duke their Father. The Duke of *Savoy* thought himſelf much injured, that his Daughter, contrary to his will, had been ſo long detained, that his Niece was denied him, wherein, he ſaid, the word paſs'd to his Son was broken; and hereupon he took occaſion, under pretence of juſt reſentment, to aſſault, and make himſelf Maſter of *Montferrat*.

Whil'ſt the Duke of *Savoy* was wholly intent upon this, the Biſhop returned with Authority from Duke *Ferdinando* to conclude the Marriage, whereof the Governour had the firſt time given him no ſmall hopes; and with Commiſſion alſo to ſatisfie Prince *Victorio* by word of mouth, touching the complaints contained in his Letter: Wherefore being ſent by the Governour to *Vercelly*, the Duke of *Savoy*, who would not liſten to the two things, concerning which the Biſhop was ſent, began to preſs his pretentions to *Montferrat* hard upon him, and the aſſignation of his Grandchild, touching which he had no Commiſſion to ſay any thing: There were at this time in *Piedmont* between three and four thouſand Souldiers liſted, part of thoſe that were raiſed at the time of King *Henries* death, and were not disbanded, though the King was pacified with the Duke; and though they had been often demanded by the Queen of *France*, to free thoſe of *Genoa* from the apprehenſions they had of them, or to ſecure the peace of the Kingdom from the ſcandals that might thereby ariſe: Yet the Duke, appearing willing to diſmiſs them, feigning ſometimes to do ſo, by ſending ſome of their Companies out of his State, he concealed the reſt as much as he might, diſtributing them into ſeveral parts of *Piedmont*: At laſt

when the Duke his Son in law was dead, he had fill'd up their numbers, professing openly that he would make use of them against those of *Bearne*, in recovery of some Castles which they had taken from his Ancestors; but his Son in law being dead, and growing warm in his endeavours for his Grand-child, and in his pretentions, he intended to make use of them in the enterprize of *Monferrat*.

Monferrat being divided into two several bodies, may for the clearer understanding thereof, be distinguished into two parts; the upper on this side *Tanaro*, and the lower on the other side of *Tanaro*: The latter, which lies more Southwardly, is between the River of *Savona*, and the Territories of *Asti* and *Alessandria*; there is in it two Cities, *Acqui*, and *Alba*, and two Forts, *San Damiano*, and *Ponsone*: But the upper part of *Monferrat*, which is much greater then the lower, begins just where the River *Sessa* falls into the *Po*, and extending it self towards the Alpes, between the Territories of *Vercelli* and *Asti*, doth inter it self, or rather loseth it self in *Piedmont*, and coming within six miles of *Turin*, draws nearer the foot of the Alpes: the *Po* runs along the length of this part; there are no strong Holds in it but *Casale*, the Metropolis and Frontier of the whole State towards *Millain*; and *Trino*, which confines upon *Vercelli*, *Montcalvo*, and *Asti*; for what remains, it is not divided from *Piedmont*, either by Rivers or Mountains, or secured by any Fort: The Boundeurs of particular places do distinguish the Jurisdiction of the two Princes. This State was not any way prepared for so sudden an assaule; for the Duke of *Mantua*'s Officers, and all the Inhabitants, being comforted in expectation of the Marriage which was in Treaty, thought themselves to be in secure peace, and looked for nothing less then to be assaulted; and so much the less, for that to boot with *Monferrat*, having been always in the Kings protection, whereby they thought they should not be subject to novelties; Duke *Ferdinando* was also assured by the Governour of *Millain*, that the Duke of *Savoy* would not move without his knowledge; and that, howsoever, he would be ready to assist him: and under colour of not giving the *Savoyard* further occasion of Arming, the Governour had exhorted the *Mantuan* to cashier many of the *Monferrat* Militia, and to Quarter them elsewhere, who were Mustered in that State since his Brothers death; whereefore the Duke of *Savoy* making use of this occasion, resolved to invade *Monferrat* by night in several parts, on the Twenty second of *April*; and having ordered the Count *de Verrua*, and Captain *Alessandro Guerrino*, to move at the appointed time; the latter from *Chiarasco*, whereof he was Governour, to fall upon *Alba*; and the other from *Asti*, to possess himself of *Montcalvo*: He himself, accompanied by the Princes, *Victorio* and *Thomaso*, his eldest and his youngest Sons, by Count *Ubaldo* S. *George*, and other Lords of *Piedmont*, parted from *Vercelli* with 600 Foot, some Troops of Horse, and Carriages of Ammunition, and marched that very night towards *Trino*; whither being come a little before day break, he sent the Commendator *della Motta* with some Souldiers to fasten a Petarde; after whom he sent 300 Provincials, commanded by Captain *Rovigliasco*; and keeping a little behind with the rest of his men, he waited till when the Petard should have play'd he might enter together with them: The mean

while

while he sent some to take a Castle near the *Po*, called *Gabbiano*, which yielded without making any resistance. The Portcullies of *Trino* was beaten in two by the Petard; but *Motta* advancing further to force the Gate with another Petard, which was prepared for that purpose, whilst meeting with some hinderance, some little delay was made; the day began to clear up; and these within getting upon the Walls, slew the Petardier, and hurt some others by Musquet shot, amongst which the Commandator *della Motta*, the Barons of *Hermansa*, and *Ternone*: Wherefore the Duke, failing in his first design of surprising that Town, betook himself to play upon the walls with Artillery which he had caused to be brought from *Vercelli*; and to keep off succour he cut a Trench cross the way which leads from *Cassalle*, placing some Horse in Garison there, and some Souldiers to guard the way which leads to *Palazzolo*, *Fontanero*, and *Torneny*, places near to *Monsferrat*; The Militia of which places, hearing of the Dukes coming, marched to get into *Trino*, but were beaten back by the Commandator *della Motta*: The number of the Dukes men multiplied this mean while by the coming in of more; and the Battery being begun by Cannon, and being by approches advanced to certain Kills, from whence they might commodiously play upon the Walls, and then give an Assault; those of the Town, the third day after the first assault, surrendered the Town of their own accord, their Lives, Goods, and Priviledges, being preserved: The rewards promised him by the Duke of *Savoy*, and Intelligence held with Count *Guido*, were of more force with the Captain of that Place, then the Loyalty which he owed to his Prince. This Count writ to his friends, that these Arms were taken up for the preservation of that State on the behalf of the Princess *Mary*, to whom he said it did of right belong; for which he was afterwards banish'd, and branded, with other accustomed punishments, as guilty of high Treason: The same night the City of *Alba* was assaulted and taken by *Guerrini*; who having fallen upon the Walls on sundry sides, by break of day, with 600. Foot, and a Troop of Horse, threw down the Gate towards *Tanaro* with a Petard; by which the Souldiers entering, and scaling the Walls in other parts, they made themselves Masters thereof without much opposition, before the Citizens could put themselves in order to defend the Walls; amongst which the Cavalier *della Motta*, the chief man of the City, was slain, together with some others: and *Silvio Via*, Captain of Horse, who kept the Castle for Duke *Ferdinand*, being abandoned, was quickly forced to surrender it: The City was this mean while miserably sack'd by the Dukes Souldiers; yet women were kept unviolated, and sacred things un-injured, otherwise then was done in other parts of *Monsferrat*: yet they proceeded severely with the Bishop of that place; for being violently drag'd from the sacred Altar, where he was upon his knees, he was ill beaten, and had a Ring pluck'd off which he wore upon his finger; and being led Prisoner in shamefull manner through the City, he was forc'd to purchase his liberty with his monies; which when he had disburs'd, he had notwithstanding a Guard put upon him in his own Palace, and at last forced to forego the City, and to keep in *Nivello*, a place belonging to the Empire: It was thought that the Duke of *Savoy* held Intelligence here also; for some

whom the Prince did suspect were Imprisoned afterwards. *Alba* being taken and sack'd, all the Towns and Villages thereabouts came into *Guerrini*, for fear of being plundred, and of having their Country laid waste; *Diano*, a neighbouring Castle, and of some consideration, yielded unto him within three days; but the assault which was intended to be given that very night to *Montcalvo*, was deferr'd till the next night; for the Souldiers who were deputed thereunto did a little delay their coming to *Asti*; from whence Count *Verrua* parting the next night with a good number both of Foot and Horse, he sent the Cavalier *Redortiers* before to fasten a Petard: Some Companies of *Montferrians* were already gotten into that Town; and yet the Town being very weak, and abandoned by the Garison, it was taken at the first Assault, and also sack'd; but greater provisions being requisite for taking the Castle, which was strongly scituated, *Verrua* returned to *Asti*; from whence he sent more men and Artillery, and began diligently to oppugne it. The mean while the Duke published a *Manifesto* in Print, wherein relating what had past between him and Duke *Ferdinando* in relation to the Dowager Dutchess his Daughter, the Princess his Grand-child, and his pretentions to *Montferrat*; he complained that Duke *Ferdinando* had not kept his word to the Prince *Victorio*; and replied unto the Reasons alledged to the contrary; and by a short Narrative of his right to *Montferrat*, indeavoured to justifie what he had done: He therefore supplicated the Pope, the Emperour, the Catholick King, and all the Princes of Christendom, that they would approve of this his taking up of Arms, in just resentment of the injuries done him by the Duke of *Mantua*, and for the recovery of what had been so unjustly taken from his Ancestors, and so long possest by his Adversaries, so much to his prejudice; concluding that he would not refuse to listen unto, and to accept of such Propositions as should be offered unto him for the accommodation of these differences, if they were accompanied with reason and conveniency. And to make men conceive the better of this Enterprise, and make himself the more formidable, he gave out that he held Intelligence with the King of *England*, and with the States of *Holland*; from whom he expected great succour by Sea.

The End of the first Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book II.

The Contents.

THE Wars of Montferrat *is continued to be related; as also the Provisions and Negotiations made by the Duke of* Mantua *and other Princes. The Surrender of the Castle of* Montcalvo: *The oppugning of* Nizza della Paglia: *Prince* Victorio's *going to* Spain: *Orders sent from that Court to* Italy, *touching the protection of* Montferrat, *and the Restitution of the Towns that were taken. In execution whereof* Nizza *is freed, and the other Towns restored to the Duke of* Mantua. *The War of* Garfagnana, *between the Duke of* Modena *and the Common-wealth of* Lucca; *which being accommodated by peace, the business of* Montferrat *is reassumed, and divers Negotiations pass between the Dukes of* Savoy *and* Mantua; *which whilst they are in Treaty,* Spains *final Resolution comes touching the quiet of* Italy, *and the security of* Montferrat: *Prince* Victorio *returns to* Italy *badly satisfied with the King and Court of* Spain.

WHen the Princes of *Italy* had news of these Commotions, and heard of what had happened in *Montferrat*, they were not a little astonished; For foreseeing the mischiefs that were threatened *Italy* thereby, no man could imagine how the Duke had begun that War, to the so great prejudice of the publick Peace, and to the so great danger of the Common Affairs: Being much perplexed, they argued, out of circumstances, and by probabilities, whether it were done merely out of the Dukes own deliberation, or by participation had,

had, and Intelligence held with the Court of *Spain*. It was hard for them to perswade themselves, that that King should consent to the oppression of a State, the protection whereof he had ever sincerely professed; especially since it was impossible this should happen without causing commotions in *Italy*, and without making way for Forreign Nations to enter; things totally repugnant to those sound Fundations, whereupon the safety of his Dominions, and the power of his Authority was so happily built: But it did no less repugne the total Affairs of his Crown, that the Duke of *Savoy* should add so rich, and so well peopled a Dukedom to his Dominions, it being so near, and lying so opportunely for the State of *Millain*, lest his Power being thereby doubled, he might have a mind to novelties, and that afterwards aiming at greater matters, he might bend his thoughts to the prejudice of the Publick Peace; or at least, if he should keep quiet, he would be less pliable, and depend less upon the Authority of that Crown. The Dukes natural Genius made this opinion appear more probable; it being hard for him to confine himself within the boundeurs of his own Fortune; wherefore he had been hardly detained formerly from shewing the bad satisfaction which was discovered to be in him, and contrary to the ends of that Crown, and to his last streight Intelligence held with King *Henry* of *France*; which being accompanied by Arms, and by the conjuncture of Times, had made it appear how much disdain, and the desire of greater Affair, had prevailed over him; wherefore all augmentation of Power or Authority was to be apprehended in him. Yet notwithstanding (as men are naturally easie to believe those things which they fear most) there were but very few who did not firmly believe the contrary; as not believing that the Duke would have begun such a business upon his own bottome, whereby he would have drawn *France* upon his back, and have irritated *Italy*: They therefore concluded, it was impossible he should have put himself and his own Affairs into so manifest trouble, unless he had been back'd by that King.

This opinion was the more confirmed by the slow proceedings of the *Spaniards* to extinguish this fire which the Duke had kindled; and this, in process of time, did so much increase this opinion, as the many evident demonstrations which the King did by his actions manifest (the which, the more evident they were, the more were they interpreted to a hidder sence) were not sufficient to remove it: The more every one did believe this, the more were they puzzled in finding out the ends which could make that King and his State Ministers put on such a resolution: And as the supposing of this proved afterwards vain, so of necessity must they be but rave concerning their imagined ends. Many believed that they were permitted this enterprize, to the end that they might by terror of Arms get that young Lady, which they could not do by Authority or inde vours: Others reasoning more subtilly, suspected that they might willingly foment dissention between these Princes, out of hopes that the Duke of *Mantua*, not being able of himself to defend that State, should (as he had often formerly indeavoured) change it upon disadvantagious terms; the greater part whereof he should have divided with the Duke of *Savoy*, out of a desire to make himself

himself master of the Castle of *Casalle*. Those who discourſed more moderately, thought, that the Kings State Miniſters were willing to ſee the Duke of *Mantua* reduced to theſe ſtreights, to neceſſitate him to have recourſe to their King, to the end that being either favour'd or disfavour'd by him therein, it might be known how much the adherence of that Crown did redound to the advantage of the Princes of *Italy*. Thoſe of *Italy* being agitated by theſe thoughts, and doubtful what the ſequel would prove, they were not leſs anxious for fear of the future miſchief, then uncertain what remedies to prepare which might be adequate to the eminent danger. The mean while the Dukes forces cauſed great commotion and fear in *Montferrat*, where like thunder the blow was felt, before the lightning was ſeen. That State was then unprovided of Arms, Men, or Ammunition, with a powerful Enemy within the bowels thereof, who had already made himſelf maſter of two of her chief Towns, and was ready to take the third; and who pillaged many Towns and Villages, abandoned by their Inhabitants, who yielding to the Enemy, ran readily to ſwear fealty unto him. The Governour, and Mantuan Officers, ſurprized at ſo unexpected an accident, were aſtoniſhed, thinking no leſs of their own weakneſs to defend themſelves, then on the Dukes readineſs to offend them, they much diſtruſted the chief Montferratins, whom they knew to be compar'd with by Count *Guido* againſt their Prince. They likewiſe diſtruſted the Governour of *Millain*, by reaſon of his dearneſs with the Duke of *Savoy*; out of the ordinary ambition of Agents, to advantage their Maſters condition, by any whatſoever way: and much more, finding how little his actions did anſwer to his preceding promiſes; when either to appeaſe them, or to bereave them of neceſſary proviſion upon ſuch like occaſions, he aſſured them, that the Duke of *Savoy* would not move, or if he did, that he would oppoſe him in defence of *Montferrat*. Being uncertain therefore what to do, all things were full of terrour, tumult, and confuſion, which was made the greater by the miſerable Country people, and by the inhabitants of weaker Towns, either aſſaulted, or expoſed to be aſſaulted by the Enemy; who therefore to ſhun the calamities of War, and the exceſſive cruelty of the Dukes Souldiers, ran half naked, with their Wives, and Children, into *Caſalle* and the neighbouring parts of *Millain*, filling ſome with compaſſion, and ſome with great terrour.

Carlo de Roſſi, one of *Parma*, did then govern *Montferrat*, who had immediately diſpatcht away *Manfrino Caſtilliane*, a Gentleman of *Millain*, an experienced Commander in the Wars of *Hungary*, and Lieutenant-General of that part of *Montferrat*, to beyond *Tanaro*; and ſent divers other Captains to other places, providing where he thought it moſt neceſſary to do ſo. And yet ſeeing the Enemy ſtrong in the State, and therefore conſidering the preſent miſchief, before the future evil; he reſolved, though in vain, to have recourſe for help to the Governour of *Millain*; and being reſolved to relieve *Trino*, he indeavour'd to ſend in 2000 foot thither, who might enter in privately by night, before it ſhould be ſurrendered. But as they were paſſing over certain waters, (being people taken up here and there, and unexperienced) they were ſo aſtoniſhed at the hearing of Gun-ſhot, as they ſhamefully turned

back, and left the Powder and Ammunition which they brought to relieve the place, in the Enemies hands. In this so great and sudden perturbation, the unexpected coming of *Charles Gonsaga*, Duke of *Nevers* from *France*, was of no small moment; who going at that time upon other occasions to *Rome*, came with two Galleys to *Savona*; where hearing of the Duke of *Savoy's* March, of the taking of *Alba*, and that divers other places were besieged, left his journey, and went immediately to *Casalle*: It is not to be expresst with what joy and consolation he was there received by people of all ages and conditions. His Father *Lodowick* was son to *Frederick Gonsaga*, by *Margaret Paleologa*: but his elder brother *George*, succeeding by birth-right in the State, he went to *France*, where he served that Crown long, and married the daughter of the Duke of *Nevers*, one of the Peers of *France*. Who inheriting that State, together with other Territories, and the honour of Peer of *France*, conveyed them all over to this *Charles*. Who being inricht with so many Possessions, so great Allies, and Titles of Honour, he is numbred amongst the chiefest Lords of that Kingdom. The people did therefore rejoyce infinitely, seeing a Prince come into their relief, who was considerable for his quality, for his known valour, and for the confidence they had in him, by reason of his relation to that State, and to the Lord thereof: but chiefly for the extraordinary affection he shewed, to imploy his life in their service; and comforted them with unquestion'd succour which he assured them they should soon receive from *France*. Duke *Ferdinando*, hearing the unexpected news of the taking of his Towns, and not being able in so short a time to do much, he betook himself for help to his Friends, and to the Authority and favour of the chiefest Christian Princes; particularly to *France*; from whence, both in respect of the Queen, and of that Nation to which he had been so kind, he had as much reason to expect succour, as he thought he might distrust assistance from *Spain*. But having received Letters in the very instant of these ruptures, from *Spain*, of the so long desired protection of that Crown; though the Duke of *Savoys* unexpected onset, and the Spanish Agents proceedings, made him somewhat jealous thereof; yet considering how far distant assistance from *France* was, how hard to get, and in several respects how uncertain, he indeavour'd by Letters, and by expres Messengers sent to *Millain*, to make the Governour thereof secure the eminent danger of that State, according as he had promised to do. And to the end he might prepare for his defence, no less by Reason, then by Arms, and the favour of his Friends; he also published a *Manifesto* in answer to that made by the Duke of *Savoy*; wherein amongst other things he complained, that when he had an Embassadour in that Dukes Court to treat of new alliances with him, he had assaulted his State unexpectedly by night, contrary to the Laws of God and Nations; and that having surprized his principal Towns, he had committed Rapine, Plunder, and all kinds of cruelty against all sorts of people; not pardoning the chastity of Virgins, nor sacred ornaments, dedicated to the Worship of God; and that he had also exercised his savageness upon the lives of poor Priests. Then re-assuming the treaties held with Prince *Victorio*, at his parting from *Mantua*; he shewed that he was absolved from his word given

gainsaying the reasons alledged by the Duke of *Savoy* touching his pretences to *Montferrat*, by the Authority of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth's Decree; he added, he had notwithstanding been ready to do that by the way of friendship, which had been awarded him by competent Judges; But that the Duke of *Savoy*, contrary to all reason, and contrary to the Institutions of his Ancestours, who had treated of these differences in a civil manner with the Emperours, had by force of Arms been his own carver: That therefore he was not against the Popes, the Emperours, and all Christian Princes, being against him, if they should approve of his adversaries actions as just; but that, on the contrary, he did earnestly pray and supplicate the said Princes, that seeing him so unjustly assaulted in his own Dominions, they would appear in his favour against those Arms which had been taken up so scandalously, and to the disturbance of the Common peace and quiet, to deprive him of that State which had been so lawfully possest by him and his predecessors: And not seeing the Governour of *Millain* any ways concerned in so great a novelty; nor having been able to work upon him by Letters or Embassies, he resolved to go himself in person to *Millain*. But this, as all his other indeavours, proved vain; for the Governour, though he had been injoyn'd the protection of *Montferrat* in his general Instructions; yet he excused the slowness of his proceedings, pretending that he would not give an occasion of War between the King and Duke, by taking up Arms, without particular order from the Court. And yet that the Duke of *Mantua* might not depart without having obtained any thing of him, he gave way that *Don Hercole Gonza*, and the Count *Di San Secondo* should go with their *Gens d'Arms* from *Millain* to the defence of *Montferrat*, and that all the Souldiers which should be sent thither from *Mantua*, might pass through the State of *Millain*. Moreover, to raise jealousie in the Duke of *Savoys* Dominions, he sent some Companies of Spanish Foot to the Confines of *Vercelles*, but with express command not to go further. And having given order for the raising of 4000 Swissers, he deputed *Lodovico Gambaloita*, and *Jeronimo Rho*, Camp-masters, to raise two Regiments of 3000 Foot apece in *Lombardy*; which being done but slowly, for want of money, they were no proportionate remedy for the present evil; for *Montferrat* was likely to be left in prey to the Enemy, unless it were speedily and powerfully succour'd. Duke *Ferdinando* return'd therefore from *Millain*, ill satisfied; and by this rigidness arguing but little of good that was intended him from *Spain*, and therefore despairing of help from thence, he forbore not to express it. The mean while he sent his brother *Vincenzo* into *Montferrat* with 500 Horse and 1000 Foot; and having sent notice to *France* of his condition, he expected succour from thence; but for all this his cause was stuck unto by the Italian Princes; for the Venetians, and the great Duke of *Toscany*, weighing the importance of this business, and the consequences which might succeed thereupon, declared themselves on the behalf of the Duke of *Mantua*; the State of *Venice* resolved to pay a certain sum of money for the maintaining of the Cittadel of *Casalle*; and both they and the great Duke gave themselves diligently to raise Souldiers for the relieve of *Montferrat*; lest the Duke of *Savoy* holding intelligence with the King of *Spain* might

ſhare therein with him; or if there were no intelligence between them, that by moleſting Duke *Ferdinando*, the King might neceſſitate him, when he ſhould be abandoned by his friends, to throw himſelf into the arms of the ſaid King, and by exchange for ſomewhat of leſs value, ſurrender *Montferrat* unto him, which he could not by any other means keep from his adverſary; and ſo the condition of *Italy* might be impaired by ſuch a change. A conſideration which many thought might as well have kept the Duke of *Savoy* from ſuch novelty; becauſe it would be more inconvenient for him, then for any other, that *Montferrat*; which was as it were in the bowels of *Piedmont*, and ſo very near *Turin*, ſhould be poſſeſt by the Spaniards, who by building Forts in fitting places, might keep him in perpetual ſubjection. This Counſel was not therefore generally approved of, whoſe wiſdom every one deſired might at this time have been greater, and that it might have prevailed over his deſire of poſſeſſing himſelf of *Montferrat*, or over his reſentment of the injury he conceived he had received; and that temporizing, according to the example of his Predeceſſours, he might have waited for other opportunities and occaſions, whereby he might have experimented his Title, or his Fortune, without indangering the quiet of *Italy*, more to his own conveniency, and with leſs danger to others. But the news of theſe commotions being heard in *France*, though they cauſed much trouble there, yet the Queen being reſolute not to occaſion any alteration in her Kingdom by taking up Arms, after many conſultations, held it beſt to betake her ſelf to thoſe means by which not many years before ſhe had compoſed the Duke of *Savoys* affairs. She therefore reſolved to aſſiſt her Nephew in a civil way: eſpecially ſince in regard of the double alliance between her children, and thoſe of the King of *Spain*, from the concluſion whereof a ſtrict union was expected, and a firmer friendſhip then had been formerly hoped for between thoſe two Crowns: ſhe had juſt reaſon to be confident her mediation and indeavours would not prove vain in that Court. But on the other ſide, for the Kingdoms greater honour, and the more ſafety of her Nephews affairs, ſhe gave out that ſhe would aſſiſt him by Arms; and made ſome preparations, more in ſhew then reality; which being afterwards heard upon the Confines of *Savoy*, cauſed ſome jealouſie in the Duke; and it may be the news of their coming was not without ſome good to *Italy*. This mean while, the Duke of *Savoy*, ſeeing his Counſels favour'd by ſucceſs, much more then he had reaſon to hope for; little apprehending the far-off Forces of *France*, and being confident that the Spaniard would not trouble him nearer hand; eſpecially ſince Prince *Victorio* was return'd to *Piedmont*, not without ſatisfaction from *Millain*; whence he had ſent thither, to let the Governour know, how well it became the King, in point of honour, to reſent the injury that was done him in the perſons of his children; Therefore growing daily bolder, and ſpreading his ſailes broader to the proſperous winds of Fortune, he advanced farther in the conqueſt of *Montferrat*; not puniſhing thoſe who withſtood him, more with Fire and Sword, then thoſe with extraordinary Contributions who had willingly ſubmitted; inſomuch as in a ſhort time he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the upper *Montferrat*. Where the Souldiers trampling upon all things both

ſacred and profane, made the Inhabitants, without any diſtinction of age or ſex undergo all the evils and adverſities which the licentiouſneſs, avarice, and libidinouſneſs of War could occaſion: So as the Dukes name became ſhortly no leſs odious, then formidable; though to prevent ſcandal, and inconvenience, and to acquit himſelf of ſo great exceſſes, he had cauſed ſome of his moſt inſolent Souldiers to be ſeverely puniſhed. And being incouraged and grown proud by ſucceſs, and not thinking that any of the Italian Princes could oppoſe him in this enterpriſe, though they did not approve thereof, he recalled his Embaſſadour from *Venice*, and diſmiſt the Venetian Embaſſadour that was reſident with him, as the Embaſſadour of a Prince that was his Enemy: Not complaining ſo much that the Common-wealth had declared it ſelf to adhere to his adverſary, as of the manner how; becauſe no indeavours had preceded the Senates Declaration, as ſeemed fitting to have been done to a Prince that was a friend: And underſtanding at the ſame time that *Innocenzo de Maßimi*, Biſhop of *Bertinoro*, and Vice-Legat of *Ferrara*, who was ſent unto him upon the preſent Occurrences, with the Title of Extraordinary Nuntio, had indeavoured ſomewhat, with the Governour of *Millain*, tending to the favour of Duke *Ferdinando*; he forbore giving him Audience for ſome days, making uſe of his conceived anger as of a pretence wherefore not to liſten to his propoſals, and conſequently not to ſlacken the War by any Treaty of Peace: But not knowing how, civilly to avoid the coming of *Franciſco Gonzaga*, Prince of *Caſtiglione*, who was come to *Piedmont* from the Emperour, though he was unwillingly come to Treat with him, as equally ſuſpecting the perſon ſent, and the ſender; and deteſting the occaſion of his coming, yet he reſolved to give him Audience in *Moncalleri*.

The Prince had order from *Ceſar* to threaten him with an Imperial Bando, or an Edict of the Emperour againſt him, unleſs he ſhould inſtantly reſtore the places he had taken, and forbear further offending *Montferrat* with Arms, which was a State held in fee-Farm from the Empire; but the Prince not thinking it a ſeaſonable time to exaſperate the Duke, mitigating his Embaſſie, and turning the Threat into Exhortations, perſwaded him to purſue his pretentions by Law, and not by Arms. It was ſore for the Duke to interrupt this ſo fortunate way which he was in, and to withdraw when he was almoſt poſſeſs'd of Victory: He therefore bethought himſelf to take occaſion by this preſent ſtop, of juſtifying his Cauſe, and not refraining his proceedings, to propoſe ſuch Articles, as not being likely to be accepted by his Adverſary, might neceſſitate him to declare a difference in the King of *Spain*, and might conſequently win himſelf more favour from that Crown. His Anſwer was, That he was ready to deſiſt from the Enterpriſe; and referring the whole difference to *Ceſar* and the King, that he would depoſite the Towns of *Montferrat* into their hands, which was no more then to put them abſolutely into the hands of the King, and of his State-Miniſters, of whom *Ferdinando* was jealous, for the aforeſaid Reaſons, which jealouſie was increaſed in him by this his Adverſaries ſo great confidence: For *Ceſar* having no Forces in *Italy* would not in likelihood make any uſe of the truſt impoſed in him, but by way of colour:

And

And yet the Prince of *Castiglione*, who was not diffident of the Court of *Spain*, as the Duke was, was not displeased with the proposal, especially as the present condition of affairs stood: He therefore went for *Mantua*, believing certainly to perswade the Duke thereunto; but he found himself absolutely averse; were it either out of the aforesaid Reasons, or for that *Cesar* had by Letters exhorted him not to admit of any middle way, without being first fully possessed of all things, or that he began to be of better hopes, finding that he was favoured by the Venetians and great Duke, and that he began to find the King of *France* well inclined towards him.

In this Interim *Montcalvo* was surrendered to Count *Guido*, who had plaid upon it with Artillery, and made many assaults upon it; in so much as those within finding themselves void of all defence, did at the first Article to surrender, if they were not relieved within three days: And the Governour of *Cassalle* having in vain desired but only one thousand Foot from the Governour of *Millain* to put thereinto; it would without all doubt have fallen into the Dukes hands within the time prefix'd, had not the Cavalier *Ottavio Valperga d' Conti di Rivara*, who came out of *Pontestura* with 500 of his men, got safe into the Castle; where leaving men and Ammunition, he went out again the next night, and passing through the Enemy, with more prejudice to them then to his own men; he returned to from whence he went the day before: This Relief did for a while delay, but did not totally hinder the Surrender; for Count *Guido* shut up all the avenues to the Castle by a continued Trench; and making some Mines underneath the Bulwarks, and beating down the Parapets, he brought the Enemy to utmost despair; who not being able to keep any longer upon the Walls, and seeing no hopes of succour, surrendered fifteen days after the beginning of the Siege.

Montcalvo being taken, there did not any thing remain in the Duke of *Mantua*'s obedience in the upper *Montferrat*, but *Cassalle* and *Pontestura*, and what the Garisons of those places could defend. *Pontestura* was not strong of it self; but standing upon the *Poe*, and very fit for the Enterprise of *Cassalle*, it had been somewhat fortified at the beginning of these Commotions, and furnished with a reasonable Garison; which Garison the Duke of *Savoy* (intending peradventure to advance *Cassalle*) summoned upon pain of life to surrender within a short time. Prince *Vicenza* was at this time in *Cassalle* with his Mantuans, and the Duke of *Nevers* was there also; but fearing lest they should leave the City unprovided, or distrusting the valour of their men, if in their going to succour *Pontestura*, they should light upon the Dukes men, who were incouraged by such succes, they would not send to assist it, as was necessary they should have done; but thought it better to secure *Cassalle*, which was the chief place of the whole State, and not to hazzard those men which were the prime forces that the Duke of *Mantua* could assemble at that time: But on the other side, the loss being too great which would be had if *Pontestura* should not be succoured, they got leave of the Governour of *Millain*, that some Companies of Spanish Foot should enter thereinto with the Kings Colours, in reverence whereunto the Duke forbore the Siege: And thinking that to attempt

Cassalle

Caſſale would be a weighty buſineſs, and too great for his Forces; eſpecially ſince he had diſpoſed of the moſt of his men in the Gariſons of the Towns which he had already taken: Therefore altering his reſolution he turned to the lower *Montferrat*, where the Country about *Acqui* had not as yet been touched by his Forces: There was but two Towns therein which could diſpute the whole Dominion thereof with him, *Nice* and *San Damiano*; for the City of *Acqui* was not able to make any long reſiſtance; and the other Caſtle of *Ponzone*, which lay towards the Sea, ſerved rather to guard the Paſs, then to defend the Country: And as for *San Damiano*, though it was ſtrongly ſituated, and munited with Artillery, and an extraordinary Gariſon, yet being divided from *Montferrat*, and invironed by the Territories of *Montferrat*, it was not ſufficient of its ſelf to hinder his advancing. The Duke was therefore content to annoy it with only a few Souldiers and ſome Pieces of Artillery, not doubting but that when he ſhould have poſſeſs'd himſelf of the other parts thereabouts, it would fall into his hands: He therefore went with all his Forces to the expugning of *Nice*, as that which being placed upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, hindered him from making himſelf Maſter of the parts about *Acqui*, and of all the neighbouring Country. This is a Town great enough, ſituated in a Plain, abounding in Victuals, and capable of a great Gariſon: The figure thereof is like a broken Pyramide, by the ſide whereof a ſmall River, called *Nizza*, runs on one ſide, and on the other ſide the River *Belbo*, ſomewhat greater, which ſerve her for a great Ditch; and theſe waters, mingling together a little forwarder, they finiſh the imperfect Pyramid of the ſaid Town: The Walls are very old and weak, and as thoſe of the antient form, for the moſt part without Flanks or Bulwarks; only on the point which looks towards *Aleſſandria* there is a Caſtle with ſome Towers, but much ruinated by time; The Baſis which looks towards *Piedmont* is of a large extent; and though it hath neither Rampiers nor Flanks, yet is it munited with a large deep Ditch: Hither, as to a place upon the Frontiers, and very fitting for the capaciouſneſs and ſafety thereof, were come the beſt Militia, with many Commanders, and perſons of good eſteem in the neighbouring parts; who, (the Towns-men not numbred) amounted to the number of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, under the Command of Lieutenant *Caſtiglione*; who having fortified the Town in fitting places, and enlarged the Walls with Plat-forms, cleanſed the Ditches, and repaired the Towers, had, with much induſtry, made it tenable. Into this place was likewiſe entered *Antoniotto* and *Carlo*, Brothers to *Revere*; the one Commiſſary of the Militia, and the other of the States Munition, together with many Captains and Officers of good condition, and well affected to their Prince.

Count *Guido* was deputed by the Duke to this Enterpriſe; who drawing near *Nizza* with 2000 Foot, 400 Horſe, and three Pieces of Artillery, did immediately repulſe 500 Foot, and 200 Horſe, who being come out againſt him were not able to indure the ſight of the Enemy, but retreated baſely, and in diſorder to within the Town; wherefore the Count being Maſter of the field quartered himſelf between the Covent of the Capuchins, and the Wall of the Town which looks

looks towards *Piedmont*; and though he expected more men and Artillery, yet having tried in vain how they were minded that were within the Town, he began to batter, and making several Troops of Dragoons go out, he indeavoured to keep the Defendants from standing upon the Wall; and to face them that they might not keep him from quartering there; But their Artillery was of so small bore, and the Enemies Walls were made so strong by Plat-forms, as all battery proved in vain, as also all Skirmishes, by reason of the number of the Defendants, who repuls'd the enemies Horse by showers of Musque-shot from the Walls and most eminent places; the which they might the more easily do, for that it being then a very wet season, the Dukes men could not well keep abroad to fight, nor make their necessary approaches by Trenches; for to boot that it was impossible for them to keep their Matches lighted, or their Powder dry, they could no sooner digge a Ditch in that ground, which was naturally moist, but it was presently fill'd up by springs and rain-water, and the ground became so slippery and dirty, as neither man nor Horse could keep their feet; with which difficulties Count *Guido*, having for many days wrastled in vain, and the rain continuing still to fall abundantly, he was advised by many of his men to send his Horse to possess themselves of some neighbouring place, and go with his Foot to *San Marzano*, and wait till the weather should prove fairer, and till the rest of their expected men, their Ammunition and greater Guns, might come unto them, which were now kept back by the floods of waters; that then they might reassume the Enterprise more commodiously, and with better preparations: But the Count, who valued his Souldiers trouble and inconvenience less then the loss of reputation, did not approve of this; wherefore resolving, notwithstanding all difficulties, to continue what he had begun, he plaid upon the Towers and most eminent houses, by continual battery, to beat off the defenders, and keep his men from being so easily injur'd from thence, as they were. Not many days after, some more Souldiers being come unto him, and the rain beginning somewhat to cease, he made some Troops of Horse pass over *La Nizza*, that they might possess themselves of a certain Covent, from whence they might easily hinder the succour which was said would be sent from *Ivoisa*, a Town of *Montferrat*; but *Castiglione* and the other Commanders, who were always ready to undergo all trouble and danger, having notice of the precise hour of the coming of the succour, sent out divers Companies several ways, who skirmishing with the Enemy in sundry places, kept them play till the succour of Victuals and Ammunition was convey'd into the Town. The Count resolving afterwards to oppugne the opposite part of the Town, sent some Horse to discover the place. Whereof *Castiglione* being aware, though he feld the trees round about, and placed Souldiers in several passes to keep the Enemy off, yet could he not hinder him from making of himself master of the Field there also; for his men no sooner saw the enemy, then basely foregoing their Stations, they withdrew to within the Walls; so as the Banks and Baracadoes being there finished, they were at continual skirmishes: Not did they forbear making works on the other side, and approaches, and playing continually upon the Wall, and the inward buildings with

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the greater Artillery, which was come at last, and wherewith they threw down the Monastery of Nuns; and the ruines of the walls and neighbouring houses falling into the ditches, those without might have made an assault, had not the courage and readiness of the defendants supplied all wants; who coming out into the ditch, and facing the Enemy, did daily fight them, and speedily mending the breaches which the Enemy had made, stood in good order upon the wall, and kept the Enemy off; wherefore the Count caused a Cannon to be brought to a neighbouring hill, wherewith he scowred all that tract of wall, and kept the Souldiers from standing there; and playing upon the wall in another place with other three pieces of Cannon, he indeavoured to make way for an assault, which peradventure might have succeeded, had not *Castiglione* secured the wall from the battery, by raising some Rampiers. Insomuch as though the Enemy was ready to fall into the Ditch, having been very diligent in bringing on their Trenches, and made their Scaling-Ladders ready, thinking to give an assault, yet the breadth of the ditch, and the numbers, and valour of those that defended it, kept them from falling on. Whilst *Nice* was thus no less gallantly oppugned by Count *Guido*, then manfully defended by *Castiglione*, the Duke of *Savoy* came from *Turin* to *Chirasco*, and having taken order there for the raising of more men, and for the sending them to before *Nice*, he came to *Alba*, the more to incourage the enterprize by the nearness of his person.

On the other part, Prince *Vicenzo*, and the Duke of *Nevers* came to *Acqui*, and indeavoured to raise Souldiers, thinking to relieve *Nice*, and to free it from the danger it was in, by the daily access of new men to Count *Guido*; and yet they could hope for but few Souldiers from thence, since almost the whole upper *Montferrat* was brought under the Duke of *Savoy*; and the Militia of the County of *Acqui*, and of the neighbouring parts, were (as hath been said) brought for the most part into *Nice*: If these, who were the flower of the Country, durst not look the Enemy in the face, what trust could they put upon the rest without, who doubtlesly were but the scum, when they were to be brought to the sight of the Trenches, and Cannon, as necessarily they must be.

Four hundred *French* were at this time come by Sea, amongst which were many Gentlemen, and people of good account, who were friends and adherents to *Nevers*, who at the first hearing of these rumours, came from *France* to assist him; and being back'd by Gallies belonging to the Kingdom, came in the Seas of *Genoa* in small Barks, to find him out, rather as Travellers than Souldiers; for though the State of *Genoa* had, with an intention of keeping neutral, inclined at the beginning of these Commotions not to give passage to 2000 Tuscans, which the Great Duke had destin'd for the assistance of *Mantua*; yet being much troubled lest *Montferrat* should change its Lord, at last winked at any one that should pass privately through her Territories in assistance thereof: But these people, who came from *France* in haste, not being very well provided, proved not so advantagious as the condition of the time required, save only that they gave some reputation to the Affairs of *Montferrat*, and that witnessing the readiness of that

Nation, and the zeal thereof towards the Duke of *Mantua*, it made the News which was divulg'd in *Italy*, of the great preparations of that Kingdom, be believed. And yet the neceſſary delay which the French ſuccour required, making their hopes of the reliefe of *Alve* but ſmall, doubtleſly when the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould have got it, he would have been Maſter of all this part of *Monſerrat*, which was all reduced to underneath the Duke of *Savoy's* obedience, ſave *Caſſale*, and *Pontiſura*: And conſequently all men being full of fears and jealouſies, they murmured greatly againſt the Governour of *Milain*, that he ſhould ſo long ſuffer ſo great a violence; that he ſhould ſo little value the Kings reputation; he was held to be the *Piedra di ſcandalo*, the *Stone of offence*, or *ſtumbling block*; to be the original mover and firſt fautor of ſo violent and deteſtable an enterpriſe; for how durſt the Duke elſe have dared to attempt a State which was taken into the protection of ſo great a King? How elſe durſt he deſpiſe the Majeſty of that Crown, and the ſo neer and powerfull Forces of the State of *Milain*? Nay, they murmured againſt the King himſelf, and the Spaniſh Nation, as if they had openly conſpired with the Duke of *Savoy*, againſt the Duke of *Mantua*, in a nick of time when the King of *France* was not able, by reaſon of his Minority, to oppoſe their deſigns: Wherefore all *Italy* was in a rage; and ſeeing the harmony of concord out of tune, and the common ſafety and publick quiet diſordered, began to diſtruſt the King, and that Nation, whoſe ambition and deſire of rule was not bounded with *Monſerrat*: And as the private men did not forbear expreſſing their ſenſe and back-bitings in Libels, clapt up in divers publick places, even in the City of *Milain*; ſo the Potentates of *Italy* began to waver in their friendſhip and inclination to that Crown, and bethought themſelves of new remedies, whereby to provide againſt thoſe dangers which they thought the ſafety of the common Affairs might be ſubject unto by ſo great a novelty. But in this fluctuation of minds and accidents Orders came from *Spain*, which cauſing much joy, ſhew'd how vain their murmurings and bad opinions were of that King and Nation: The News of theſe ſo great Commotions was come to that Court, both from *Italy* and *France*; and though they fell upon many conſiderations, yet the Juſtice and Equity of the Cauſe prevailing before all other reſpects with that King and Counſel, as likewiſe the Peace of *Italy*, and the not permitting that any other Princes ſhould grow greater by the oppreſſion of another; (principal foundations whereupon having always wiſely ballanced the Affairs of *Italy*, they had alſo the better ſecured their own) it was with extraordinary readineſs reſolved in that Court, according to the great and urgent importunities of the Pope, and Princes of *Italy*, and according to the Queen of *France* her deſire; that the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould immediately be put into the full poſſeſſion of whole *Monſerrat*. In conformity whereunto, it being known that Prince *Vilfort* was come to *Barcelona*, being ſent by his Father to draw the King and that Court to favour his Cauſe, he was immediately commanded to tarry in *Monſerrat*, not far from *Barcelona*, and not being admitted to ſee the King, to tarry there till reſtitution of whole *Monſerrat* ſhould be made by the Duke his Father. Which action was of much ſatisfaction to all Italians, and

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ſhew'd how much the King and Court of *Spain* were unconcern'd in theſe commotions. On the contrary, it was cauſe of infinite diſtaſte to the Duke of *Savoy*, he thinking peradventure that the King of *Spain* being not content to favour his adverſary in his ſentence; but that out of an ambition of purchaſing the name of a juſt and uncorrupted Prince, he would not ſtick to ſuppreſs him, even in his own ſon, in whom he had placed his final hope; and whatſoever he was to expect from that Court, which had made him covet that the world might know he was more in favour with that King, then the other Italian Princes.

Theſe Orders being come, the Governour was ready to obey them; but his Orders being very ſlowly proceeded in, the Swiſſers not being as yet arrived, nor *Rho's* nor *Gambaloita's* Regiment yet fill'd, and *Nice* being ſorely beſet both by day and night, the Town began to be out of hope of holding out long; for the relief thereof it was therefore neceſſary at the preſent to make uſe of almoſt the whole ordinary Garriſon of the State of *Millain*: Wherefore *Don Antonio di Leva* Prince of *Aſcoli*, one of the Grandees of *Spain*, who being at that time in the State of *Millain*, was choſen by the King to be Camp-Maſter General, was ſent thither with ſix Companies of Light-Horſe, (whereof *Don Sanchio de Salina*, Lievtenant of the Cavalry of the State, was Captain) with 3000 Spaniſh Foot, commanded by the Camp-Maſters *Luigi di Cordova*, and *Giovan Bravo di Laguna*, and ſome few Italians aſſembled together by *Ledovico Gambaloita*, which did not in all make 4000 Foot, and 600 Horſe, who joyning at *Inciſa*, a Town in *Montferrat*, with Prince *Vincenſo* and the Duke of *Nevers*, who had with them 600 other Horſe, and about 2000 Foot, amongſt which were the French, th y marched in company towards *Nice*. But the Duke ſeeing that his deſigns were withſtood on one ſide by *Ceſars* command, and on the other ſide by the King of *Spains* Forces, and finding alſo that *Italy* was againſt him, and the French much irritated; and conſequently knowing that it was impoſſible for him to withſtand ſo many Potentates who were joyn'd together againſt him in the behalf of the Duke of *Mantua*, whom he peradventure had hoped to have ſuppreſt, and undoubtedly to have vanquiſhed at the firſt puſh, making vertue of neceſſity, reſolved to yield to the condition of times, and to give way unto the Kings will, whoſe Forces having never formerly withſtood, he had not yet a mind to oppoſe, nor learnt to be contumacious: For having endeavoured, and peradventure not in vain, to make a little delay of the ſuccouring of *Nice*, rather that he might ſay he had been Maſter thereof, then with intention of keeping it; at laſt, ſeeing the Prince of *Aſcoli* near at hand, and *Caſtiglione* reſolute to defend it, he ſent the Count of *Kerna* into the Camp, with Orders to Count *Guido* to remove his men from thence, having notwithſtanding given notice thereof before to the ſaid Prince; to the end that ſeeming to do it willingly, meerly out of the reverence and obſervancy which he bore to the King, his reſolution might not be attributed to neceſſity, but as in acknowledgment of the favours he had received. Thus the Kings Forces and thoſe of the Duke of *Mantua* drawing joyntly neer *Nice*, Count *Guido* began to march off; and before he had been gone a mile, ſeeing Prince *Aſcoli* appear with his Army in order, he, to the

end that he might march off with more reputation, made his men halt, and facing the Kings Squadrons, and ordering his men as if he were ready to receive battle, if provoked; for he exceeded them in number of men, and in Artillery, though not in his Souldiers valour, having but few paid men with him, and all the rest tumultuously gathered together out of the Shops at *Asti* and *Vercelli*: But Commissary *Bernabo Barbo*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, stepping out with some Spanish Commanders, he parlyed with the Counts *di Verrua* and *di S. George*, who did advance to this purpose, and it was agreed upon between them, that if the Duke of *Savoy*'s men would march off, the Kings Forces should not meddle with them. Thus Count *Guido* marched with his men towards *Piedmont*, without giving or receiving molestation. Though *Nice* were freed, yet Arms between those of *Piedmont* and of *Montferrat* were not laid down; for the Duke of *Savoy*'s men did not only diligently keep what they had gotten, but proceeded to take in other places: And on the other side, those of *Montferrat* being encouraged by the relief of *Nice*, and by the King of *Spains* appearing for their Prince, being also exasperated by the bitter injuries received from the Piedmontesans, and assisted by those of *Mantua* and *France*, drove out the Duke of *Savoy*'s Garrisons, and endeavoured to return under the Dominion of the House of *Gonzaga*, and of their Natural Lord. *Cavaliere Rivara* went with some few men from *Pontestura* to recover the Castle of *Gabliano*; but Count *Guido* coming in on one side with a greater number of Souldiers from *Montalvo*, and many Horse and Foot on the other side from *Trino*, he retreated to *Pontestura*, not doing anything. *Montiglio* which is seated on a little hill, rose, and betook it self to defence; but being assaulted on three parts by the Colonels *Tassino* and *Formento*, and a woman fighting valiantly amongst the Country people, it was re-taken. *Montemagno*, *Vignale*, and *Casserso*, which were likewise risen and fortified by Trenches, were again brought under by Count *Guido* who was come from *Montalvo*. The Castle of *Vesema* was by the Captain thereof basely surrendred to the Piedmontesans. *Moruno*, a place neer *Trino* and *Casalle*, being also risen, and thereby trusting to its pleasy situation, denyed to pay tribute, was taken, sackt, and burnt by the *Commendator della Manta*. *Cassano*, *San Stefano*, and some other places in the Valleys of *Tinello*, and *Belbo*, were possest by the Dukes men. *L'Alvare*, a place within few miles of *Savona*, was recovered by those of *Mantua*, and after re-gained by those of *Piedmont*. The like hapned in other places of less moment; and the Mantuan Souldiers being gone to before *Canelli*, and not being able to take it, run upon *Mombo*, *Alice*, and *Vesema*, Towns in *Montferrat*, and drove out the Piedmontesans: and passing afterwards to *Montchaldone*, a Town in *Piedmont*, they sackt it. Some Horse-Companies of *Savoy* being assaulted at unawares in *Grana*, by three Companies of Mantuan Horse, led on by the Marquess *Alphonso Guerriera*, and assisted by the Country people, were routed and put to flight, some of them were slain, and their Ensignes and Baggage lost. But the Duke of *Nevers*, egg'd on by some of his men, who were unwilling to return into *France*, without having given some proof of their valour, went with them, and with 30 of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Souldiers

ers, to surprize *Cuneiglia* by night; but being discovered, he wheeled about to a neighbouring place called *Cumeli*; whither not being able to come before the Sun was up, after a fierce assault he was repulst, and had some of his men slain; and returning back by the Hills, lost two small pieces of Ordnance, which being sent with a small Guard by the way of the Valley, were taken by the Piedmontesans. In this interim 4000 Swissers were come to the State of *Millain*; and *Don Iohn di Castro* had brought 1000 Spaniards from *Naples*; and the Camp-masters *Gambaloita*, and *Rho*, had fill'd up their Regiments; so as the Governour had 11000 Foot and 1500 Horse, ready to send into the Field. There were likewise 13000 Foot, and 500 Horse come to *Mantua*, through *Garfagnana*, and *Modeneſe*; a gallant and powerful aid, sent by *Cosmo* the second, great Duke of *Tuscany*, under his brother Prince *Franciſco*, and govern'd by excellent Commanders; who were likewise accompanied by many of the Tuscan and Roman Nobility; and although the Duke of *Modena* favouring the Duke of *Savoy*, by reason of alliance, denied them passage thorough his Territories, which he was ready upon his Confines to make good with Arms; yet receiving notice from the Governour of *Millain*, that it was for the Kings service that those men were to pass, he was contented not to hinder them; and yet the Duke of *Savoy* went from his word, and deserting, day after day, to restore what he had gotten, seemed rather inclined to the contrary; for he daily re-inforced all the Garrisons of the Towns which he was by word obliged to restore; he took more men into pay; he held intelligence in the Court of *France*, with those Princes who he thought would be desirous of novelties; and therefore more likely to join with him in his cause, either by reason of the ancient emulation which they bore to the Duke of *Nevers*, or being discontented with the present Government; and finally, keeping his men still in Arms against the Montferrians, he intended nothing but preparation for War; wherefore the Italians who were jealous of any the least delay, began again to waver. The proceedings of the Spanish Agents increased their suspicions, who dealing very gently with the Duke of *Savoy*, and carrying themselves contrary to the conceived expectation of the King of *Spain*'s orders, were not ready and resolute to the commands they had received; and therefore it was feared, that by their being armed, they aimed more at the oppression, then protection of *Monferrat*. For they did no ways impede the Dukes Forces; which (as hath been said) overran *Monferrat* without any respect. And the Prince of *Ascoli* (who was afterwards boldly impeached to have held private intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*) having spent four days in going with his Army from *Alessandria* to *Asti*, which was but 12 miles, seemed in effect to have consented to that delay, which in resolute terms he had denied to do in presence of his Captains, to the Marquess of *Nevigile*, who was sent to *Alessandria* to stop him. And after those of *Piedmont* were gone from before *Nice*, he under pretence that they might return when he should be gone, left a Garrison in the Town with the Kings Colours, which seemed rather to have possest themselves thereof, then to have freed it. The Governour of *Millain* fell, after having mustred the Army, to the end that all things might be fully understood by him, and by the

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King, instead of forcing the Duke of *Savoy* to obey the Kings orders, began to abhor *Nevers* his French men, nor would he suffer the *Tuscan* succours to pass into the State of *Millain*; and turning to the Mantuan Officers, told them it stood not with the Kings honour, that their Prince should make use of other assistance then his. The Duke of *Mantua* thought it somewhat sore, to bereave himself of their aid who were so readily come from so far of to assist him, and to put himself absolutely into their hands which before he had so much distrusted: especially since thereby he might have highly offended the Queen of *France*, and have alienated that Nation from him, a strong curb (as all men thought) to the avarice of the Spanish Ministers, and to the small inclination which they had to him.

But since it becomes a man sometimes, in urgent, and great extremities, to submit to anothers discretion. Duke *Ferdinando* finding the French promises and aid to be far off, and uncertain; that the Pope was free of nothing but good will; that he could make but little use of the Tuscan succour without the Governours good will, who by denying them passage did not only make them of no uses to him upon the present occasion, but a continual excessive charge; that the Venetian aid were but weak, and that they were not only, as the Tuscans, to depend upon the Governours good will, but uncertain, and not very safe. For the fear being once removed, that the Spaniards should possess themselves of *Montferrat*, it made for the interest of that Commonwealth, that the Duke of *Savoy* should make himself master thereof; to the end that by weakning a neighbouring Prince, a Potentate might be raised in *Lombardy*, of almost equal Forces to the State of *Millain*; whom by reason of the far distance of their Confines, he had not only no reason not to fear, but might be confident, he might by powerful diversions be a security to him, if at any time he should be assaulted, or troubled by the Spanish Forces. On the contrary, he saw that the Spaniards, (of whom he was assured by the Queen of *France*) were interested in this present Insurrection, for ends contrary to those of the Venetians. Having therefore cast up all things, he knew that he, and his affairs were so far ingaged, as he must of necessity satisfie those in whose power it lay either speedily to suppress him, or to raise him up: wherefore he resolved at the last, much to the dissatisfaction of the Duke of *Nevers*, to adhere unto them. Which resolution, though it was not well approved of by the Italian Princes, who thought it contrary to the safety of his Affairs; yet it proved afterwards, by the event, good. For the Governour not being able any longer to delay the execution of the Kings Commission, and fearing the coming of the French, which was much more spoken of by all men then was true; and moreover being desirous to satisfie all the world; and so many Princes as had conceived ill impressions of him, he compel'd the Duke of *Savoy* to make restitution, without any further delay. On the other behalf, the Duke of *Savoy*, fearing to be taken between the Armies of *France*, which he understood were stirring upon the Confines, and the Governours Forces, which were ready to compel him; and having resolved by obedience to overcome the King and Court of *Spain*, presupposing that this his so great and ready liberality would be recompensed

penied by as great a favour, he at last gave way to the King's will, whereunto nothing did so much induce him (as by way of compliment he afterwards protested) as the Governours word given unto him in the Kings name, that his Grandchild should within a few days be restored unto him: that he would obtain pardon for the Rebells, and recompence for the losses and expences of the War: and that finally, his pretences to *Monferrat* should be decided within a short time. And because the Duke, for his honour sake, hated to deliver over what he had taken, directly into the hands of his adversary, the business was thus carried; that he should deliver it all into the hands of the Princes of *Castiglione* and *Ascoli*, as State-Ministers, the one of them of the Emperour, and the other of the King of *Spain*, to be disposed of to him that had most right thereunto: that the said Princes should then immediately assign them over to the Duke of *Mantua*, as to him to whom by the Laws they ought to be restored, he having been bereft thereof. Thus did neither the Duke of *Savoy* prejudice his own interest, by referring his cause to Justice, nor the Duke of *Mantua*, who was suddenly repossest of what was his, suffer any damage or delay, and the Kings Ordinances were obey'd, being alter'd only in appearance, not in substance.

The aforesaid Princes went each with an equal portion of men to *Trino*, where the Gate was thrown open unto them; by which, whilst they and their people entred, the Dukes Garison went out by another Gate; after whom, the Kings men went out at the same Gate; who being but then entred, and making no abode there, left the Town in free possession to Prince *Vincenzo*, who was entred with those of *Mantua*, immediately after the Kings men: The like was done three days after by *Alba*, and *Montalvo*, and the other Towns of *Monferrat*, and the Spanish Garison was likewise taken out of *Nice*; as also the Siege from before *San Damiano*, which held still for Duke *Ferdinando*. Who within three moneths after the first assault was meerly by the Kings Authority, almost without unsheathing a sword, intirely put into possession of that State, which he had almost totally lost. The Italians were not a little pleased at this restitution, wherein the King shew'd such celerity and constancy; and as it is usual with men, when they find themselves freed from what they had long feared, to run headlong into the contrary affection; so these being long possest with jealousies and fears, it cannot be expresst how much they admired the Kings goodness, and magnanimity. Who preferring the justice and honesty of the Cause before all other respects, would not yield that the assaulted Prince should be injured. And it appearing to every one, that he had shewed himself in this action rather to win the good will of those who are possest of States, then injuriously to become master of the States which they possess, it was evidently seen and witnessed, that his intention was not to thirst after other mens possessions, as the more powerful Princes often doe; but rather that he did abhorre the unjustly possessing himself thereof, and the Tyrannous oppression of petty Princes. Jealousies being therefore turn'd into much confidence, all men rejoyced to see examples of moderation in so great a King, which are so rare and singular in these times. These unexpected successes made it be generally believed that the Duke of *Savoy*, being

being abandoned by all, would have totally given over the begun enterprize. But affections deeply rooted in mens minds are hardly pluckt out. He thought that his so much readiness, and reverence, his so great, and rare example of observancy and devotion to the King, (whereby he had much confirmed the Authority and reputation of that Crown both in *Italy*, and elsewhere) might make him deserve to be protected by his Majesty, at least for the advantage of his pretentions: which (as he said) he was promised by the Governour, should soon be composed in a friendly manner. Nor did he confide a little in his Sons intercession, a Prince of much expectation, well beloved by the King, and by that Nation, which as much as the Disputes between his Father and his Uncle would permit him, he seemed to be very ambitious of: and to whom, to boot with his neer relation in blood to the King, the expectation of his paternal inheritance might purchase much favour; which being by succession to fall upon him, he could not believe that that Court would let slip so opportune an occasion of making the young Prince always well affected to that Crown. Moreover, having been in outward appearance very severely dealt with, he thought that the King, tempering his past rigour, would favour him the more in future essentialities. Wherefore the Duke, in hope of some good success by his Sons Negotiation, withdrew his Forces to within his own Confines, and was quiet and peaceful; and seeming to confide much in the King, profest to depend totally upon his Majesty, as the sole protectour of this business.

In this interim, the war in *Lombardy*, which seemed either to be wholly at an end, or suspended by a tacit Truce, broke out in great fervency between the Duke of *Modena*, and Common-wealth of *Lucca* in *Garfagnana*: which War, the less considerable the smalness of the affair was (which was but about a few handful of Confines) of more moment did the fervor and great preparations, wherewith it appeared to be made, make men think it to be of some moment: as also the many Nobles which flock'd thither from both sides; for the Princes, *Alphonso* and *Luigi*, the Dukes first and second Sons, had militated therein: It was occasioned at first by some Reprisals of Oxen and flocks of Sheep; from whence they came to Confiscations and Banishment, and at last to Arms: For the *Lucchesi* out of apprehension of the great assistance which was sent from *Tuscany* to *Mantua*, having assembled together almost the whole Militia of their State, which amounted to 16000 fighting men for the defence of their Country; the danger and fear of their affairs ceasing, bethought themselves to make use of them by infesting other mens Territories; they sent the Mass of their men to prejudice the Duke of *Modena's* Country, which they burnt, and rigorously destroyed at unawares, meeting with no resistance; for the Inhabitants being busie in husbanding their Farms, as in secure peace, were dispers'd abroad in the Country: And not herewithal contented, they took some small open Towns belonging to the jurisdiction of the said Duke: Then making Mount *Perpoli* the Seat of War, they fortified it in all convenient places, and quartered above 10000 fighting men there.

The Duke of *Modena* being no less scandalized that his Country should

should be burnt and destroy'd by the Luccheſi, ſent as many men as he could raiſe in his own Country, which amounted to as many as the enemy were, under the Command of Count *Hippolito Bentivoglio*; at the ſight whereof the Luccheſi, who before ran over the Country, and laid it waſte, betook themſelves to the fortified places. Wherefore the Modeneſi having erected other Bulwarks, and munited other Paſſes, they alſo fortified their Towns of moſt importance; particularly *Caſtelnuovo*, the Metropolis, and reſidence of the Governour of *Garfagnana* under the Duke; and *Mateſſana*, a place not far from *Caſtelnuovo*; in which places, lying near Mount *Perpoli*, Prince *Alphonſo* kept with 100 Horſe and 1000 Foot, to face and ſuppreſs the Luccheſi that were fortified in the Mountains. Divers skirmiſhes paſt this mean while, both here and in other parts thereabouts, with various fortunes; wherein there happened nothing remarkable, ſave the great obſtinacy and fervency wherewith they fought on both ſides. For the Luccheſi, pretending to be ſeveral ways injured by the frequent moleſtations which they received from the Modeneſi upon their Confines, thought to provide ſo by war, as that the Dukes men ſhould for the future keep themſelves within their own Precincts. And the Dukes men holding themſelves to be no leſs injured then did the Luccheſi, who had entered their Dukes Confines in hoſtile manner for ſleight occaſions, which, as they ſaid, might have been decided by the Civil Law, were mightily incenſed, and deſired by all means to ſhew how much they reſented the injuries done them; but the Mountainous Country, which would not ſuffer them to draw out their men, and make trial of their Forces, hindred their deſire of revenge. And the Luccheſi, contented with the reſentment they had made, kept, for the moſt part, in their ſtrong holds, and fortified Towns, not coming out but upon advantagious terms, not affording the enemy much occaſion to prejudice them. True it is, that 400 Luccheſi having at the ſight of Prince *Luigi* abandoned a certain Station, whereby the Modeneſi might freely march to before *Gallicano*, they were ſo bold as to make that attempt; eſpecially ſince that Enterpriſe made much for the final end of the War. For *Gallicano* is a large Town, and of great importance; not only as being the Magazine of Victuals and Ammunition for the war, but for that if it ſhould be gotten, the Luccheſi would be as it were beſieged in Monte *Perpoli*, and almoſt in the power of the Enemy, as not being to be ſuccour'd. There was a ſtrong Garriſon in *Gallicano*; which, by reaſon of the loſs of the abandoned Station, was forthwith reinforced; ſo as coming forth againſt the Prince, who drew near it, they fought a while without any advantage on either ſide; but 400 Foot coming in to aſſiſt the Luccheſi, the Modeneſi were forced to give way, till ſuch time as being ſuccoured by more men, they forc'd the Luccheſi back into *Gallicano*; and making themſelves maſters that very night of a Fort called *il Pian de Termini*, which ſerved as a Cavaliere to the place, they did not only keep the Defendants from coming upon the walls, and going through the Streets, but hindered alſo the carrying of Victuals from thence to Monte *Perpoli*: wherefore to free themſelves from this inconvenience, the Luccheſi built another Fort in a higher place then that which was taken by the Prince; from whence the Modeneſi be-

ing infested, the Prince resolved to beat them from it: He went thither early in the morning with good store of men, amongst which were many of the Nobility, and began to give a hot assault, which being sustained with no less heat, the fight continued four hours; the eminency of the situation, which was secured by Trenches and Rampiers, making for the advantage of the Lucchesi, from whence they much indamaged the Modenezi by Musquet shot; who not being able to resist any longer, they began to run away. Here were their Commanders, and many Gentlemen, who with their Swords in hand would have staid them, nor the danger nor example of their Prince, who fighting valiantly amongst the first most incouraged them to persevere in the Enterprise, able to stop them. Many of the Modenezi fell in this assault, amongst which some Personages of esteem, by what was argued by the spoils which were taken from their dead bodies by the Lucchesi; but this ostentation lasted but a while; for this loss was soon recompensed by the taking of *Monte Fegatese*, a great Town of the Lucchesi's, which was burn'd and put to fire and Sword by the Dukes men, who, the Garison runing away, entered the Town, and there got good store of booty, especially of Cattel, which were brought thither by their owners, for greater safety: Then the Modenezi, seeing how little amends they had made for the loss which they received at the beginning of the war, and how hard it was to wage war with men who were fortified in high places, they fell upon the Country, which they laid waste, barking the Trees, and cutting down the Vineyards; in imitation whereof the Lucchesi, who after the first commotion had forborn ransacking, did yet worse, leaving nothing unruined which had escaped their first fury.

The Prince leaving men enough in *Piaz de Termini*, from the Enterprise of *Gallicano*, which appeared every day to grow more difficult, went with the rest of his men to take in *Castiglione*, a great Town, and the chief in those parts; whither it was hard to bring relief, because it was invironed by the Dukes Forces. This place was from the beginning furnish'd with a great Garison; and hearing that the Modenezi came afterwards down from the Alpes, Cavalier *Cæsare Baconuisi* was sent from *Lucca* with 200 select Foot, besides many Citizens, who of their own accord went along with them; so as these being joined to the rest, made up the number of 1200 Souldiers, besides the Townsmen, who were of able bodies, and ready to defend themselves: wherefore the Modenezi carried the greatest force of war against this place; and began to play upon the Castle-gate with thirteen pieces of Cannon, which within a few days they threw down, together with a Tower, and a great part of the wall, and had made the way ready for an assault: But having behind them some of the Lucchesi's Sconces fortified, they forbore going on for fear of being annoy'd from thence; they therefore continued to batter the Houses from the neatest and most convenient places, not without much danger and prejudice to the Defendants; who though they were not safe neither in their houses, nor in the streets, yet were they not wanting to shelter themselves the best they could with Trenches and Plat-forms, raised in fitting places, and with deep Ditches dug behind the Rampiers. This mean time Treaties of Agreement were not omitted, which were from the beginning of the war me-

diated by the Governour of *Millain*, at the requeſt of the Luccheſi; who having to this purpoſe ſent Count *Baldaſſar Biglia* to *Modena*, and *Scaramucchia Viſconte* to *Lucca*, could not as yet effect it: But conſidering afterwards how much the loſs of *Caſtiglione* would redound to the dishonour of his King, who had taken upon him the protection of that Commonwealth, he ordered Count *Biglia* to go into the Town, to ſet up the Kings Standard, and to ſay that he kept the Town in the Kings name; which being ſuddenly done, the Battery ceaſed, and afterwards all other offences, by the interceſſion of the Governour; ſo as the treaty of agreement being re-aſſumed, it was at laſt concluded upon theſe conditions. *That the Confines ſhould remain bounded as they had formerly been, upon the ſame occaſion, by Count* Fuentes; *and that the place of this new difference not being comprehended, it ſhould be left to be agreed upon by ſome deputed to the ſame purpoſe: That the Luccheſi ſhould quit all the Towns and places which they had taken in* Modena, *and ſhould demoliſh whatſoever they had erected upon their own grounds; that the Duke of* Modena *ſhould do the like; who giving his word that he would not moleſt the Luccheſi, who were the firſt that ſhould diſarm, he ſhould likewiſe diſarm afterwards, and diſmiſs all his men: That the Commonwealth of* Lucca *ſhould keep no more then their uſual Garriſons within their walled Towns, and a Gentleman which the Governour would ſend thither to keep them in the Kings name, who was to reſtore them to the Signiorie, when all had laid down Arms.*

The affairs of *Garfagnana*, wherein the whole ſummer had been ſpent, being thus compoſed, thoſe of *Montferrat* grew to be troubled again, and to decline from the good way they were in. The Duke of *Savoy* kept ſtill in Arms, and as it were ready to fall upon *Montferrat* again, hoping by his Forces to make his adverſary more pliable to his pretenſions: The Duke of *Mantua* was therefore forced to keep many ſtrong Garriſons in *Caſalle*, and in other places of moſt concernment. Commerce was not only wholly interdicted between thoſe of *Montferrat* and *Piedmont*, but private men proceeded to continual repriſals, and the Magiſtrates to the confiſcation of ſuch goods as thoſe of the contrary party poſſeſt in their Territories. The Governour was not permitted to diſarm, whileſt the occaſions laſted which forced him to take up Arms: *Montferrat* was therefore in continual motion and ſuſpenſion, being neither in perfect peace, nor open war; and becauſe this redounded to the great trouble and charge of the Millaneſes, and to the prejudice of the Kings honour, who had openly profeſt to protect *Montferrat*, many counſell'd the Governour to ſend the Army into *Piedmont*, and to keep it there till ſuch time as the Duke, to free himſelf from the trouble of quartering, ſhould reſolve to diſmiſs his Forreign Forces. The Governour ſeemed at firſt willing to follow this advice; and to this purpoſe ſent firſt *Don Sanchio di Luna*, Keeper of the Cittadel of *Millain*, and then *Don Franceſo Padiglia* General of the Artillery into *Piedmont*, to demand Quarter of the Duke for the Kings Army, who bringing back anſwer in general terms, and words reliſhing more of civility and ceremony, then of ſubſtance, or poſitive, by which it was conceived the Duke was inclin'd to the contrary; the Governour, diſmiſſing the Swiſſers, and ſending the Spaniſh Horſe

and Foot to their usual Quarters, by a sudden and contrary resolution, sent Prince *Ascoli* with the rest of the Souldiery to quarter in *Montferrat*. Who chusing *Villanova* for his quarters, within four miles of *Casalle*, distributed his men in several parts of that State; where he kept them all the next Winter, to the excessive damage of those people, exhausted already by their former sufferings, and by the late War. This new, and unexpected resolution of the Governours, renewed the first jealousies: and the Italians conceiving that the King did not proceed so sincerely as they imagined, began to suspect him more then before; and therefore mistrusting the Spaniards, they began to fear that the restitution of the Towns in *Montferrat* was but a counterfeit shew, to lull them asleep, and to keep the French Forces from falling furiously into *Italy*. All men did firmly believe, that the Spaniards detaining their ancient grudge against the Duke of *Mantua*, and keeping secret intelligence with *Piedmont*, did suffer them to keep armed, that so they might have occasion to oppress that State, under the honourable title of protecting it, or at least, to the end that the Duke of *Mantua*, wearied out with length of negotiation, and Court irresolutions, consumed by so long quartering, and agitated by continual fear of their Enemies, and of their Protectors Forces, might be brought to desperate conditions; and so they might make themselves masters of that State, without any noise, without fighting, and without disturbing the peace of *Italy*. These diffidences were increased by the new, and strange comportments of the Kings Officers, and Spanish Commanders in *Montferrat*, who believing perhaps that their Kings intention was such, did confirm the general opinion with undoubted speeches; and as if they were to change condition of Government, they sollicited the Montferrians, who were weary of so many troubles, to desire the Spanish Government that they might be rid of their vexations. And adding actions to their words, they suffer'd their Souldiers to be licentious, arrogating much authority to themselves, to the diminution of that Duke, whose Officers, as being unarmed, were fain to wink at divers things, to avoid greater mischief; wherefore they became of less esteem amongst the Kings Souldiers and Commanders, who now seemed to be chief masters. All men were likewise scandalized at the daily coming of munition for War from *Millain* to *Piedmont*; and which was yet worse, that Prince *Ascoli* should give them safe conduct thorow *Montferrat*; he, and the Governour defending their doing so, partly under pretence of friendship between the King and Duke, which was not as yet broken; partly esteeming any provision the Duke could make against what the King ordained touching the affairs of *Montferrat*, ridiculous; as if it were impossible the Duke should ever dare to gainsay it. But mens minds were chiefly troubled at the coming of *Don Alphonso Piemontello*, General of the Horse in the State of *Millain*, to *Mantua*, to demand the young Princess in the Kings name. With him went not only the chief Officers, and Commanders in War, to frighten that Prince, and to make him part the more easily with his Niece; but as if the business were already taken for granted, and that they went rather to receive then to demand the young Lady, many Coaches were sent along with *Piemontello*, to bring her and her train

to

to *Millain*, no man doubted but that this action of the Kings was a ſtrong argument that he was rather minded to alter, then to compoſe the preſent Affairs; For that child was then thought the chiefeſt means to work novelty. And beſides, that the demanding of her when *Monferrat* was incumber'd with the Spaniſh Army was a demand which argued violence, and ſeemed therefore contrary to that good inclination which the King had always profeſt; ſo much ſolemnity, and ſuch preparations, made the Embaſſie ſeem rather a proteſtation, or tacite threatning in caſe of deniall, then a ſimple Negotiation.

When *Pimontello* came to *Mantua*, he found the young child ſick; and the Duke not being able to expoſe her to that journey without evident danger, he made uſe thereof to deny the ſending of her, and not ſo only, but he alſo fenced himſelf by the Emperours Reſcript; whereby he was prohibited to deliver her up to any one; and yet ſeeming in general words to be ready to pleaſure the King, he added that in the interim he would ſend into *Spain* to treat of this Affair; ſuch a buſineſs was not of ſo eaſie diſgeſtion, or ſo ſoon to be granted; it being oppoſed in that Court by the Duke of *Savoy's* great importunity, accompanied with the freſh remembrance of his ready reſtoring the Towns he had taken; by the intreaty, and pretentions of the *Dowager* Mother, Nephew to the King; by the preſence of Prince *Victorio*; and by the Kings word paſt to the Duke, by the Governour of *Millain*. The Duke of *Mantua* being therefore to make uſe of ſome one who might be more then uſually wiſe and induſtrious to handle a buſineſs of ſuch importancy, he truſted the managing thereof to Monſigneur *Scipio Paſquale di Coſenza* a Prelate much eſteemed and favoured by him. *Who being ſent extraordinary Embaſſadour to the King, acquainted him and his State-miniſters with the merits of the Dukes cauſe: deſiring that it might not only be taken notice of by his Majeſty, as by a juſt Prince, by the way of the known Law of equity; but that it might be protected, defended, and favoured by him, as by a Protector. He added, that to depoſite the young Lady, eſpecially after the Duke of* Savoy *had taken up Arms, would be an acknowledgement that that Commotion had been juſt and lawful; as alſo all the other violences and hoſtilities committed againſt* Montferrat: *which beſides that it did repugne his Majeſties moſt holy deliberations, and juſt Demonſtrations; the Duke of* Mantua *could not with honour adhere thereunto; ſince it would always appear unto the world, that he had condeſcended thereunto, contrary to all Reaſon, for fear of being again aſſaulted. He then ſhewed what the Dukes intentions were; he did not conceal what the inconveniences were which might be the reſult thereof; he made it be known how much men were ſcandaliz'ed, how much* Cæſars *Decrees, and the very Laws of Nature were contradicted, if that young Lady ſhould by his Majeſties command be forced to go out of her paternal Country where ſhe was born, out of the Dominions where ſhe was nouriſht, and ſeparated from their ſight and company who were ſo neer allied to her in blood. He wiſht it might be conſidered, how much it would redound to his Dukes diſ-reputation, if his Majeſty perſiſting in his demand ſhould make the world ſee how little he did confide in his faith and integrity; that it was impoſſible that he who had been ſo ready and ſo zealous in protecting his Dukes Dominions, would now ſo highly injure him in his honour.*

Theſe

These, and other Reasons alledged by the Embassadour were much seconded by the Queen of *France*, her pretentions: who sollicited from *Mantua*, made a third in this Affair; desiring that the young Lady's education might be allotted to her, as to one neerer of kin to her then the King was, in case the Duke of *Mantua* should not be trusted with her. Whereupon the King, were it either that he approved of the Reasons alledged, or to avoid giving dissatisfaction to the Queen, dissisted further pursuing his demand. Many will have it that the King required this at first, more out of his own genius, and tender affection to his Nephews the Princes of *Savoy*, then by any advice of his Counsellours, or out of any sinister intention to the Duke of *Mantua*, and that it not being intrinsecally approved of by any one, no not by the Duke of *Lerma*, from whom he was seldom wont to differ in opinion, it had not its just perfection; it being known, that at the same time when *Pimentello* was sent to *Mantua*, the answer which that Duke was to make was suggested to him by the Governour of *Millain*, and the manner which he was to observe upon this occurrency, to the end that he might retain his Nephew. And doubtlesly, the Governour did this by order from the Spanish Ministers of State, who were desirous to moderate the Kings desires by delays. Many were much troubled to think what the truth of this might be, the business being spun out at length, and what the issue thereof would be, not being known.

During these doubtful proceedings, the Duke of *Mantua* fell sick; and there being but little hopes of his recovery, it was feared by the Italians, that his unseasonable death in these turbulent times might hasten the Spaniards secret designs; for he not having any issue, and his brother not being likely to have any, his Dominions would fall upon the Duke of *Nevers*, the next of kin to the house of *Gonzaga*; who being born in *France*, was, for his great adherences, and many possessions which he had there, esteemed to be more French, then Italian. Nor was there any that did doubt, but that the Spaniards would rather suffer any other condition, then that a French-man should possess so great a State in *Italy*. Wherefore all mens minds were possest with fear and confusion, foreseeing what troubles, and revolutions would insue upon the Dukes death: which seemed to be confirmed by bad Auguries, and prodigies. For in the same year of 1613, on the 11 of *October*, there arose a terrible tempest at Sea, the like to which was never seen, which beginning at *Provence*, and running along with much terrour, to the uttermost parts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, did so agitate the Ligustick and Tuscan seas, as entring even into the Havens, which were otherwise very safe, it sunke almost all the ships therein, to the great prejudice of the Merchants, and to the terrour of all lookers on; the same tempest penetrated into *Lombardy*, where it threw down houses, rent up trees by the roots, and did such mischief as had never been before, so as many (as it often falls out when men are astonished with amazement) beg n to hold these accidents prodigious, as so many signs wherewith the heavens did threaten much greater calamity to come; to these Prodigies were added the troubles of *France*, which having been quiet till then under the Queens regency, was not a little disturbed.

For

For the Princes of the Kingdom were not able to suffer that *Concino Concini*, and his wife, both of them being Florentines, and the Queens great favourites, should be prefer'd before them in Authority, and in the conduct of publick Affairs. They were likewise much troubled at the Kings Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, fearing lest such an union might tend to the diminution of that Authority which they by all means indeavoured to arrogate unto themselves in that Kingdom. And the opposition of *France* being held to be a great curb to the Spanish Forces in *Italy*, therefore that Nation being divided within it self, and troubled with civil Wars, *Italy* remained at the Spaniards discretion; whose ends and designs not being to be withstood by any other Forces, there was no means left of keeping their King from attempting any whatsoever novelty, whereby to increase their Kings Empire to the universal prejudice. The Duke of *Mantua's* self, whose loss was then chiefliest concerned, seemed more to abandon his own cause then any other's; for not being content to have incens'd *France* against him, and distasted the Princes of *Italy*, by his usage of the Duke of *Nevers* French; he seemed to throw himself too much into the King of *Spain's* hands, and to depend too much upon the Spanish State-Ministers. And this course not being commonly approved of then, though it proved to be very good afterwards, he seemed little to mind the eminent danger of his own Affairs. The more for that conferring the Bishoprick of *Casale* upon Monsigneur *Pasquale*, a natural Subject of the Kings, he had also made *Don Alphonso d' Avalos* Governour over all *Monferrat*, who though he was an Italian born, and a kinne to him, yet being originally come from *Spain*, and professing to be more a Spaniard then an Italian, being also held to be such a one by the King and his State-Ministers; the Duke seemed to have but poorly provided for the so turbulent condition of his Affairs, by these two Elections, at which the Queen and State of *Venice* were much the more incens'd: who publickly seeming to favour the Duke desired to curb the Forces and power of his Protector as much as they could; and yet the Queen being careful of her Nieces Affairs, she sent the Marquess *di Coure* into *Italy*, a Lord of much authority and reputation, and one who had with much grandezza discharged the office of several chief Embassies. She sent him with title of Embassadour in extraordinary for the Occurrences of *Italy*; to the end that treating as well with the two Dukes, as with the Governour of *Millain*, and Commonwealth of *Venice*, he might compose Affairs in a peaceable manner. But when he came to *Piedmont*, he could not see the Duke; who not desirous to treat with any in this business, but the King, and Court of *Spain*, from whence he expected much favour, he went a little before the Embassadour came thither, to *Nice* in *Provence*, to quiet some commotions which were raised in those parts. So as the Embassadour passing to *Millain*, and then to *Mantua*, and from thence to *Venice*, kept in *Italy* till the beginning of the next year, which was 1614.

This year produced, at last, effects which shewed the good intention of the King: and did once more free the Italians of the fears which they had conceived by the last years successes. For the King having on one side often comforted the Duke of *Savoy*, and on the other side, press'd

much

much upon the Duke of *Mantua*, not without some sharpnesse, to the end that each of them willingly laying aside somewhat of rigour, they might come to agreement: and finding much backwardnes in both these Princes, at last, that he might not be failing to his protection of *Mantua*, he resolved to declare himself so, as no man should have occasion afterwards to doubt his will, nor to be troubled at the uncertainty of his inclination. He dispatcht away Prince *Victorio*, to whom he made the instrument be given, which contained his final resolution. Which not being conformable, but rather totally repugnant to his, and to his Fathers mind, the Prince refused to accept: so as being offended with the Court, and as angry as he durst be with the King, he went by Sea into *Italy*. *The Instrument ordained that the Duke of* Savoy *should totally lay down Arms, that he should give it under his hand, that he would innovate nothing to the prejudice of the Duke of* Mantua's *Dominions; that he should remit all his pretences to* Montferrat, *to the Emperour, as to the Supream Judge; that he should marry his daughter to the Duke of* Mantua, *and that upon this marriage all Rebels should be pardoned; and there should be no more discourse of any damage that had been done by the late War. To this was added, that if the Duke should refuse to consent to the aforesaid things, the King would be necessitated to imploy the Forces of his Kingdom in the protection of* Montferrat, *and to obviate the troubles which might insue in* Italy.

The Duke of *Savoy* was highly offended at this, seeing himself not only wholly fallen from the high hopes which he had conceived, and hoped to obtain from that Court by his Sons means, of getting part of *Montferrat*; but also from that reputation which he had thought to have won, by being so neerly allied unto the King; whilst instead of being maintain'd by his Majesty of *Spain*, in a business of such concernment, he was dealt withall as rigourously, as if he had been a stranger, without any regard had to his honour, or to the Kings word, which (as he said) was plighted to him. Nor was he less distasted to see himself excluded from his pretentions in the young Lady; wherein thinking that the justification of his commotion did consist in being the original cause thereof, he was no less grieved thereat in point of honour, then in point of interest, seeing the ends mar'd whereunto he aspired, peradventure by the Maidens means. And as *Pimentello's* journey to *Mantua* had put him in hopes of obtaining her, so failing therein, he thought himself scorn'd and deluded, and led on with vain hopes, which he did not a little resent; the great obsequiousnes which he had shewed to the Kings Authority by his being so ready to restore, and witnessed so many other several ways, did imbitter his resentments; as also the severity us'ed to his two Sons at Court; the one whereof (as hath been said) was to his so much mortification detained for above a moneth in *Montferrat*; and the other, which was Prince *Philiberto*, Lord high Admiral at Sea, and who usually resided with the King, being without any occasion sent at the same time that his brother came to Court, to reside, and consequently almost confined, at *Porto St. Maria*, the very utmost Precincts of *Spain*; to the end that (as the Duke complained afterwards) he might fall sick in that ill air; and that being deprived of the contentment of seeing his brother, he might not then joyn

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in the treaty of the common affairs. All which things as he had already paſt over which much patience, hoping to be at laſt dealt with the more advantagiouſly; ſo ſeeing the ſame method to be held till the laſt, he could the worſe diſgeſt it. And therefore joyning theſe, and many other ſevere paſſages together, he could not indure that the world ſhould know how little eſteem was had of him, and how little both he and his Sons could promiſe themſelves, from their alliance with the King.

Being thus much diſturbed, he, together with his Son, who was come from *Spain* to *Nizza*, went to *Turin*: Where ſpeaking with the Embaſſadour *Coure*, who was upon his return for *France*, it was believed, that being ſcandalized with the King of *Spain*, he would have made any agreement with the Duke of *Mantua* by the French Embaſſadours means, only that the King of *France* might have the honour thereof, and not the King of *Spain*; and that to that purpoſe the Popes Nuntio ſhould go from *Turin* to *Mantua*; by which means the ſettlement would ſoon have been had; had not the Governour of *Millain*, foreſeeing how diſhonourable it would have been to the King of *Spain* that the differences between the Italian Princes ſhould be adjuſted by other means then his, very ſeaſonably oppoſed it, and wrought ſo that the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould not accept of any of the propoſed Treaties. And the ſame Inſtrument being ſent from *Spain* to the Governour, which the Prince had refuſed, he (being ordered to do ſo by the King) ſent it to the Duke of *Savoy*, to the end that he might aſſent thereunto: The Duke anſwered, *That for his part he was ready to diſarm, if the King would do ſo to; he demanded that the terms and manner of this Action ſhould be punctually agreed upon: He made ſome difficulty in paſſing his word that he would not injure* Montferrat; ſaying, *That ſince he had foregone all his Holds in that State only to ſatisfie the King, all men might be ſure, that out of the ſame reſpect he would not moleſt it any more. He did not conſent to remit the differences to be decided by* Ceſar, *out of diffidence perhaps of him*; but ſaid, *notwithſtanding he would refer it to ſuch friends of both ſides, who being choſen by the Emperour, might decide it*: Laſtly, *He complained that the King ſhould compel him to marry his Daughter contrary to her own will; but refuſed not to do it when the common differences ſhould be decided.* This laſt Point was moderated by the King, who explained himſelf that he had propounded the Marriage as a thing which might be acceptable to them both, and good for the common quiet, and their reciprocal friendſhip; but not that they ſhould be forc'd thereunto contrary to their inclinations: In all the reſt he perſiſted, and particularly in the firſt, of diſarming; wherein abhorring all conditions or reciprocalneſs, the Kings pleaſure was, That if not as Superiour to the Duke in Empire, yet as incomparably greater in power and extent of Dominion, which made him profeſs himſelf to be Arbitrator of *Italy*, and the Moderator of differences between her Princes, he ſhould abſolutely lay down Arms: And yet, that if the differences of *Montferrat* ſhould be accorded, all the reſt might likewiſe ceaſe; the Governour, not having Force enough at his command to compel the Duke to diſarm, according to the Kings appointment; he tryed a new form of compoſure between the two Dukes; each of which having at his deſire

sent three Deputies to *Millain*, to find out some means of adjusting differences; divers proposals were made, but all of them so discrepant, and so far differing from their opinions, as after many days the business of that conference was found to prove vain; and at this time Forces being come to the State of *Millain* from *Naples*, *Germany*, and from the *Switzers*; and the same directions coming again from *Spain*, that the Decree should be put in execution, as much at least as concerned the three first Articles; the Deputies of *Savoy* were given to understand, that the business not being to be spun out any longer, it was in vain to pursue that begun Negotiation, and that therefore the Kings Decree must, without any delay, be executed. The Duke thought himself too imperiously dealt with; and not willing to give way thereunto, either in respect of his own honour, or out of anger to the King, to shew himself any whit more obsequious then at first, he betook himself to make yet further provision for war; and being desirous to take the honourable pretence of protecting *Montferrat* from the Spaniards, as also to appease the French, and reconcile the Italians, he published an Order, wherein allowing Commerce between his Subjects and those of *Montferrat*, he commanded that none should injure them in their goods nor persons. *Montferrat* remained therefore for the space of fourteen Moneths after the first assault, free from troubles of War, wherewith she had been so much molested; and from the inconveniency of Quartering, wherewith she had been much afflicted.

The End of the Second Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book III.

The Contents.

THe Duke of Savoy *is angry that the King ſhould force him to lay down Arms, and to Disband his men; which refuſing to do, he is aſſaulted by a Spaniſh Army, led on by the Duke of* Millain; *who being entered by the Vercelleſe into the Confines of* Piedmont, *and underſtanding that the Duke was gone to before* Novara, *returns immediately to the State of* Millain *to drive him from thence: Being returned, he begins to build the Fort* Scandovalle, *not far from* Vercelles. *The Duke retreating to* Vercelles, *deſires ſuccour from the French, Venetians, and other Princes; many whereof Treat of agreement by their Embaſſadours ſent into* Piedmont: *The war continues the mean while with the Duke; in purſuit whereof many accidents happening, they come at laſt to a day of Battel near the City: Wherein the Spaniſh Army being Victors, it goes before that City whither the Duke was with-drawn with his men; about which the Governour having imployed much time to little purpoſe; At laſt peace is concluded by the means of Princes Miniſters.*

THe Wars of *Piedmont* ſucceed thoſe of *Montferrat*, wherein the Duke of *Savoy* ſees thoſe Forces turned againſt him, which he formerly hoped to have been aſſiſted by againſt *Montferrat*: Wherein the Kings good intention conteſts againſt the Dukes anger; the latter being occaſioned through hatred and ill will, which the Duke deſired to vent againſt the Spaniſh State-Miniſters, and which he had conceived upon ſeveral occaſions; and the other through a ſingular

example to Puissant Princes, in shewing them how much they are bound to defend and maintain those whom they have taken into their protection. The present war proceeded from the precedent, as it is often seen in humane bodies, that one malady draws on another: The Kings Title was the protection of *Montferrat*, and together with the peace of *Italy*, the quiet and safety of the States which he therein possesseth: The Dukes pretence, the exempting Kingly Command, the preservation of the Independency and Sovereignty of Principality, and his necessary defence against the Spanish Forces; upon which he indeavoured to lay all that odium which he found to lye commonly upon himself, as being the first Author of the troubles, accusing the Spaniards of ambition and covetousness to possess his State. "Indeed none of right judge-"ments could believe that the King, who had but a little before shew-"ed himself to be so magnanimous and sincere a Protector of the Duke "of *Mantua*; which Duke had formerly, upon all occasions, shewed "himself to be no very good friend to him, should now, without any "just Title or apparent colour, become a violent usurper of another "mans States, to whom he was straightly allied by Kindred; especi-"ally in a time when the others great observancy of the King, and con-"fidence in him, so notably witnessed to the world, was sufficient not "only to cancel the memory of all past offences; but to make him "merit the favour and particular protection of that Crown; accord-"ing as the Duke himself had so abundantly professed before: And "yet though the King was in all mens opinions no ways liable to any "such suspicion; yet there were those who discoursed variously upon "the Kings Command given to the Duke, according as men are vari-"ously inclined in their judgments. No man thought it lawful for a "Prince, how much Superiour soever in State or Forces, to com-"mand another, who was no subject of his, to disarm, or to prohibit "him doing what he thought best in his own Dukedom: That other-"wise the Dominions and Supream power of Princes would be con-"founded, if under this or that pretence, how just or reasonable so-"ever it may appear, such authority should be granted more to one "then to another: That the Kings of *Spain* had, when they listed, "sent great Armies into *Italy*, not without great jealousie to the Italian "Princes, who were unequal to them for Forces or Dominion: There-"fore that was not to be blamed in others, which they had so often "permitted unto themselves, especially since the Duke of *Savoy*'s "Forces were neither such, nor so great, as to give just occasion of jea-"lousie either to the King, or to any Italian Potentate: And that he ha-"ving already, to please the King, readily restored all that he had ta-"ken, it was to be imagined that he would innovate nothing in the fu-"ture, as he had already openly declared he would not do: And that "if either the quiet or security of his own Dominions, or his Clients "(as the King alledged) should oblige him so to do, it would be suf-"ficient in such a case, to be ready armed for what occasion soever "should happen; But that it was not lawful to invade anothers Terri-"tories by way of anticipation, out of vain suspicions: That this pre-"tence, and this Command was not only without reason, but new, "and without example; it not having ever been heard or read of that

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"the like had been done amongst free Princes, exempt from any sub-
"jection. On the other side, the protection of *Montferrat* was plead-
"ed, which could not be perfectly made good whilst it was not defend-
"ed, as well against the future eminent danger, as from the present in-
"jury and prejudice: That it is a no less trouble to oppress a State with
"forces, then to ruine it with perpetual fear of neighbouring Arms:
"That therefore the Title of War was no less just and honest which
"was made out of probable fear of being offended, then to remove in-
"juries received, or to revenge them: That the Duke had given just
"occasion of suspicion some years before; that he would have indea-
"voured to disturb *Italy* with his own and forreign Arms; and that the
"King after reconciliation had accused him for being still in Arms,
"contrary to Article; That hence he had the convenience to fall upon
"*Montferrat*: That things continuing in the same posture, and the
"Duke keeping himself armed without any probable occasion, and hol-
"ding still Intelligence with the French, his ends and intentions were
"much the more to be suspected; and that by what appeared, he was
"but ill satisfied with the King for his no ways pleasing resolves upon
"the present occasion: So as he could not consent thereunto without
"great danger of more novelties; That it was lawful for any one to
"do what he listed at home, wherein none could justly hinder him;
"but that notwithstanding all men should so live and govern them-
"selves, as that their neighbours might quietly maintain what was
"their s without any cause of jealousie: That the King had tempori-
"zed long before he proceeded to any such Command, using gentle
"and respectful terms towards the Duke; whereat the very Princes of
"*Italy*, who grew jealous of the Kings patience, appeared to be open-
"ly grieved: And that though the King had often taken up Arms, yet
"never without necessary and evident occasion; which ceasing, he had
"forthwith laid them down, without injury to any one, and without
"invading one foot of ground belonging to any neighbouring Prince:
"That the Duke ought to have imitated the King in this example ra-
"ther then in the forme r; since without any war made against him, he
"had of himself taken up Arms: And therefore as the passing a mans
"word not to offend is accepted, where there is necessity of keeping
"armed; so it is of no weight where that consideration ceasing, it is ne-
"cessary to come to execution; which any man may indeavour to do
"by Arms, when no other means hath proved profitable; for to keep
"still in Arms upon the Confines, is a thing too prejudicial to the
"Prince and people, full of suspicion, and moreover subject to the
"like dangers and inconveniencies which are sought to be prevented by
"keeping in Arms: But the Dukes offer to disarm jointly with the
"Gove nour, as it answered the major part of the opposite reasons, so
"did it draw the present question to a nearer point; for the same re-
"spects of publick peace, reciprocal security, and satisfaction, being
"in such a case equally to be pleaded on all sides, it was only to be con-
"sidered, whether the parity of reason which agrees amongst equals,
"disagree amongst unequals: In which ambiguity the Duke was com-
"pelled to accommodate himself to the condition of times, and to give
"way to the will of the more powerful, or by defending the liberty and

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"Soveraigny of his State, shew by arms what is often seen to happen, "That Fortune, Valour, and the variety of Humane actions, can equal "the disequality of Forces and States.

Many, notwithstanding, who approved of the Cause, disallowed of the Kings Resolution; thinking that doubtlesly it had been more expedient, and better done, not to irritate the Duke still more, whose mind was already sufficiently ulcerated for former distastes, by his appearing now to favour his adversary so much; nor to press him more, and necessitate him by new Commands to the utmost necessity; nay, even to desperation; which forc'd him to resent the action by throwing off all observance and respect that he might have allowed him the satisfaction of being somewhat better armed then usual, and to have dissembled this fervency (as had been done some years before) which because the precedent and present passages had shew'd, and would shew not to be profitable; and the continual expence whereof made it daily more prejudicial, it was to be believed that after having somewhat taken fire again, it would have quenched of it self: whereas on the contrary, by blowing the coal, instead of quenching it, they indangered the making it flame higher, and prove more perillous: But the respect of the Kings Honour and regal Majesty prevailed with the Kings Council, which being well rooted in the continued peace of *Italy*, and in the observancy born unto him, even until this present, by the Italian Princes, and now more confirmed by the Dukes last Oblequies and reverend carriage, had so possest the Spanish State-Ministers, as promising themselves much more then they ought to have done, they did undoubtedly believe that the Duke would not do otherwise upon this occasion then he had done formerly, and lately in the business of *Montferrat*; and that howsoever, any the least appearance of war would be sufficient to suppress any Commotion whatsoever, and make him desist; especially when both *France* and *Italy*, being offended with him for his having assaulted *Montferrat*, did concur in making him look well about him, and incited the King to make war upon him upon that account. Many lay the fault of these alterations, in a great part, upon the Duke of *Lerma*'s antient emulation and private ambition; who being desireous to take from the Dukes pretentions, and to abate the edge of his genius, easily forgot and laid aside the useful consideration of what importance his conjunction would be, and the good correspondency of the House of *Savoy* with the Crown of *Spain*; of the preservation whereof the preceding Kings had been very careful, and studied the continuance thereof: Howsoever, that Court having resolved that the Duke should give no more occasion of new scandals, but that he should lay down Arms, and suffer others to live in peace, the Governour of *Millain* received order to prepare a sufficient Army to assault him in his own Dominions if he should resist the Kings resolutions; but to the end that what was resolved of might be done more justifiably, and with less disturbance to the French and to the Italian Princes, it was given out, that those Arms were not raised to suppress the Duke, and that the Kings intention was not to bereave him of any part of his Territories, but only to possess himself of some places in *Piedmont*, with intention of restoring them presently after he should have humbled him-

himself, and yielded to the Kings demands; They hoped that by carrying the business thus moderately, without disturbing the Affairs of *Italy*, and with less jealousie to the Potentates thereof, they might preserve the authority of the Kings Orders and peace, with advantage and honour to the Crown.

But the Duke was otherwise minded, who being exceedingly exasperated at the little account which was made of his interests in that Court, was ashamed of the obedience that he had shewed thereunto: Being therefore resolved not to be frighted at the Spanish Threats and preparations, he prepared sollicitously to defend himself; Nor did he altogether despair to do it; for though he knew himself very unable to make defence, yet he could not believe that the French and Venetians, and Princes of *Italy*, would ever suffer him to be suppresst, to their own so great inconvenience and prejudice: Being moreover over-born by his immoderate anger and implacable hatred to the Spaniards, he in almost a despairing manner, minded more his revenge then the preservation of his own affairs: And as men grow most fierce when they expect the worst of evils; so he aspiring at greater matters, and promising himself more then he could hope for, undertook to hold Intelligence with forreign Princes, who emulated the Spanish greatness, by whose favour and assistance he exceedingly hoped to stir up all *Europe* against the Spanish Grandezza: He did persist the rather herein, by reason of the Kings and his Ministers of States inclination to preserve *Italy* in peace; as also by reason of Orders come from that Court to the Statesmen of *Italy*, that they should imbrace all occasions to suppress the present uproar with the Duke, and that he would reserve himself for the last remedy, to break the peace with him, in case he should grow contumacious; So as thinking, that come what would come, it might be in his power to keep himself unprejudiced by war, if he would accept of what now he refused, he thought it would be more glorious for him to submit to the Kings commands rather inforc'd, then of freewil; and after he had tryed the fortune of war rather then before he had looked the enemy in the face: Yet the Dukes distastes were not at first such, nor so desperate, but that some way of accommodation might have been found, had not a Letter written by the Duke of *Lerma* to the Governour of *Millain*, which was divulged by him, made the malady uncurable: Directions were therein given, *That the Duke should precisely disarm, and that in case he should not obey, That the Governour should enter* Piedmont *with all his forces; and make him know it behooved him to obey the Kings pleasure, whose Ministers* (for so it was added) *were ill satisfied with so many difficulties and such resistance*: He concluded, *That it was firmly believed, that when the Duke should know this resolution, he would not forbear observing the Kings Orders.*

This Letter, like a spark of fire in well-prepared materials, made the combustions, which afterwards ensued; the greater, the Duke being touch'd to the quick, and thinking that *Lerma* in this Letter shewed no respect unto him, but that he was therein treated as a subject, did so detest it, as being much disturbed in mind, and little less then mad; all his indeavours were to use the greatest demonstrations of resentment, and of disrespect to the Authority of *Spain*, that he could devise: Neither

ther did he himself conceal the reason of such combustions; for he was wont to say openly, that word *Obey*, had made him take up Arms. Thus words are oftentimes of more force then deeds, and outward demonstrations offend more then reallities. The Breach began from a protestation which the Duke caused to be made to the Governour, when he saw that there was no means of composition left; wherein, going over the war of *Montferrat* from the very beginning thereof till the restitution of the places he had taken, he said, *That he was induced to make that Restitution out of hopes that his Niece should have been delivered up into his hands, according to the promise made him* (as he said) *by the Governour, in the Kings name; and that all Rebels should be pardoned, and losses by war; and under promise also of a quick and friendly composure of the differences touching the State which he had restored; He complained that he saw nothing made good which was promised, notwithstanding the many importunities made in the Court of* Spain, *even by the Prince his Son, after having been detained there for almost a whole year, the Moneth being therein computed, wherein he was detained in* Montferrat, *to his so great mortification.* He added, *That as for the Instrument presented to the said Prince in Court, it was neither answerable to what was promised him, nor to his just demands; so as he could not in honour accept it:* Then he proceeded to relate, *How that after the said Instrument was presented unto him at* Turin *from the Governour, he at the Governours desire had begun to treat of accommodating differences, and how that after many debates he was told, that there was no more composition to be thought of, but to do what the King had ordered: And finally, ripping open what had been said and replyed in that business, he concluded that the Governour had not only not made good any of his promises, but had hindered the composure of differences, which was by himself begun to no other end but to keep him the Duke in hand, that the mean while he might have time to prepare for the war which was already plotted against* Piedmont: *Wherefore he made his protestation that he would make all necessary and fitting preparations to defend himself: That he would give notice to the King, and to all Princes, particularly to those of* Italy, *how ill affected the Governour was to him and to his family, which was so devoted to the Crown of* Spain; *in the service whereof both he and his Predecessors had so often hazarded their lives and fortunes.*

At this time Prince *Philiberto* the Duke of *Savoy*'s second son, and Lord High Admiral of *Spain*, coming with the Spanish Gallies into *Italy*, brought 2000 Spaniards, who being landed near *Genoa*, and bent for *Millain*, he steered towards *Naples* and *Sicily*, where the rendezvous for the Kings Gallies was appointed, as those also of other Princes, to oppose the Ottoman Fleet, which being put from *Constantinople*, it was held for certain that it came to prejudice the Kings Territories, to revenge the loss of 8 Gallies taken the preceding Autumn by *Don Pietro di Girona*, Duke of *Osuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, with the Saylors and Shipping of that Kingdom led by *Octavio* of *Aragon*, who lighting upon them at unawares in the Levant Seas, easily made himself Master of them, and brought them in triumph into *Sicily*. With these and other people brought from several parts into the State of *Millain*, the Governour had an Army in the field of 1600 Horse and 20000 Foot, 4000 whereof who

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were Swiſſers, not being, by reaſon of the ancient League, to fight againſt the Duke, they were put into ſeveral Garriſons in the State of *Millain*; and the reſt marching towards the Confines of *Piedmont*, the Governour came forth of *Millain*, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, with the Standard general, and went to *Candia*, a Town in the *Novareſe*, near to the Dukes Dominions. Here whilſt he was muſtering his men, and expected other proviſions for War, he gave order to *Don Lewis Gaetano*, who was Embaſſadour for the King with the Duke, that he ſhould make his laſt tryal, to bring him to condeſcend to the Kings will; and that if he ſhould make any difficulty upon the manner of diſarming, he ſhould promiſe him that the Governour would paſs his word unto him in the Kings name that he would neither injure him, nor the Pope, nor the Emperour; and that in caſe of denial, he ſhould proteſt, as he in the ſight of God and man did proteſt, that all the wrongs that ſhould be done by War, and the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, ſhould be cauſed for his not having accepted that which had been with ſo much reaſon demanded of him; and that then taking his leave, and according to the Law of Nations, demanding a ſafe conduct, he ſhould come to within the State of *Millain*. For the better juſtification of the War, the Prince of *Caſtiglione* went to *Turin*, to do the like in the Emperours name the Dukes Soveraign Lord.

But all this did no good; for the Duke profeſſing that he was much afraid he ſhould be aſſaulted in his own Dominions by the Governours neighbouring Army, as ſoon as he ſhould have laid down Arms: and that therefore thinking, or ſeeming to think, that all caution came ſhort of the danger, and that his utmoſt ſafety was therein concern'd, he could not admit of any offer which was not conſonant to his ſafety and dignity; and therefore alledging that the Pope would not accept of his word with an obligation to make it be kept, and the Emperour had not Forces in *Italy* ſufficient to over-ſee the obſerving of it, tacitely reproaching the Governour for being faulty in his firſt word, and that therefore he had no reaſon to confide therein: He therefore concluded that they ſhould joyntly diſarm, offering to be himſelf the firſt who ſhould diſmiſs ſome of his men; and proteſting that he would not have taken up Arms, had it not been for the Governours threats, accompanied with ſo great a ſtrength to ſuppreſs him, and that therefore he was now ready to defend himſelf to the laſt: In ſign whereof, drawing off his Collar of the Golden Fleece, he gave it to the Embaſſadour *Gaetano*, who refuſing to accept it, he ſent it after him to his houſe, that he might ſend it to the King; and though theſe and many other actions were clear evidences that the Dukes will was totally alienated from the King, and that he would ſtand upon reſiſtance; yet could they not diſdeceive many Italians, nor the Governour, and Spaniſh Miniſters in general, nor make them alter their opinion; for thinking that being ſo inferiour a Prince, and ſo unable to reſiſt the Forces of the Crown, he would not dare to ſtand the tryal of the threatened War, they were of opinion, that having ſhew'd all the demonſtrations of courage even to the very laſt, he would, at the appearance of the Spaniſh Arms and Standards, yield, juſt as he had done the year before, before *Nice*; and therefore rather out of certainty then confidence, and thinking that it

would much detract from the Majesty and reputation of the Kings Affairs, if they should by fortifying themselves seem to doubt that the Duke would assault any of the Towns in the State of *Millain*, they did not care to furnish even the Frontiers towards *Piedmont*, though they abounded in Swissers; nor did they fear to be assaulted on any other side.

Wherefore the Venetians approving as then of the Kings resolutions, did not at all seem to favour the Duke; but rather persevering in their former distastes, they appeared wholly averse to his ends and interests. The Governour resolving to go with his Army to before *Vercelles*, past his men over into *Montferrat* by a bridge built upon the River *Sesia*, near to *Villana*; and being come to *Villa nova*, he went on the 7th of *September* with his Troops in good order towards *Vercelles*, nine miles distant from *Villa nova*. *La Motta*, the first Town in *Piedmont* yielded forthwith unto him, and afterwards *Carenzana*; where, distributing his Souldiers in those places, he quartered that night: But the Duke thinking diversion to be a better way of defence then opposition; and having what Horse, what Foot, little less then 10000 in *Vercelles*, of which 5000 French, he resolved to march into the State of *Millain*. Having therefore made a bridge of boats over the same *Sesia* which divides his Dominion from the State of *Millain*, and chusing out 6000 foot, and 1000 horse, he went with them and with two field-pieces into the Territory of *Novara*: From hence he sent 1500 foot, and 300 horse, Commanded by *Caloria*, son to the Count of *Verrua*, along the River towards the Bridge *della Villata*, with order to burn it, thereby to bereave the enemies Army of the Victuals and Ammunition which thereby were brought to them from the State of *Millain*. He went with the rest streight towards *Novara*; whither being come about Sun-rising, he advanced with Count *Guido* and some horse, and appeared upon an eminent Hill near the City: There were not above 500 men in the Garrison, yet the Novaresi, betaking themselves presently to Arms, fired a piece of Cannon upon them: But the Duke, though he saw the Novaresi astonisht at his coming, and the City wholly unprovided of defence, so as probably he might have hoped to take the Town, he notwithstanding retreated, and advanced no further, were it either out of the respect which he still bore unto the King (as he afterwards freely declared) or as others would have it, out of fear of being probably assaulted by the Spanish Army, which coming upon him nigh at hand, and finding him engaged in that enterprize with but a few Forces, might easily have suppress him.

The Kings Commanders, nay, the whole Camp, when they heard that the Duke was gone to *Novara*, knew how rare an occasion this would bee. Don *Alfonso Pimentello* General of the Cavalry, and Don *John Vives*, the Kings Embassadour to the State of *Genoa*, who was then in the Camp, and Cavaliere *Melzi*, an ancient Captain, and very good at Counsel, propounded, That foording immediately over the *Sesia*, by the advantage of their Cavalry, or by their Waggons, accommodated like to a Bridge, and leaving a reasonable baggage with the Garrison in *Carenzana*, or sending it into *Montferrat*, they should go and cut off the Dukes way in his return; for, said they, one

of two things must needs happen, that either the Duke being beleaguered in an Enemies Countrey, and having no victuals, must yield within twenty four hours; or that fighting upon great disadvantage, he must needs be a loser, not without manifest danger to his own person; for he would certainly be taken Prisoner by the Horse, which were dispersed every where about the Country. This Proposition being approved of by the whole Council would assuredly have been followed, had not it been opposed by Prince *Ascoli*; who alledging the depth of the water, the danger of foording over the Rivers, and the doubt lest the Duke falling upon them in their passage might much prejudice them, turned the Governour from this resolution: He added moreover, That it was neither the Kings mind, nor the intention of the war, that the Duke should be suppress'd, but only that he should be infested till such time as he should lay down Arms, and prepare to obey the Kings other directions. He therefore concluded, that it was by no means fitting to adventure the reputation of the Kings Forces, which would sufficiently decline upon any the sleightest encounter; and that since the safety of *Novara* might be cautiously provided for, safe and secure resolutions ought to be preferred before such as were dangerous and uncertain. The difficulty of foording over so small a River, nor the danger of the Dukes coming upon them, could not alter the Governour from his first opinion; for the waters were not then very deep; and the Duke being gone that very night for *Novara*, he could not, no not though he had flown, have hindred their passage. Yet one mans Authority prevailing over the universal opinion of the Council, an opportunity was lost of overcoming, and of putting an end to the war the very day that it was begun: It was notwithstanding ordered, according to the opinion of the Prince himself, that the Army should returne the same way it had come; that it should go to the Bridge of *Villata*; and that repassing over the *Sesia* there, it should go to relieve *Novara*; but with expres command to Don *Alfonso Pimentello*, who led the Van, not to fight upon any whatsoever occasion. The Van had not well pass'd over the Bridge, when the burning of certain little Cottages was seen from afar off, and the noise of fighting heard; wherefore 200 Horse were sent towards that part, to discover what the matter was, who light upon the Marquess *Calusio*, who was sent, as hath been said, by the Duke, to burn the Bridge, and lay the Country waste; and in a skirmish with 200 Horse, which were sent by *Pimentello*, he was forsaken by his Cavalry, which at the first charge were routed, and fled, many of them, together with *Calusio* himself, being taken Prisoners, and many slain; some of the Foot, when they saw the Horse run, threw away their Arms, ran away, and were cut in pieces; the greater part of them keeping close together, and retreating in good order, made use of the mootish scituation, and of the banks, through which the Enemies not being able to follow them, they had opportunity to make head in fitting and advantagious places, and to face *Lodovico Guasto*, one of the Captains of the 200 Horse, who with his Company of Curassiers followed them by oblique ways, and was still upon their flanks; and after having assaulted them more than once, many of his men being slain, and having his own horse slain under

him, he suffered them at last to get safe into *Vercelles*; and though their number was lessened, yet they won more preys, then their horse, which fled at the very first onset, without making any resistance. This was the first incounter of the War of *Piedmont*, and the first action that hapned therein. The Spanish Army went to quarter at *Candia*, a mile beyond *Villata*, instead of going to *Palestra*, a little higher upon the river: whither, they might better have gone: for being neer the way which leads from *Novara* to *Vercelles*, it had been a more convenient place to have hindred the Dukes return. And this would have proved the better, for that the Duke parted that very night from *Novara*, and returned to the Confines of *Piedmont*, and quartered there that night, with his men very weary and tired with their march the preceding day and night. Here the Governour had notwithstanding another occasion of worsting him, had he been as mindful to imbrace it, as fortune was favorable in presenting it. For there was neither river, nor other obstacle between him and the Duke, so as he might commodiously and upon advantage have assaulted him, there not being above a mile between the places where they were quartered.

The next day the Duke fired *Palestra* early in the morning, to revenge the burning of *Caravana* the night before by the Dutch, and went for *Vercelles* without being molested; nothing being done to impede him in his return. Thus having freed his own State from the Enemies Army, the very day that it entred thereinto, and revenged the injury he had received, in the same manner as was done to him, he returned to *Vercelles*; where he staid, observing the Enemies proceedings. The Governour being returned to the State of *Millain* began presently to build a Fort, which he raised from the very foundation, in the Territories of *Novara*, a little distant from the *Sessa*, and not much more then a mile from *Vercelles*; which in honour of the Duke of *Lerma*, he called the Fort of *Sandoval*. He gave out, that he built it to no other end, but to secure *Novara*, in case that when the Governour should enter again into *Piedmont*, it should be re-assaulted by the Duke, as in such case he threatned he would do. But the Fabrick being great, and capable of many men, flanckt by five Bulwarks, and neer upon a mile in compass, it was not without good ground judged to be a building not begun for the occurrences of the present War, but of long continuance, and to fortifie the State of *Millain* on that side at all times from forreign Armies. For this same thing was almost resolved upon many years before in *Spain*, though it was not proceeded in, to shun giving of jealousie to the Italian Princes, and to the Duke, who was then a friend to the Crown. But now there being a manifest breach, it was thought, as indeed it was true, that the Kings Officers made use of this occasion, to put their former resolution in practise. In this interim Prince *Philiberto* return'd from *Naples* with the Gallies wherein were between five and six thousand foot, part Spaniards, and part Neapolitans, who being unbarked in the waters of *Genua*, where he left also most of the Gallies, he went with some few into *Spain*, being honour'd, and attended, not only as Admiral, but as the Kings Nephew: but in reality being environed by Spanish Officers, who were appointed to wait upon him by the Duke of *Lerma*, he appeared rather to be kept

as an Hoſtage, his Navigation was to no great purpoſe; for the Turkiſh Fleet, which was much leſs then it was ſaid to be, after having appeared within ſight of *Sicely*, before the Prince his coming, retreated to *Navarino*, a Haven in *Morea*. True it is, that *Don Diego Pimentello* who was ſent with two good Gallies very well appointed, to diſcover them, had the luck to take two of the enemies Gallies; which being well man'd came alſo to diſcover the Chriſtian Fleet; and lighting upon them about *Navarino*, he ſtoutly aſſaulted them, and in a ſhort ſpace made himſelf maſter of them, a Victory which was the more remarkable for that it hapned almoſt in view of the enemies Fleet, which was not above 20 miles diſtant from where the fight was made. But it is not to be expreſt how all men were amazed, and confounded with wonder in *Lombardy*, and generally throughout *Italy*, who expected mighty things from the Governours going into *Piedmont*; when they ſaw him return ſo ſoon without doing any thing; and as the reſolution of returning would have made ſome amends, and have repaired the reputation of the Kings Forces, wherein they ſuffered very much; if following the enemy, they had vigorouſly re-entred *Piedmont* at their heels; ſo the keeping with the whole Army, for above two moneths, about the Fort which was erecting, did neceſſarily detract from their honour; and ſo much the more, for that mighty things being looked for from them, no mean ſucceſſes would have ſatisfied expectation. On the other ſide, the Duke making leſs account of the diſcomforture given to his men, then of the enemies going out of *Piedmont*, thought the leaſt harm that befell the enemy, a great comfort to his own affairs. And therefore thinking that at the very beginning of the War he had made the world ſee that the Spaniſh Forces were not invincible, he hoped that the Italians being awakened thereby, as by a warlike trumpet, would the ſooner joyn with him, both in Forces, and in intelligence againſt ſtrangers. Therefore not being upon this occaſion wanting to himſelf, but making his cauſe the common cauſe, he was well pleaſed, that divers writings, and compoſures ſhould be thrown abroad in *Italy*, but eſpecially in his own Dominions; wherein ſtiling him the head, and author of the recovery of their ancient Liberty, the Italian Potentates were exhorted to throw off the forreign yoke, by which they had been ſo long oppreſs'd. And ſtill continuing with more fervency the indeavours long before begun in *France*, and *Germany*, with the Princes who did emulate the Spaniſh Grandezza, with the King of *England*, and with the States of *Holland*, he ſtrove to make them joyn with him, that ſo they might unanimouſly oppoſe that power which did overſhadow a great part of *Europe*. But believing particularly, that the Venetians, the great harm which would inſue unto them by his ſuppreſſion being conſidered, would not give him over in ſo great a danger; he therefore having compoſed the differences which had been between them and him, touching the War of *Montferrat*, by the interceſſion of the Embaſſadours of *France* and *England*, then reſident in *Venice*; he reſolved to ſend *Facomo Piſsina* with title of Embaſſadour to *Venice*, to exhort them upon this occaſion to imbrace his cauſe with their Forces, and the defence of the common ſafety, and liberty; who being brought into the Colledge, may be ſuppoſed to have ſpoken to this effect;

'It

'It is most certain, Serene Prince, and wise fathers, that diffidence 'hath always been the ruine and undoing of friendship; as on the con- 'trary, affiance and trust hath always been held the streighteſt bond to 'keep Princes perpetually colleagued in friendship to one and the same 'end. The distrust that the Duke my Master, joyning with the Spani- 'ards, conspired against the common safety, when upon just occasion 'he took up arms against *Montferrat*, made you readily imbrace the 'Duke of *Mantua*'s cause, which was then held to be the common cause. 'Out of this Reason, the Duke my Master, as best knowing his own 'intentions, which he by open manifestoes published to the world, 'thought this Commonwealth more inclined to favour his adversary 'then him. And that therefore construing his intentions to be other- 'wise then they have been since known to be, by reciprocal diffidence 'the ancient friendship so long preserved between him and this Com- 'monwe lth hath on the sudden been turned to enmity. Now, since 'all men may assertain themselves, by what hath hapned at *Novara* and '*Vercelli*, that the Dukes intention never was, nor can ever in the future 'be, different from the common end of the Princes of *Italy*, and par- 'ticularly from that of this most glorious Commonwealth; which is, 'manfully to make good, and constantly to maintain the common safe- 'ty, dignity, and liberty, against the common enemies; he therefore 'hath reason to hope, that past distastes being turn'd to as much confi- 'dence, the former good correspondency will be redoubled; and that in 'so just and honest a cause, in so useful and necessary a War, he may 'presume to be favoured by the Venetian Forces. For if you did re- 'solve to patronize the Duke of *Mantua* against a Prince so streightly 'joyn'd in interest and good will with this Commonwealth, only out 'of fear that he might assault *Montferrat*, with an intention to annex 'it to the Spaniards; how much more ought you now prepare to de- 'fend the Duke of *Savoy*, whilst he is assaulted by the ambitious Spani- 'ard, for the preservation of the publick dignity, by those Forces, 'whereby under a colour of preserving peace in *Italy*, and which they 'are the first that do disturb, they indeavour to possess themselves of '*Piedmont*, so lawfully injoyed by him, and by his predecessors; the 'Spaniards, as all men may see, would be believed to be the Arbitra- 'tors, the Patrons of *Italy*, the Supream Moderator of her Potentates; 'they therefore think it reasonable, that all Italian Princes, as if they 'were so many of their Subjects, should obey every the least beck of 'that King, nay of any of his Ministers. And terming the slavery of '*Italy*, peace, the obedience thereof security: and on the contrary, 'the freedom thereof, contumacy; and its generosity, turbulency of 'spirit; they by these artifices strive to make themselves gracious, and 'others odious to the people. And now having begun to exercise 'this their superiority, to the no less general prejudice, then to the 'universal loss of reputation, upon the weakest, they will arrogate the 'like over the greatest. They of late commanded the Duke of *Mo- 'dena* and the *Luccheſi*, to lay down arms, and were immediately obey- 'ed, without any reply. They now indeavour the like with the Duke 'of *Savoy*: whom, after having secured *Montferrat* from all Hostility, 'they command to lay down Arms, and to disband his Souldiers:

'and

'and because he keeps 1000 Souldiers more then usual in his Domini-
'ons, they threaten him. Was there ever known so unjust, and so
'imperious a command? with what reason does that King and that
'Nation, who, as all men know, are but as of yesterday in *Italy*, give
'Laws to the Dukes of *Savoy*, who held the Scepter of *Piedmont* 400
'years, before he was master of one foot of Land in *Italy*? will there
'none then dare to shew their faces, and gainsay such insolent com-
'mands? shall the generosity of the Italian name be so totally extinct, as
'that all *Italy* shall obey those whom they have formerly comman-
'ded? who sees not that by these beginnings they aim at the reducing
'of the power and liberty of the Princes of *Italy* into a Precarious
'power, into a Precarious liberty, depending upon every nod of theirs?
'but why talk I of a Precarious power, of a Precarious liberty, these
'beginnings tend manifestly to the reducing of the Duke of *Savoy* into
'miserable slavery, and to the subjugating of *Piedmont*: nor ceasing
'here, to the making themselves absolute Lords of *Italy*: the Monar-
'chy whereof having long fancied unto themselves in Idea, they now
'begin to try how it may succeed, by the suppression of the Duke my
'Master, and by counterfeiting with the other Italian Potentates. And
'cloaking this their ambitious and avaricious thirst with the fair pre-
'tence of publick peace, they are no less intent upon the usurping of
'other men's Dominions, then were the Persians of old; who aspiring
'at the oppression of *Greece*, demanded a little water, and some few
'clods of earth, for no other end, but that upon denial they might have
'some colourable pretence to make War upon them, and tyrannical-
'ly to subjugate them. If then the safety, and dignity of all *Italy* be
'indanger to be ruined, by the abasing of my Master, by the suppressi-
'on of *Piedmont*, will this Commonwealth, contrary to her custom,
'contrary to the constitutions and examples of her Predecessours,
'stand idle spectators of other mens miseries? careless lookers upon
'the common danger and calamity? shall she sleep, and be drown'd
'in a dull Lethargy, which confesseth that she continually watcheth
'over, and stands sentinel to the common liberty? the Romans did
'of old make War, and send forth powerful Armies against *Philip*
'King of *Macedon*, and *Antiochus* King of *Asia*; not out of any desire
'of acquisition, or of inlarging their Empire, not out of any hatred to
'those Kings, nor to revenge any injuries received from them; but
'only to free the Grecians from the tyranny of those Princes: but out
'of Roman generosity, which could not suffer that those people, who
'had been anciently born, and who had long lived free, and masters of
'themselves, should be subjected by barbarous Kings. And yet *Greece*
'was a Nation far distant from *Rome*, much differing from the Romans
'in Laws, Customs, Language, and Religion; so as the Romans needed
'not to have cared much for their Country nor Condition, not been
'much moved at their misery, and will you; who represent that an-
'cient and august Commonwealth, to the life, in Wisdom, Actions,
'and much more in generosity of Mind, refuse to assist in the freeing,
'not of a Province, or forreign Nation, but of this, which was anci-
'ently the Princess of Provinces, which is your Mother, your Coun-
'try, the seat of your Empire, and of the Majesty of your Common-
'wealth?

'wealth? from whose dignity, safety and freedom, you reap so much 'splendor, and security? but, why make I use of so remote examples, 'when there are not wanting those which are fresher and more suitable 'to the times and present occurrences? it is not much above 400 years 'since *Italy*, and particularly all that which lies between the *Apenine*, 'and the *Alps*, being oppress'd by the Dutch Empire, many of the Ci'ties of *Lombardy* took courage to shake off the yoke of that fierce Na'tion: so as joyning in League, wherein your Ancestors, having 'manfully for many years made War with *Germany*, which had her foot 'upon their necks, the peace of *Constance* did insue, by which nothing 'remained to the Germans, but the bare name of Supream Empire, 'and the Italians repossest themselves of their so much desired liberty: 'Shall not that then which made so many people, dispers't in so many 'Cities, oppress'd by so severe a yoke, able to venture for, and to 'atchieve liberty, be sufficient now to associate some few, and free 'Chieftains? will it not be able to infuse courage into free, great, and 'powerful Princes? and ascertain them that the same thing, begun 'with more prosperous presage shall have a more fortunate end? shall 'peradventure the doubt of success make you hesitate, whose fore-fa'thers did manfully withstand the Forces of so many Princes joyn'd to'gether against them? shall the Commonwealth of *Venice* be afraid of '*Spain*, which, being without either King or Government, drown'd 'in luxury, and riches, and divided into so many parts, and Regions, 'as that the vastness of its Empire doth counterpoise, or injure it self? 'should it fear to resist that power, against which the Hollanders, who 'were then but a meak people, did rebel, and of Subjects have made 'themselves free men, of slaves Lords? nothing can appear really dif'ficult to generously minded men. The Duke of *Savoy* hath no sooner 'sacrificed his State, and Life, in so laudable an enterprize, but imme'diately the French, despising their Kings commands, are come in to 'his aid, and will very suddenly appear in greater numbers. Nor will 'he want assistance from *Holland*, and *England*; as also from many of 'the *German* Princes, who favour my Master, and are tacitely confe'derated with him, if for no other end, at least to abate so great a sur'quedry, and so odious a pride: and shall not that which works upon 'forreigners, prevail with this Commonwealth, which to boot with 'the same Reasons, is incited so to do by the safety of her friends, by 'the protection which she professeth to take of the oppressed, and '(which imports most) by the imminent danger of her own liberty? but 'if peradventure so great and important occasions should contrary to 'the expectation of all men, be so little considered by her, as in so ur'gent a necessity she should not defend the common interest, think, I 'beseech you, what opinion will be had of her wisdom? what esteem 'will be put upon her generosity, and grandezza? what will the other 'Italian Princes say, who being anxious for the common interest, what 'the end of the War of *Piedmont* will prove, depend upon your Au'thority, knowing that the safety of their Dominions and fortune 'depends upon your Counsels and Resolves; Who doubts that our 'Princes shall no sooner know your inclination, shall no sooner see 'the Vatican Colours display'd; and that the people who are subject

'to

'to the Spaniards shall no sooner see your arms glister, but that those 'wearied with their pride, and these vexed with their unsupportable 'tyranny, will move, and will expose themselves, their children, and 'all that is dear unto them, to enjoy that dignity, that golden liberty, 'whereunto these Skies, and this Country doth invite them. Make 'use then of this so fair, so rare, and so opportune an occasion, where-'in all *Italy*, all *Europe* is concerned: which being imbraced by the 'Duke my Master, gives assured signes of happy success. Mark, I be-'seech you, how he, accompanied but with a handful of men, hath 'quickly cooled their threats, hath at the first push turn'd their intenti-'ons of oppugning *Piedmont* into care of fortifying themselves in the 'State of *Millain*. One small Victory, one bruit given them, will 'throw them down headlong from that height from whence they with 'such arrogancy pretend to prescribe Laws to *Italy*, will alienate their 'friends from them, will put heart into their Subjects, and make them 'see upon how weak foundations this their vast Monarchy is built. And 'they losing their courage, wherewith in their prosperity they are so 'puft up, will yield to us the glory of so gallant an action; whereby, 'to boot with our natural liberty, we shall purchase perpetual and im-'mortal praise to our posterity.

These words were as attentively listened unto, as efficaciously spoken by the Embassadour; who being dismiss'd with general words, the busi-ness was propounded in the *Consiglio de Pregadi*; where a Senator stood up, worthy, for the acuteness of his wit, and for his affection to his Country, of all those Honours which his no riper years did de-bar him of, who spoke thus.

'If our opinions had been demanded by the Duke of *Savoy* when 'things not being come to an open breach between him and the 'King of *Spain*, he had no need of our assistance, as now being demand-'ed when the breach is begun, our Counsels may seem superfluous and 'unseasonable; I think our Answer ought to have been such, as if being 'observed by him, it might totally have eased him of the necessity and 'occasion of making this demand: Therefore since we were not ac-'quainted with it at the first, we must now consider advisedly, not 'what had then been expedient for us to advise, but what we are now 'to resolve upon, not only for our own honour and safety, but for the 'like of all *Italy*, touching our abandoning or adhering to the Duke 'of *Savoy*, assaulted by the King of *Spain*: For I believe you are all of 'opinion, That according to the Rules of civil Government, Princes, 'who betake themselves, sometimes more out of necessity then choice, 'to side with such Interests whereinto others have run either out of 'hatred or some other disturbances, ought to indeavour that greater in-'conveniencies may not ensue. I believe that the ambition and desire 'of Government is common to all men; but that the Spaniards do 'more abound in this then others, cannot be denied; and that that Na-'tion which is not satisfied with great possessions which she injoys both 'in *Europe*, and in so many other parts of the world, doth still desire the 'agrandizing thereof by the suppressing of others, is not to be doubted: 'And though hitherto (thanks to the peace of *Italy*, and to the great 'care which is had, that they govern not such States as are not subject

'to them) they have not obtained their ends; yet in my opinion he 'thinks amiss who believes, that if occasion were offered, they would 'cease from their willingness to other mens possessions. For the Citations 'sent from *Millain* against many Princes of *Italy*, when Count *Fuentes* 'was Governour, and which though they do not declaredly concern 'our Common-wealth, do as lately tacitly threaten her, are not as yet 'totally extinct, though they be laid aside for the present. And if we 'may argue from smaller things to greater, with what cunning, not to 'say Authority, have they gotten *Finale*, *Monaco*, *Piombino*, *Correggio*, 'and many other Towns in *Lombardy*, under their Dominion? where- 'in, in my opinion, it is not so much to be considered how much for the 'present the *summa totalis* is concerned in those Towns, as the conse- 'quences which they draw after them; and that from thence we ought 'to measure their Intentions and ends, which do not aim only at the 'getting of those little Castles, but at much greater designes. *Monaco* 'and *Finale* curb and command the Rivers of *Genua*; *Piombino* the State 'of *Tuscany*; how much subjection do the mid-way Towns of *Lunegi- 'giana* inforce upon both these States? the same may be said of *Cor- 'reggio*, in respect of the States confining thereupon. *Porto Longone*, 'fortified by them by so many Fabricks, almost in the face of *Italy*, how 'clearly doth it shew the ambition they have, with safety to themselves, 'to bridle this Province; and who doubts, but that as much as the li- 'berty of any of our Princes is lessened, so much the Spanish power is 'augmented, even to our prejudice? Nor is our Common-wealth kept 'harmless from their ambition. How much doth the Popes being set 'on against us, by so many favours, Covenants, and preparations for 'war in time of interdiction, shew that that King and Nation have no 'good intentions towards us? the continual molestations of the *Uscochi*, 'fomented by them against us? Our League with the Garrisons which 'they by so many Plots indeavour to oppose: The Fort *Fuentes*, built 'in the jaws of the *Valteline*, to the perpetual yoke of that Nation, and 'to the apparent shame of our League; who sees not how much they 'redound to the suppression of our honour, and of our Affairs? They 'now indeavour to erect new Forts against the Duke of *Savoy*; and 'because he will neither acknowledge nor obey his Commands, they 'assault his Dominions; whether with an intention to bereave him of 'them, or no, I will not at this time either affirm or deny; although it 'may be justly suspected, if not fully asserted, by the many prepara- 'ons and great demonstrations made by that Nation, and probably 'feared by their wonted ends; but howsoever, I consider that it doth 'not become the interests nor dignity of our Common-wealth, to per- 'mit that that Prince should basely submit to such Commands, nor 'that we by abandoning him give possession to that Nation of so abso- 'lutely commanding and compelling the Italian Princes to obey her: for 'mens thoughts inlarge themselves by degrees; and the greater the 'things be which they attain, the greater do the ends which they pro- 'pose to themselves grow; and when they have gotten one thing, they 'think they have gotten nothing, which makes them pretend to more 'advantagious and higher things: And in State-affairs, he who cor- 'descends in reputation, and at the first, must resolve to yield after-

'wards to all things: Wherefore, queſtionleſs, when they ſhall have 'forc'd the Duke to what they now demand, they will afterwards com-'pel him to greater matters, which will prove a pernicious preſident 'to other Princes, and to us our ſelves, when occaſion ſhall ſerve: And 'it is to be believed, that in ſuch a caſe no man will care for what ſhot 'ſhall befall us, as juſtly deſerving the ſame puniſhment which we have 'ſuffered others to undergo. But ſuppoſe that the Dukes Forces and 'friends ſhall prove inferiour to the greatneſs of his Spirit, or that find-'ing himſelf forſaken by others, he either willingly yield to the Com-'mand or power of the ſtronger: or that diſarm he, or diſarm he not, 'he ſhall howſoever be ſuppreſt: Who ſees not what the common 'danger will be? Who ſees not a fair way made to that Monarchy 'which that Nation fancies unto her ſelf? Who ſees not *Italy* fallen in-'to miſerable ſlavery, and into as deplorable a condition as ever 'ſhe was in ſince the declination of the *Roman* Empire? It being 'then the part of wiſe Princes, timely to foreſee, and to provide early 'againſt dangers which are not far off, I ſhould think it very neceſſary 'that this Common-wealth, though otherwiſe deſirous to preſerve 'peace, ſhould in ſome ſort or other undertake the Dukes defence; 'Leſt whilſt we ſhall ſtand idly looking upon other mens evils, it befall 'not us as it befell our fore-Fathers, when the Kingdom of *Naples*, 'being aſſaulted by *Charles* the Eighth, the State of that Prince was 'poſſeſt and overcome before ſought withal; who whilſt he is in ſafe-'ty, and maſter of the Walls and Gates of *Italy*, may give entrance 'unto ſtrangers, and keep our Liberty, and the like of all the Princes of '*Italy*, ſafe both in war and peace.

Many, and particularly thoſe of the younger ſort, praiſed this Opi-nion which was fortified with ſo many Reaſons; but another Senator, no leſs venerable for age then for wiſdom, and for his long experience in places of Magiſtracy, and Embaſſies happily diſcharged by him, ſtood up and ſpoke thus.

'I have always been of opinion, moſt worthy Senators, That he 'who will adviſe wiſely of weighty Affairs, ought not ſo much to conſi-'der the quality or ſtate of preſent things, as to conſider intentively, and 'diligently to examine things that are paſſed. Therefore if we will con-'der *Italies* condition in former times, I mean, when the Spaniards did 'not domineer here, and ſhall compare them, without paſſion or envy, 'with the preſent times: I believe that all men will join in opinion with 'me, that certainly the preſent times are to be prefer'd before the for-'mer. We have ſeen, (not to ſpeak of more remote times) we have 'ſeen, I ſay, or may conceive by Hiſtory, in what condition *Italy* was; 'when the French, or Kings of *Aragon*, were Lords of *Naples*; when 'the State of *Millain* was ſubject either to the *Viſconti*, *Sforzeſchi*, or 'to the French: To what bitter wars was *Italy* ſubject, and more par-'ticularly our Common-wealth? The *Aragonneſs* had no ſooner made 'themſelves maſters of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſo became Italian 'Princes, but they began ſometimes to trouble *Tuſcany*, *la Marca* ſome-'times, and ſometimes the Churches Territories, and the *Geneveſes*; 'and turning all things topſy turvy, they forbear not through ambition 'to extend their Empire beyond the Confines of that Kingdom. The

'*Visconti* of *Millain* did yet worse; and the *Sforza's* succeeding the *Visconti* as well in the State as in the lust of Government, kept themselves not within the Confines of *Millain* and *Genua*; And so troublesome was *Lodovico Sforza* to our fore-Fathers, as being forced to join in League with *Lewis* the Twelfth, King of *France*, they resolved to drive him out of his Dukedom, to the end that *Italy* being freed of that fire-brand, they might afterwards so quiet the Nation, and by that means secure it from the Kings of *Naples*, as they might no longer fear their own safety; and that the King of *France* being brought by their forces into *Italy*, and made master of *Millain*, might be the chief Protector of their State: What the success of those hopes did afterwards prove, I think is sufficiently known to all men; and how the King of *France* rewarded that good turn with bitter wars, cruel calamities and persecutions; For if ever our Common-wealth was near being utterly exterminated after the war of *Chioggia*, it was then, when that King, to recover *Cremona*, and *Gieradada*, which by Articles of agreement did belong to us, did incite the Armes of Christian Princes against us: and making him their head against our Progenitors, in that great league of *Cambraye*, stuck not to assault them with all his Forces; and had been the chiefest cause of our ruine, if such a tempest had not been stourly withstood, and prudently repaired by our fore-fathers. Not long after neither we, nor the other Potentates of *Italy*, being able to indure forreign Dominion in *Italy*, we joyntly indeavoured to repossess the *Sforza's*, in the State of *Millain*; which our fore-fathers did, though not without Wars, and infinite troubles: for they did not think that either the peace, or liberty of *Italy* could be secure, as long as the Spaniards, being masters of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as they then were, should likewise succeed in the State of *Millain*: as the *Sforza's* being afterwards extinct, it was needfull they should do. This is the condition of the affairs of *Italy*, which I term past: Let us now come to her present condition; and comparing it with the past, let us judge which of the two conditions is to be chosen, whether that when the *Visconti*, the *Sforza's*, and the French who counterpoised the King of *Aragon* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or this, wherein the Spaniards being masters of both these States, are with the moderation of Empire, a counterpoise unto themselves. I verily believe there is none that will prefer those times before these, neither in respect of the peace and happiness which we and the other Princes of *Italy* enjoy, nor of the security and quiet wherein we the present do possess our States. By means whereof if *Italy* do not begin to recover the Empire of the world, yet doth she flourish in all those Arts and riches which can result from a continued secure peace. Let us now give for granted, that the Spaniards are naturally ambitious, covering what belongs to others; let us alledge *Monaco*, *Finale*, and four other poor Villages, by the masters whereof they were for the most part brought in; put what esteem you please upon the Citations of *Francis*, and of the disturbances occasioned by four Pyrats which molest our Gulf; and let us compare these, or other more trivial businesses, and this desire which the Spaniards seem to have of Government, to the like as well of Native Princes, as Forreigners

'reigners, who have born sway in *Italy*: Let us oppose the Actions of 'those, to the remonstrances of these; the Citations of these, to the 'wars made by those with Italian Princes, and with our Common-'wealth; and certainly he must be very stupid who will not wonder at 'the comparison: But unless I be deceived, I see no probable ground, 'nor any conclusive reason of this their so immense ambition, and cove-'tousness of dispossessing other men, when I consider the conveniencies of great Acquisitions which their Kings have forborn to make, 'and how civil and liberal they have been to the Princes of *Italy*; this 'may be witnessed by the States of *Florence*, and of *Sienna*, won by 'their Arms, and yielded to the *Medici*; by *Corsica* taken from the 'French, and restored to the Common-wealth of *Genua*; by the free 'gift of the County of *Asti* to the Duke of *Savoy*, and by the recovery 'of almost all *Piedmont* to the same Duke; by the restitution of *Mode-'na* to the Estensi, and of *Piacenza* to the Farnesi; by the free forego-'ing of the State of *Millain* to *Francisco Sforza*; by the adjudging of '*Montferrat* to the *Gonzagi*, almost 100 years after the *Paleologi* were 'extinct, and now freed from the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*, and so 'faithfully restored to the Duke of *Mantua*: If we be not satisfied 'with these clear and evident Examples, I cannot see what mis-guiding 'error it is which doth incumber us, and makes us argue them to be so 'covetous of thirsting after what belongs to others. I forbear mentioning that all our Princes have for so many years been undisturbed by 'this their so great power; nay, how upon all occasions they have been 'succoured by them; and we, if truth may prevail, and if the remembrance of benefits received make not the Benefactor odious, as we 'have no just occasion to complain of their nighbourhood, so may we 'not justly forget the benefits received from the Crown, both when '*Ferdinando* the Catholick sent *Consalvo* the great to assist us when assaulted by the Turks; and when *Philip* the second concur'd in the sacred League, chiefly in our defence against the Ottoman Empire, 'wherein he was at double expence, in a great preparation of Ships, and 'Gallies, and in an infinite number of fighting men: Wherefore, as I 'am not informed by what is past, that the happiness of *Italy* consists 'in being governed wholly by her natural Princes; so since we manifestly perceive that the times, nor our minds, are not fram'd for the introducing of that which we account at present the most happy condition; it will be great wisdom, not out of a desire of novelty, to break 'the thread of things which have been hitherto happily spun: For what 'remains, that the Spaniards would secure their own States by building new Forts, that they indeavour to disturb our Vessels; though 'we may think it unkindly done, yet we have no just reason to take it 'ill at their hands; since they therein do nothing but what other Princes do, and what we our selves have thought fit to do in *Friuli*, and 'elsewhere. Nor hath the Duke of *Savoy* reason to complain of those 'Commands (as he calls them) which are laid upon him by the Spaniards, whilst it tends to the freeing of *Italy* from being continually 'troubled with her forces, and her neighbours from suspicion of novelty, otherwise I see not why the King should not be suffered to secure his own Dominions, except we will suffer the Duke to keep

'other

'other mens possessions in continual expence and anxiety, and inhibit 'others, after having tried all fair ways to free themselves from it by 'force; as is allowed of by natural and civil reason, even amongst pri- 'vate men. Let us remember, I beseech you, how much we were 'troubled at the unexpected assault of *Montferrat*; how much all *Italy* 'was molested thereat; how much we our selves did indeavour the 'comfort of the assaulted State, and the acquitting it from so sore and 'sudden troubles, both by assisting the Duke of *Mantua*, and by having 'recourse to the King of *Spain*: And let us argue from hence, if the 'aforesaid alledged may not suffice, what just reason, what fair colour 'we have to oppose the intention of the Spanish forces, procured, as I 'may say, by our selves, for the peace and safety of present affairs: 'What jealousies would there be had of our word and constancy, if we 'should indeavour to oppose the King in a war wherein he hath interes- 'sed himself at our desires; and against a Prince, who being so nearly 'related to him both in blood and concernments, ought to be convin- 'ced, though he had those sinister intentions against us and other Prin- 'ces, as are supposed to the contrary: You all know what great offers we 'did refuse made to us by the King of *France* if we would join with him 'against the Spanish Empire, when not many years ago, having a great 'Army on foot, and being confederate with many powerful Princes, he 'prepared to make war against that Empire: We refused *Cremona*, *Gia- 'radada*, and all the Coast of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which lies upon 'our Sea, because we desired rather to be esteemed peaceful preser- 'vers of our own affairs, then unquiet disturbers of other mens; be- 'cause we thought it not safe to change the certainty of our present con- 'dition for specious future hopes, though great ones, nor to go out 'of a happy calm, and enter into a troublesome tempestuous sea of no- 'velties. And shall the Duke of *Savoy* make us do that which the 'King of *France*, a King of such power and authority, inviron'd with 'so great Forces, and adherences, could not perswade us to? if we 'shall upon so sleight terms become the Dukes followers in his unquiet- 'ness; if we shall adhere to his will, partake of his quarrels, and un- 'dertake under pretence of the honour and liberty of *Italy*, to revenge 'his private quarrels with the Spanish Court, having been so jealous 'but a little before of his confederacy therewith; if we shall suffer our 'selves for any conceits of his, to be inveloped in a War against a pow- 'erful King and Nation, whose Forces I know not how those who 'think them so formidable in time of peace, should think them so un- 'considerable in times of War, as that to free themselves from jealou- 'sies which they fancie unto themselves in time of peace, they dare ir- 'ritate them: since we have no reason at the present to be jealous of the 'Spaniards neighbourhood, and since we may probably fear it may 'prove prejudicial, if provoked; me thinks, we should conclude it 'were not good to innovate, or alter the peaceful condition of the pre- 'sent times; and that we should lay aside those conceits of *Italies* liber- 'ty, which are so fair in appearance, but in realty very uncertain and 'dangerous; and which, as cates which are most esteemed, are not meats 'to cure a sick person, but poyson to kill him; so peradventure may 'they extinguish those vital spirits of liberty which we now enjoy. And

'this

'this, in my opinion is the likelier to fall out, for that they cannot be put
'in execution without much difficulty, by reason of the many conceits
'they will raise with all in the bringing about, by reason of the present
'condition of affairs, and through the disagreeing of our Princes, who
'as formerly so now, not being able to suffer that one should exceed
'another, would be the first to recall those foreign Nations in which
'they now entertain so much against their Enemies. For that the Duke of Savoy,
'who seems now so zealous for the common liberty, and to abhor so
'much the Spanish Empire, has been always of that opinion. So that it
'will be hard for us to acquiesce our selves, but that when he shall be sa-
'tisfied in his pretensions to Montferrat, he may afterwards, to the pre-
'judice of the common liberty, re-enter into the former privacy, and
'good intelligence with the King. For those Reasons, most excellent
'Senators, I conclude, that minding the safe Counsels of Peace, we
'may not involve our selves in a dangerous War, and in the troubles
'which may result from a contrary resolution.

The reasons did not please such, who detesting the Spanish great-
ness were much troubled to hear it so asserted, and yet though the
Senate were not desirous that the Duke should be suppressed, lest the
Spanish Grandeza might be thereby more increased, which being al-
ready swoln too high, they rather desired to see abated, yet the repu-
tation of the Spanish Forces prevailing with them, and preferring their
own safety and quiet before that of others, they considered not all then
the contrary reasons, and pitch'd upon this last opinion, so as looking
to be advised by more certain events, and not thinking the affairs as yet
sufficiently to order, nor ripe enough for them to declare themselves,
they held it not good to display their Sails to that wind which began to
breathe from *Piedmont*. True it is, that for the Dukes better satisfaction,
they sent *Renieri Zeno* into *Piedmont* with title of Embassadour Extra-
ordinary, in lieu of the ordinary Embassadour, who when the busi-
ness should be reconciled, was to be sent back, to the end that carry-
ing on the business with more authority, the Dukes business might not
seem to be totally abandoned by the Commonwealth. And there
wanted not those who argued by the success, that they did not only fo-
ment the Duke by private advice and promises, but assisted him under-
hand with supplies. The Duke obtained not a much differing resolu-
tion from the Court of *France*, where he expected better things from
the neighbouring dangers, from the vivacity of that Nation, and from
the Kings minority; for the Queen being assured by the King of *Spain*,
that he would forbear all hostility in *Italy*, whensoever the Duke would
consent to what was demanded, she was therewith satisfied, and en-
deavour'd to make the Duke yield to the Kings pleasure, in regard of
the interest of her Nephew the Duke of *Mantua*, in whose behalf this
new War was begun. Not listening therefore to any of the Dukes de-
sires or complaints, she under severe penalties prohibited all her Sub-
jects to take pay of him; and yet she also, for the honour of her King-
dom, and to give satisfaction to the Princes and Chief Lords of her
Court, sent *Charles Augustus* Marquess of *Rambolliette* to *Piedmont*,
Embassadour, to exhort the Duke to peace, with express commission,
that if he should forbear to lay down Armes, fearing that he might be

oppressed

oppressed afterwards by the Spanish Forces, he should give him all such assurances as he himself could desire, and offer him the protection of that Crown, and the Forces of the whole Kingdom. Such was the publick resolution of that Court, which was then governed by the Queen, who was much inclined to preserve friendship with the Crown of *Spain*, for the Interest of her own authority and greatness, and for the quiet and safety also of her Sons affairs, which would be less subject to troubles and perturbations by keeping peace, and good correspondency with her neighbours. That Court continued in the same mind for some years: though the King being come to the age of 14, and according to the orders of the Kingdom, out of wardship, took upon him the administration of affairs, and consequently the Queens regency ceased. For depending wholly upon his Mothers authority, and advice, the change of Government was for a while insensible, the name of Governour being only ceased. The new Kings first action was to ratifie the Marriages contracted with *Spain*; and seeming to be desirous to keep a firm correspondency therewith, the Duke of *Savoy* had small hopes of any good from *France*. And though he seemed abandoned of all help from thence, the Marshall *de Dignieres*, Governour of *Dolphenye*, sent good store of men continually unto him underhand, it not being known whether the Queen did wink thereat, or no: which hearing that many did murmure that the Duke in so urgent a necessity and danger should be abandoned, to the great diminution of the Kings authority, and of the Kingdoms interest, did underhand give way that the Kings resolution should be countervened: And therefore besides those that were sent by *de Dignieres*, many others falling down from the *Alps*, a good number of that Nation were in a short time found to be in *Piedmont*. By which the Duke being comforted, as also by the promises of other Princes, and being incouraged by the good beginning of the War (as it is usually seen that enterprizes which at first appear fearful, grow by degrees less dreadful) he began to confide more in himself, and looking for greater successes, he was content to be intreated to do that which he had much reason to desire. So as the words nor perswasions of the French Embassadour prevailed but a little with him; nor yet those of Monsieur *Giulio Savelli*, who was likewise sent extraordinary Embassadour upon the same occasion to *Piedmont* by the Pope. For the Duke persisting in not composing the affairs of *Mantua*, without having some part of *Montferrat* given him, and denying to lay down arms, unless the Governour should do so likewise; he refused also to refer the differences to be decided by the Emperour, being jealous of him; but he consented to refer it to the King of *France*, and to the King of *England*, to which he knew neither the King of *Spain*, nor Duke of *Mantua* would agree. It seemed therefore very hard to reconcile them, and the less, for that the Duke of *Savoy* growing bold by the Spanish Armies going out of *Piedmont*, and by their late entring among themselves about the building of the new Fort, not caring much to pursue the War: he thought he was the more secured from any new assaults. Wherefore sending daily Troops of horse out of *Vercelles*, which sounding over the very River of the *Sesia* in sight of the enemies Army, which the Governour in the Dukes absence durst not

pass

pass thorow with a numerous and gallant Army, they dared to insult over the Souldiers which were busied about the Fort, without either fear or respect, though but by a snatch and away. And the Governour being wholly intent about building the Fort, did not only not care to suppress their insolence, but would not follow the advice of many of the Commanders, who thinking it bootless and dishonourable to busie the whole Army about building a Fort, which stood in the Kings own ground, advised to send part thereof in the interim to prejudice *Piedmont*, where the Duke being imploy'd about the guarding and defending of *Verulles*, it was probable they might make some good progress. But the Dukes affairs, which seemed to be secure from any hostile act, or at least were not troubled with any, ran unexpectedly great hazard at home. For the French and Swissers which were under the Dukes pay, mutinying upon a small occasion, put the City of *Vercelles*, in defence whereof they were then imployed, in great danger, and confusion: nor was the danger of a greater sedition small, nor the Dukes labour less in appeasing it; but being at last quieted, the French, as who were suspected of novelty and alteration, were distributed into several quarters about the City. The Dukes resistance being this mean while known in *Spain*, and what had hapned in *Italy*, contrary to that Courts expectation, the King and Council were not a little incensed, they thought the Kings honour and authority to be highly offended, therefore minding resentment more then the appeasing of rumours, they thought it necessary to alter their first orders, and to take a more severe course in making the Duke acknowledge the Kings Grandezza, which by his entring into the State of *Millain* in hostile manner, he seemed to value but a little. They therefore commanded the Governour and their other Officers in *Italy*, that they should proceed no longer against the Duke with such respect as formerly, but with all bitterness and severity. To which end they gave out orders, and made extraordinary provisions.

The Embassador *Vivas* was returned from the Camp to *Genoa*, who having sent some scouts to *Nizza di Provensa*, and to *Villa Franca*, brought back word, that the Castle of *Nice*, though otherwise very strong, had only a Garrison of 150 Souldiers in it, and but little Ammunition; That the City was safe on the one side from being injured by the Castle; That the Citizens were but ill satisfied with the Prince; That the Passes in *Piedmont*, which were scituated on steep Cliffs, might be unexpectedly taken by a few Souldiers, and be by them defended; which being taken, that the Castle and City could not be relieved, and therefore might be easily mastered by any who should go thither with convenient Forces: They also said, that the Castle of *Villa Franca*, a spatious and safe harbour, was but weakly walled, guarded only by 50 Souldiers, and subject to be plaid upon on several sides; that howsoever, *Cape San Sospiro*, a place commodious to land in, and very neer *Villa Franca*, might easily be surprised and fortified, as not being provided either of Guards or Fortifications; he therefore proposed either of these two enterprises, as feasible, to the King; the rather, for that he being Master of the Sea, had the whole River of *Genoa*, together with the Haven of *Monaco*, for his friends; so as if either of these

two enterprises should be taken in hand, at the same time that the Land-Army should enter *Piedmont*, it might be probably hoped that landing between six and eight thousand men in those parts, they might easily be effected; or if they should meet therein with any greater difficulties, it would howsoever be very advantagious to make the attempt, by reason of the great diversion it would be to the affairs of *Piedmont*. The Court was pleased with his proposal, and it was presently ordered to be put in hand; so as necessary provision and materials were furnished from *Genua*, by the said *Vives*: and the people which were come from *Naples*, and those which were shortly expected from *Sicily*, were deputed for that service: but because contrary winds caused much delay, the Duke had notice of the Enemies design, and fortified *Cape San Sospiro*, re-inforced the Garrison of *Nice*, and of his other Maritime Towns; therefore the Governour, either that he might not irritate the French, when they should see the places confining upon *Provence* assaulted, and to which they have ancient pretences, or finding the difficulties, and that they were prevented by the Duke, forewent these their first intentions, and fell to besiege *Oneglia*, a Town belonging to the Duke, 40 miles distant from *Nice*, towards *Genua*; wherefore Prince *Philibertus* being gone for *Spain*, though the Gallies which were expected with men from *Spain*, were not yet come, yet *Don Alvaro Bassano*, Marquess of *Sancta Croce*, Captain of the Neopolitan Gallies, went thither with his Gallies, and with those that keep usually in the Haven at *Genua*, commanded by *Don Andrea Doria*; in them there were six Neopolitan Companies, under *Vespatiano Macedonico*, and eight Spanish, under *Pietro Sermiento*, Camp-master. Oneglia *is a Town di* 500 *fuochi, upon the sea shore, having on the east side craggy hills; on the west it is watered as it were with a little river, beyond which stand some hills, which entring into the sea make the Promontory, commonly called* Cape St. Lazero, *her jurisdiction towards the sea lies near the mountain and the river; it extends much further on the land side, having the command of three very fruitful vallies, peopled by* 60 *Villages: besides which there are other two,* Maro, *and* Perla; *which belong likewise unto the Duke. The place it self, never having seen the face of an Enemy, is not any ways fortified, unless with a Castle built after the antient manner, and by a Bulwark towards the sea, which serves rather to keep out Pirates, then to fortifie the Town.*

But the Dukes Commanders and Souldiers being entred thereinto, they made divers Fortifications there; they drew a trench along the river on the West side, and a bank of sand along the shore; for it was defended on the north side by a Country of friends, and on the east by craggy hills. Count *Lodovico della Moretta*, Marquess *di Dogliano*, commanded there in chief; who had with him many Captains, and Souldiers, as well of the neighbouring Valleys, as sent by directions and order from *Piedmont*. *Sancta Croce* landed his men on the 19 of *November*, by permission from the Commonwealth, beyond *Cape St. Lazero*: and though his leave to land was upon condition that he should not make any stay in her Territories; yet making no account thereof, *St. Croce* quarter'd himself on this side the river, and planting his battery there he begun to command the *Campagnia*, and to remove all impediments. The next night he sent some of his men beyond the river,

who

who after a stout dispute having gained the further bank, made themselves masters of many ways which led unto the walls: and at the same time bringing two pieces of Artillery upon the *Piazza* of St. *Mora*, to begin the battery from thence, they beat back above 500 Souldiers from the Trenches and Rampiers which they had made thereabouts, with loss of only eight assailants, and some that were wounded. But being there infested by others, who were fortified in some other houses which stood a little higher, and by certain Mortar-pieces, which were plated on the Dukes Palace, he turned his Artillery thither-ward, beat down the houses, and boldly assaulting them, he repulst the defendants who were 300 in number, and pursued them to the Covent of St *Augustine*, whither they retreated in great disorder. The Covent was immediately inviron'd with Trenches, which was very opportunely seated for defence of the Town, and was plaied upon all that night, 400 of the Garrison, who were there, defending themselves very valiantly. This mean while the Gallies lay not idle, but landing men came upon *Oneglia*, cleared the *Campagnia* with their Artillery, and beat down the tops of the houses, though that they that were within indeavored to keep them off with the Artillery of the Castle, and of the *Bastion*, which was on the left side. And landing a great Cannon between the river and *Cape St. Lazaro*, they therewithall slew many upon the Trenches. Those who were within defended themselves manfully, but their Ammunition grew low, as was conceived by their so seldom shooting; and a *Fallua* loaded with Munition which was sent from *Villa Franca* was intercepted by the Gallies, so as they grew daily more and more to despair of succour. For Count *Guido*, who fell down from *Piedmont* to this purpose with 200 Horse, and 500 Foot, being necessarily to pass thorow the Territories of *Genoa*, was denied passage. It was therefore thought the Town would be soon surrendred; and those within had already obtained Truce for three hours, by means of a Capuchine Friar, seeming as if they would yield up the Town, but with intention that they might fortifie themselves the better; for the Rampiers being finished a little before the time of Truce expired, they let fly a piece of Artillery into the Camp, and gave a furious volley of Musket shot from the Monastery. On the other side, those without reinforced their batteries on many parts, but did no great good thereby; the defendants making valiant resistance, and killing many of the assailants. This mean while the six Gallies came from *Sicely*, and brought with them eight Colours of Spanish Foot, of the usual Garrison of that Island, commanded by *Don Diego Piamentello*. Which whilst they were landed beyond *Cape St. Lazaro*, the remainder of the former Foot who were quartered on this side, in the Commonwealths Territories, were sent over the water into the parts about *Oneglia*, and by means of a Capuchine Friar, a Truce for three days was again indeavoured, upon condition that if in the interim they should not be relieved, the Town should be surrendred; but this was not yielded to by *Sancta Christ*. Whereupon many of the Towns men fearing to be sackt, or to be put to some miserable ruine, went over into the State of *Genoa*; and 200 of the Country people who were set to guard a certain Drawbridge at the Gate, forsook it, and fled away by night. Where-

fore the Spaniards advancing even to the Church St *Martino*, without any withstanding, made themselves masters of all the parts that were about *Oneglia* on the land side; and had they not been hindred by great rain, and by the river which swells very high in those parts, they would certainly have ended their work then. But the waters being fallen, those within drew two pieces of Cannon just over against the Gate of the Town, and by means of the Capuchine who had past several times before between them and the enemy, they desired, and obtained leave, to march out with their Colours flying, Drums beating, with their Arms and Baggage, and with a safe conduct. Whereupon the Marquess *Dagliano* publickly complaining that the place was lost by the accommodation, and Munition which was afforded by the Commonwealth to the Kings Commanders, and by giving way to the intercepting of the succour which was sent by the Duke, went out the fifth day after the landing of the first men, and with him went out twelve Colours, besides many Towns-men, and others of the neighbouring Villages, who swearing loyalty to the Spanish Commanders, tarried in the Country. But Count *Guido*, who was kept, as hath been said, from relieving *Oneglia*, went into the *Marquesate* of *Zuccherello*, an Imperial Feudatory which lying between the Dukes Territories, and those of the Commonwealth, serves as a Gate whereby to enter *Piedmont*. And carrying Count *Odo Rovero* along with him, withdrew all that jurisdiction, except *Castello Vecchio*, which was the Marquess his place of residence, and who was then absent, into his power. Where though there was neither Ammunition, Artillery, nor Souldiers; yet the enemy not being able to bring their Artillery thither without much labour; and 500 of the Subjects of the Commonwealth being at that instant come into *Castell Vecchio*, to whom the Emperour had committed the protection of the *Marquesate*, some resistance was made for some days; yea with the death of some of the oppugners: but afterwards their Ammunition and succour failing them, they yielded the Castle upon Articles. But all things were not quiet in the Valley of *Oneglia*, by reason of the Castle of *Maro*; whither the Dukes Captains, at their marching out of *Oneglia*, sent 300 Foot under Cavalier *Broglia*, who having fortified it, and furnished it well with Munition, it was thought it would be hard to take, for it was seated between craggy Rocks and cliffs; and from hence he infested the Towns in the Valley of *Oneglia* with often sallies, and forced them to pay great contributions; for after having sworn fealty to the King, he esteemed them Enemies, and Rebels to the Duke. After the taking of *Oneglia*, *Santa Croce* was gone to *Naples*, and return'd from thence, and had brought with him in his Gallies 3000 Neapolitanes, under the Camp-master *Thomaso Caraffioli*, and many other provisions for the enterprize of *Villa Franca*, which the Spanish Commanders were still bent upon. But the Governour had always been against it, and by a Secretary which he had lately dispatcht away into *Spain*, had propounded many difficulties to the Kings Counsel, whereby he had not a precise order to desist from it. It was therefore resolved that they should go to the taking in of *Maro*, to the which 3000 Foot, part Neapolitans and part Spaniards, with three pieces of Cannon, and 2000 other Foot of the Valley of *Oneglia*,

were

were ſent, commanded by *Jovan Jeronimo Doria*, a very valiant Commander. *Doria* began the battery immediately; and having quickly beaten down part of the Wall, he ordered an aſſault to be given the ſecond night, not only where the wall was broken down, but alſo on two other ſides, to the end that he might divide the defendants. And that all this might be done at one and the ſame time, the firing of a Cannon was the ſign of falling on. But ſome of the aſſailants having miſt their way, and others been too ſlow in coming to the place appointed, only the Spaniards, who were to aſſault the Town where the Wall was beaten down, fell on, entred the Town, and maintained fight a long while, till ſuch time as great ſtones being thrown down upon them, and beams from the tops of the higheſt houſes, and out of windows, they were forc'd to retreat, with loſs of two of their men, and 35 who had their heads broke; amongſt which *Emanuel di Luna*, their Captain. The battery continued afterward two days, on two ſeveral parts; when *Doria* finding buſineſſes reduced to that paſs of coming to an aſſault again, he gave order for it, as before, on three ſeveral parts; which being valiantly performed in all the parts, and the defendants playing their parts valiantly, *Broglia*, who had taken ſome reſt by reaſon of the pains he had taken the preceding night, came from the Caſtle to aſſiſt his men; but as he was either retiring into the Caſtle, or as he was carrying ſuccour to another place where he heard a new tumult, he was run thorow with a Pike by a Spaniard, by whoſe death the defendants being diſmaied, they retreated all into the Caſtle, which they ſurrendred not long after, upon permiſsion to march out with their Arms and Baggage.

Whilſt the Kings Forces were thus buſied in the Maritime parts, the building of the Fort *Sandoval* went on; and the Nuntio *Savelli*, and the French Embaſſadour, laboured, though in vain, to compoſe Affairs. The difficulty lay on the Governours behalf, who, according to the Kings Orders, would have the Duke to lay down Arms; which the Duke denied to do, fearing, as he alleadged, the Spaniſh Forces, if he ſhould do ſo. But the Nuntio, and the Embaſſador, finding that fear to be in effect vain, and that the Dukes backwardneſs did not depend thereon, but rather upon a deſire of having ſome part of *Montferrat* allotted him by agreement, without which they ſaw him reſolute not to lay down Arms, they framed ſome Capitulations, wherein giving him ſome ſatisfaction in that behalf, they obliged him to diſarm upon the Governours bare word, in the name of the King of *France*, and upon the promiſe of the ſaid Governour, that he alſo would ſoon after diſband all his men. The Duke was not hereat diſpleaſed; but foregoing his former obdurancy, out of hopes of ſoon obtaining part of *Montferrat*, he did not inſiſt ſo much as he had done upon the form of diſarming, and was perſwaded to accept of the propoſal. Yet were it either that the Articles were cunningly contrived, that the Duke giving free conſent to the Article of diſarming, wherein the difficulty lay, his fair pretence of providing for his own ſafety might be taken away; or that the Governour thought the Articles repugnant to three points of the Kings Decree, the Governour refuſed to accept of them, ſo as the buſineſs was not perfected; the rather, for that the Governour

Governour boasting that he would chastise the Duke for his having entred the Kings Dominions in a hostile manner, said he could not consent to any agreement, unless the Duke should humble himself to the King, and ask his pardon, for having offended him, by entring his Territories in hostile manner; and therefore although the midst of *November* was over before the Fort was finished, and the weather consequently grown very sharp; and though the Army, which was much lessened by mortality, and by the running away of many, ought to have been brought into Winter Quarters, yet the Governour, being thereunto solliciteed by many of his Captains, and much prest'd by many of the Officers of the Court, who by their Letters desired very much to see the Dukes contumacy severely punish'd by some signal action, resolved to go to before *Asti*; for he despaired of getting *Vercelles*, the Duke being there in person with the greatest part of his men. This propoal had been several times prest'd, even from the very first beginning of the war, by *Roderigo Orsini*, Marquess of *Monterà*, and Governour of *Alessandria*; who being a Souldier, and desirous to signalize himself, promised the Governour that he would easily take it, if he would give him 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse; but the Governour not giving way thereunto, he grew more fervent therein, when he saw the Duke busied in building the Fort, hoping that he might get it the more easily, for that the Duke keeping at *Vercelles* by reason of the neighbourhood of his Enemies, could not divert him, nor send any considerable Forces to relieve it. Now the times being altered, and what was more to be considered, the form and design of the enterprise being varied, the Governour would of himself attempt it with all his Forces; and therefore leaving a sufficient Garrison in *Candiolà*, and having sent away the Artillery before by the *Tanaro*, he attempted to come before it with 1200 Horse, 3000 Dutch Foot, and 4000 Foot more of several Nations: But the Duke as soon as he saw *Vercelles* free from the Enemies neighbourhood, leaving his youngest Son Prince *Thomas* there, with a reasonable Garrison, went with the rest of his men to the defence of *Asti*, passing over the *Po* by a Bridge, which he quickly threw over between *Crescentino* and *Verrua*; and whilst the Nuntio and the Embassadour entertained the Governour with divers promises, that they would bring the Duke to dilatm, thereby making him lose much time; the Duke minded the more the fortifying of the walls, and of other fitting places, for the defence of that City. The Governours heat was somewhat cooled by the Dukes coming to *Asti*, and much more by the French, which he knew fell down into *Piedmont*; wherefore he ordered *Fovan Bravo*, who had already taken up his Quarters at *Quarti*, a Village neer the City, to retreat back into *Annone*; and the season growing then to be very sharp and cold, he was much confused, and found no less difficulty in this Enterprise than in that of *Vercelles*: He saw himself so far advanced as he could not with honour retreat; to winter his Army about the City was very incommodious and dangerous; to return once more back to the State of *Milan* did too much repugne the protestations and threats which he had given out; he could not therefore do it without much blame, and loss of Honour, and without being subject to many severe reprehensions from the Court; therefore calling

calling a Counsel of War, he asked his Field-Officers advice concerning the manner, and possibility of quartering that Winter in the Dukes Country. *Several were the opinions; many were against, many for quartering there: the former alledged the bitterness of the season, the weakness, and far distance between the places wherein they were to distribute their Army, the Dukes being present there; who being in a great City, and capable of receiving all his men, might sally out and suppress, one by one, all the places wherein their men should be quartered, before, being so far from one another, they could joyn time enough in the common defence. They therefore concluded, it was better to amend the first resolution, of coming before* Asti, *then by persevering in the error be subject to the danger and mischief which might result thereupon. The others pleaded, and chiefly* Morara, *the chief promoter of the enterprise, the conveniences of the Quarters by reason of the vicinity of the State of* Millain, *and of* Monterrat, *from whence provisions might be conveniently brought; and also the safety thereof, in the Towns of that Country capable to quarter the whole Army, which being fortifi'd by Trenches would be able to withstand sudden assaults, till such time as succour might be brought from the neighbouring places. They mentioned many good effects which might result therefrom; first, the preservation of the honour of the Kings Forces, which otherwise would be totally lost; that the State of* Millain *would be that Winter eased from the charge of quartering; and on the contrary, the enemies Country troubled therewith: which would be thereby kept from assaulting the Kings Towns, as they formerly had done, and publickly threatned to do again; that it was probably to be hoped that time might afford occasions of making themselves masters of the City that very Winter; if the Duke not being able, (as he was not likely to be) to keep his men long together without money, they should chance to mutiny, or any other unthought of accident should fall out. And as for the bitterness of the season, they said it was not now to be taken into consideration, the Army being already in the enemies Country; and since it differed not much from that when they went from the* Novarese.

In this ambiguity of opinions the Governour sent some Commanders to discover the Country beyond the *Tanaro*, and then going with part of his men by a Bridge, which he threw over at *Rocca d' Arazzo*, he ordered *Morara* to possess himself with *Bravo's Brigado* of a Town called *Zamy* up the River over against the City, which being easily taken, he went against 1000 men which he saw passing in boates over the *Tanaro*. But they being quickly repassed, and joyn'd with the rest of the Dukes men, they began to skirmish with Muskets on both side the banks, not without the prejudice and death of some of both the parties, amongst which two Spanish Captains, who were shot with a Cannon-bullet from the opposite banke, where the Duke himself appeared in a red Coat, incouraging his Souldiers, giving fire to the Artillery, with his own hands. The Commanders being returned made their relations according to their several opinions. *Morara* said the Army might be commodiously quartered there; but *Don Francisco Padiglia*, General of the Artillery, *Don Sanchio Salind*, and *Barnabe Barbo*, Commissary general, who were sent to the same purpose by the Governour, were of a contrary opinion. And then Governour being sorry that he had come hither, desired nothing more then a fair occasion to retreat, which

which he was offer'd by the Nuntio, and French Embassadour by proposal of new Capitulations, conformable enough to the Kings decree, and already accepted of, and subscribed by the Duke: But the Governour persisting still that there was no way left to execute the Kings decree, unless the Duke did first ask the King pardon for the injury he had done after the decree, all were scandalized at so proud a pretention; and the French Embassadour told him freely, that it was not an action fit for a free Prince, to ask pardon; nor was it ever demanded from the said Duke, when, not many years before, a pacification was made between him and the King of *France*, though unprovoked, he had not only assaulted the Kings Territories, but taken some of them; and that the Capitulation was conformable to the King of *Spains* mind, and such as the Governour ought not to refuse. At this very time the Embassadour *Vives*, being sent for by the Governour, was return'd to the Camp, who before he came from *Genoa* was present at a consultation had between *Santa Cruce*, *Don Piedro di Sieva*, Captain of the Sicilian Band, *Don Carlo Doria*, and the Camp-masters *Don Diego Pimentello*, and *Don Piedro Sarmiento*; The result whereof was, that it was absolutely necessary for maintaining the dignity of the Crown, and the authority of his Majesties Arms, to quarter that Winter in *Piedmont*; wherewith he acquainted the Governour, who was already more inclined to depart, then to tarry; he perswaded him likewise by many Reasons to tarry there, at least till such time as having made some notable resentment, which might tend to the punishment of the Duke, Peace might be concluded upon honourable terms. And because the Duke seemed to be much perplexed, lest (as he professed) by the exclusion of Peace, some new breach might insue between the two Crowns, *Vives* indeavoured to free him from any such suspicion, shewing him, that by new orders had from the Court, by which, without listning to any treaty of peace, he was absolutely commanded to keep the War on foot; the Governour had good occasion to excuse himself to the Embassadors, and to delay the accepting of the Capitulations which were proposed, till new orders might come from the King; and that the mean while by continuing the War orderly and boldly, some honourable action might be luckily light upon, which might make way for the King to enter into a treaty of peace with honour and reputation. And he added, that otherwise the Duke must needs passe unpunished for the injuries done unto the King, if the Governour should either immediately accept of the Articles of peace, or coming out of *Piedmont* without doing any thing, might suffer those same Princes to apply themselves to the King for accepting of the same Capitulations. For in such a case, the King not being able to refuse them, because they contain the three points propounded by his Majesty, he should be constrained to agree with the Duke, without taking that revenge, or making that resentment, which he intended to do. Moreover, he said it would be very dangerous that the Duke, seeing him and his Army retreated, might again assault the State of *Milan*, and infest it with often inroads.

The second many other Reasons urged by *Vives*, could not work upon the Governour, who was desirous every day more then other to re-

turn

turn to *Millain*. Wherefore the buſineſs being propounded in Counſel, after a long diſcuſſion, two things were at laſt reſolved upon; the one, not to accept the Capitulations of peace; the other, that they would go out of *Piedmont*. For the firſt, they alledged the preciſe orders from the King; for the ſecond, the common cuſtom, of bringing their Camps to their Winter quarters in *October*, and in *May* into the field. And becauſe the Governour had told the Nuncio, and the Embaſſadour, that it was neceſſary to ſend thoſe Capitulations firſt into *Spaine*, they deſired a Truce in the interim for forty dayes: which it was again diſputed whether or no it ſtood with the reputation of the retreat, to give way thereunto. And it was concluded in the negative, becauſe it was contrary to the Kings orders; therefore the Governour ſent the Capitulations into *Spain*, and having tacitely afforded a longer Truce then they had expreſly refuſed to do, he returned with his Army into the State of *Millain*, after having ſtaid only ſix days in the Dukes Dominions. So this ſecond entrance of the Spaniſh Army into *Piedmont*, which was publickly proteſted to be made to chaſtiſe the Duke, had no better ſucceſs, nor won no greater reputation then did the firſt. Nay, at the ſame time that the Governour ſtood conſulting before *Aſti*, Prince *Thomaſo* went by night out of *Vercelles* with a body of Foot and Horſe, and on the ſudden aſſaulted *Candia*, a Town belonging to the King; and bearing down the Gate with a Petard, he put it to fire and ſword: and having ſtaid there all night, he returned ſafe the next morning to *Vercelles*, receiving no offence from the Garriſon of *Sandoval*, which was not far from thence. An action, which though the Duke proteſted to proceed without any order from him, and before his ſon had notice of the Capitulation ſubſcribed by him, yet it was commonly thought that to revenge himſelf for this ſecond aſſault, and to free his State once more by diverſion, he had commanded his ſon to do it. The Governour being returned, he made the Duke be by publick Proclamation declared to have forfeited the Dominion of the City and Country of *Aſti*, and of the like of *Santia*, by his hoſtile acts committed againſt the State of *Millain*; pretending that thoſe Towns held in Fee of the ſaid State, and the Bills thereof were publiſh'd at the beat of Drum, and faſtned in ſome parts of that Country confining upon the State of *Millain*. Againſt which Proclamation the Duke made another Edict be publiſhed, wherein denying abſolutely that he held thoſe Towns in Fee from the Chamber of *Millain*, and that therefore they could not be proceeded againſt by way of confiſcation, he contradicted the Proclamation, terming it fooliſh and ridiculous, and commanded his Subjects to keep their wonted loyalty and obedience to him. He afterwards poſſeſt himſelf of ſome other Imperial Fee-towns in the *Langhe*; and amongſt thoſe ſome that held of the Chamber of *Millain*; the Governour not taking any notice thereof, unleſs it were that fearing the Duke might draw neerer the ſea, he ſent *Don Lewis di Cordia*, *Don Piedro Sarmiento*, *Don Ferongmo Pimontello* and *Thomaſo Caracciolo* to quarter in thoſe parts with their Brigadoes; and ſome Companies of *Fovan Piedro Zerbelloves* Brigade; and afterwards being adviſed thereunto by *Santta Croce*, and *Don Carlo Poria*, who were come into *Alleſſandria*, he ordered *Don Piedro Sarmiento*, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Montbaldus*, *Dente*, *Roccaverano*, and *Cortemiglia*;

by which places the Spaniards became masters of all that Country, which lying between the River of *Genoa*, and the lower *Montferrat*, is called *Le Langhe*. *Montbaldone* and *Dente* came in immediately to *Sarmiento*, who going with his Artillery to *Roccaverano*, it is not known for what cause; and therefore not without wonder to all men, he had new orders to supersede; wherefore retiring back, the Duke sent 100 Foot to reinforce the Garrison of *Cortemiglia*, he afterwards took *Bozalasco*, *Gorzegno*, *Manoxino*, and other Towns thereabouts; this was the success of the Wars of *Piedmont*, in the year 1614. at the end whereof the Governour went to *Millain*, to take order for greater provisions for War the next year; and two Millions of Ducates being come to the Haven of *Genoa*, part whereof was for the Army in *Flanders*, part for that in *Lombardy*, the Gabels upon Merchandize, and other things, was increased to above a third part in *Millain*; The sum whereof being turn'd into annual revenue, and a good part thereof sold to particular persons, brought great store of moneys into the Exchequer, which were afterwards assigned for the War, which was noised would be great the next year.

Levies of men were ordered to be made in *Germany*, *Swisserland*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and in *Lombardy*; and not herewith all content, the King desired the *Genoeses*, the great Duke of *Tuscany*, the Duke of *Urbin*, Duke of *Parma*, and the Commonwealth of *Lucca*, to send such men to the State of *Millain*, as either for their own concernments, or by the condition of obligation they were bound to do; and he did this not so much out of necessity, as for the honour of the undertaking, and to shew how much the Princes of *Italy* did adhere to the Kings party, yea even against an Italian Prince. The Princes of *Italy* were not well pleased to see him proceed with such a bulk of War against the Duke; for though the defence and protection of *Montferrat*, and the preservation of publick peace, had at first rendred the title and cause of the Spanish Forces less odious; yet since the end was now altered, and that revenge was indeavoured, which made them apprehend worser things, they began in respect of the common interest, to abhor the proceeding; and yet *Urbin*, *Parma*, and *Lucca*, preferring the Kings Authority before any other respect, yielded easily to the Kings request. The great Duke made some difficulty, alledging that being obliged to send 4000 Foot and 400 Horse, for the State of *Sienna*, which he held in Fee from the Crown of *Spain*, to defend the State of *Millain*; he was not now bound to do it, when as the State making an offensive and not a defensive War, his obligation and tenure thereof was inlarged, the example being of great consequence, and of greater prejudice: but reply being made, that that which assaulteth must of necessity also be defended, his excuse was not accepted of; chiefly since (as it was said) he who held so great a State in Fee from the King ought not to stand so precisely upon the words of his obligation. It was therefore agreed, that 2000 Foot should effectually be sent, which should serve to defend the State, and not to offend the Duke, and some supplies of money were sent; the Genueses case was otherwise, who not being required to administer relief out of any obligation, but only by way of friendship and correspondency, and for the great Interest which they had in the Crown of *Spain*, excused themselves upon the necessity they had

had to guard their Confines towards *Piedmont*, and to keep the Sea and River open for the passage of the people which came to the State of *Millain*; which Reasons gave satisfaction.

The Duke was not this mean while idle; for being much incouraged by the past successes, and having, after he saw the Governour once more gone out of *Piedmont*, quartered his men in several parts of the State, he was wholly bent upon defending himself, and not upon agreement. He sollicited the promised assistance of the *Transalpine* Princes, and guessing at what was to come, by what was past, he grew so confident, that as he was wont to say, his own person was sufficient for half the Spanish preparations: Yet the fear of the future war grew daily greater, and was confirmed by the knowledge, that though the King had declared it did not become a free Prince to ask pardon of another Prince upon the making of peace; and that therefore he never expected any such thing from the Duke; yet with an intention of resenting what the Duke had done in his Dominions, he had openly refused to accept of the last Capitulation subscribed by the Duke: But this fear was much more increased by the retaining a Post, who coming from *Spain* was taken Prisoner as he past in a little Barque from *Antibo* to *Finale*; and was sent to *Turin* with the Kings and Councels Letters; the which being opened and Printed, the Duke caused to be divulged throughout *Italy*, together with other Writings, wherein he justified his own actions, tending (as he said) only to the defence of his own State, which is so natural for all men to do, and to the preservation of peace: To obtain the which, he added, he had not refused any submission which became a free Prince: And because the Kings Letters, and those of his Counsel, contained bitter complaints of what had happened, and sharp reprehensions of the Governours actions; and breathing forth nothing but fire and threats, charged him with having troubled him with grievous war: The Duke, taking his rise from their apprehensions, fill'd the Papers with grievous Revilings of the Spanish Nation, blaming the Spaniards without any respect; That under the fair pretence of peace, they aimed only at the usurpation of his State; and that therefore the King, refusing the just Capitulations subscribed by him the Duke, did incite all the Princes of *Italy* against him, drawing forth all the usual Garrisons of the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Scicily*, pardoning the most heinous offendors, as if he did proceed with all his Forces and Authority, against an enemy to Christendom: Nor did the following actions delay the confirmation of the fear of the future war; for hardly was the tacite Truce occasioned by the sharpness of the season, ceased, when Arms were taken up with greater fervor about the end of *March*, 1615.

Cordona's Spaniards, who were quartered in the Langhe, were the first that moved; who through intelligence held with those of *Roccavrano*, who were weary of the French Garrison, entered the Town by night through a hole made in the walls, and slew some of the French, the rest whereof retired into the Castle, and made themselves Masters of the Town, and the next day of the Castle, which could not be relieved, the Passes and Avenues thereunto being anticipately possessed: The Duke being awakened, as one out of a deep sleep, by the loss of

Roccavrano, who had been quiet enough in *Turin*, began to doubt *Cortemiglia*, whither he presently sent some Regiments of Piedmontesans, and 800 Switzers; and coming from thence to *Cherasco*, he furnished all his men in those parts with Ammunition and Artillery: But the Spaniards perceiving by Letters which were intercepted that Count *Guido* went to the recovery of *Roccavrano*, and that to that end the Count was come with some men to *Castine*; *Martara*, Governour of *Alessandria*, being sent to for succour by *Cordova*, who was anxious of the mustering of men made by the Duke not far from his own and his companions quarters, sent him 1000 Foot, advising him to assemble together all the Souldiers which were quartered in those parts, lest being asunder they might be the more easily oppress'd by the Duke: And giving notice of every the least particular to the Governour, and having after much pressing obtain'd means, money, and munition from him; whereby to come into the field, he went from *Alessandria* with 600 Souldiers, five Troops of Horse, and two field-pieces; and having given order to *Feronymo Pinchinella*, and to *Feronymo Gamboloita*, to go with a thousand Souldiers which yet remained with them from *Tortona* to *Castine*, he himself directed his course also thitherward: Here he thought to muster a body of 5000 Foot, and 600 Horse, all commanded men, and most of them Spaniards; and confided so much in their valour, as perswading that the Dukes men would not be able to make head against him, he promised himself secure victory at the first incounter: *Bistagno*, a Town of above a hundred and more Families, belonging to *Montferrat*, lies between *Castine* and *Cortemiglia*; and being upon the rode-way which comes from the Sea, it is of no small moment for the safety of the usual passage of people, who coming from the *Ligastick* Sea, pass into the State of *Millain*: Hither came *Martara*, lest the place might be prepossessed by the Duke; and with him came *Pimontello* and *Gambolaita*, with the men of *Tortona*; and not long after *Cordova*, who had left his Brigade in *Spain*; and by order from the Governour, *Don Baptista Tulino* likewise, and *Caracciolo*, to assist and advise *Martara*; whose too great fervour made the Governour apprehend some inconvenience. *Gambolaita* was sent with his men, and some few Horse, to defend *Monasterio*, a place two miles beyond *Bistagno*, for the safeguard of *Cordova*'s men, who were to come from *Spigno* to *Bistagno*; but the Duke thought he had assuredly caught *Martara*, and the other Captains, in a noose, when he saw them come thither with so few men: Wherefore placing the hope of so happy success in speed, he came out of *Cherasco*, and throwing a Bridge suddenly over the *Tenaro*, he past over to *Novigliet*, and came that way to *Castino*, and so to *Cortemiglia*; where leaving the Switzers, and a great Garrison under the Commendatore *della Motta*, he parted on the 10th of *April*, being holy Thursday, towards *Bistagno*, with 1200 Horse, and about 7000 Foot; and thinking to get thither early in the morning, and to have taken the enemy at unawares, he marched apace all that night; but being held play by the Garison of *Vaterna*, as he past over the Bridge at *Bormia*, which is over the Castle; and having lost some time the next morning in sacking and burning *Castinaseo*, a little Village which held the boldness to resist him; he mar'd his designe; for *Martara*, having

notice of the Kings coming, whilst he was at Dinner, sent *Cordova* presently away towards his Brigade, he sent to his men who were quartered in the neighbouring parts, to come to *Bisagno*, and getting immediately on horse-back with *Salina* and *Caracciolo*, and followed with a Troop of Horse with Musqueteers *en Crope*, he went towards the Hill which leads to *Cassinisca*, to incounter the enemy; but having advanced courageously, and placed some of his Musqueteers to defend the Passes, he returned back immediately to take order for the defence of *Bisagno*, where his men stood in battel array, ready to receive the enemy; but being astonished at the great number of men which they saw come down the Hill with the Duke, they suddenly retired to within the walls of the Town; and having flanked the Gate with earth, they put themselves orderly in a defensive posture; and Skirmished all that day and the next night, seeking to keep the enemy aloof off, lest coming near they might throw down the wall with Spades and Pick-axes: The mean time *Salina*, *Pimentello*, *Caracciolo*, and chiefly *Mortara's* self, though he was then troubled with the Gout, sometimes on horse-back, sometimes carried in a Chair, went comforting, (providing for what was needful) and incouraging the Souldiers; in whose assistance the Townsfolk, yea, even the women, labored with much affection and zeal, though the Duke had sent Letters before his arrival to the Consuls and Officers of that Communalty; wherein he professed his only aim was to secure his own State, and to drive the Spaniards from thence, promising safety both of life and lively-hoods: but failing in his hopes of taking *Bisagno* by surprisal, he betook himself to force; and because he wanted great Guns, which were left behind by reason of the speed of their march, he began to block up the Avenues, so to hinder relief. He first repulsed *Gambaldina*, who marching with his men from *Monasteri* would have gotten into *Bisagno*; and not long after the same *Gambaldina* joining with those who came with *Cordua* from *Spigno* to relieve *Mortara*, they were both of them set upon by the Dukes men, led on by Cavalier *Boglia*, and Monsieur *di Polimia*, as they descended the Mountain beyond *Borma*; and after a Skirmish of three hours, they were forced to retreat towards the top of the Mountain, and to desist from the enterprise, having won more praise for their daring, then for Military discipline, and left about 200 fighting men behind them.

The news of the danger *Bisagno* was in being divulged round about, and afterwards throughout all *Italy*, turned the eyes and minds of all men upon the Duke; not only for the danger those Commanders, who were the chiefest of all the Spanish Army, were in of being made prisoners, and the destruction of the men that were there; but because upon the taking of that little Town the scurtering of all those other men who were quartered in the Langhe, did depend; who being Veteran Souldiers, and most of them Spaniards, were thought to be the sinews of that Militia, and the foundation of the Empire of that Nation in *Italy*: Moreover the Duke by his taking of *Bisagno*, would have been master of all the Langhe, and would not only have been a great hinderance to the succours which were expected from beyond Sea, but by assaulting *Finale*, or the River of *Genoa*, he would have

have freed his own State for that year from the war wherewith it was threatned, and would have forced the Governour to have made either his own Country, or that of the friends and Confederates of the Crown, the Seat of war: He was therefore admired and exalted, even to the Stars, for his Courage, Counsel, and Conduct; for that when he seemed to be placed in an abyss of ruine, having such great forces ordained against him, and being so sorely threatened, he rose up more courageously, and with greater vigour; and had reduced the affairs of so potent an enemy into so difficult and dangerous a condition, and particularly those of *Mortara*; who presuming more then any other Spanish Commander whatsoever, hath several times vaunted, and particularly in a Letter which he writ at his parting from *Alessandria* to *Don Carlo Doria*, at *Genoa*; that he was gone to take the Duke Prisoner: But fortune, which doth usually disturb well-weighed designs, looked not with a favourable aspect upon this the Dukes enterprise; for the greater Guns tarrying behind by reason of the Dukes speedy march towards *Bistagno*, and his being hindered by the cragginess of the ways, and the deepness thereof, he lost his design; so as not being able to do any thing of moment with only two small pieces, especially by reason of the sacks full of earth and straw which the Defendants hung out upon ropes, *Mortara* had leasure to hold him play till succour came; which the Duke fearing, and yet being resolved to do his utmost, he came to the wall with Spade and Pick-Ax, to throw it down; and attempted in the dark of night to make a furious assault; he at the same time made the Pyoneers approach, and put for the ultimate tryal of his and the enemies fortune; but the Defendants being incouraged by seeing how little effect the Dukes Artillery did, resisted stoutly here also; For having notice of the Dukes intention, they were very vigilant in making defence; and did so clear the darkness with Faggots and Granadoes, which they threw into the Ditch, as they might see to hit those that approach'd the walls; and so rendered this the Dukes indeavour vain, as they had done the rest.

This mean while the Governour of *Millain* hearing at *Pavia* what danger *Mortara* was in, though there was no good intelligence held between them, because *Mortara* was wont to detract from his actions, and as if he understood the mystery of the Militia better then the Governour, pretended to teach him how to fight; and because his much importunity had made the Governour give way to this his going out; yet howsoever, preferring the publick good, and the Kings Service, before any private enmity, he resolved speedily to relieve him and the other Commanders who were in the like danger: He therefore marched with between four and five thousand Foot, and some Troops of Horse which he had near at hand; and having sent strict Orders to all Captains and Camp-masters to follow him with their men, he marched with incredible speed towards *Bistagno*; and being come within three miles of it on the second day in Easter-week, he lay all that night in *Terzo*: The Duke the next morning after, which was the fourth day after his arrival, hearing of the coming of so strong a succour, began to dis-lodge, and leaving 2500 Foot, and the Horse on the Plain, he sent the rest of his men with the Artillery towards the Hill. The

horse

Horſe and Foot which were left on the plain followed afterwards by the ſame way, leaving much Ammunition in their Quarters, Arms and many ſick Souldiers, who were unfit to march, beſides 1000 which were ſlain in the aſſaults and actions. He departed unmoleſted, for *Mortara* being more afraid then was needful would not ſuffer his men to go out, and the Governour did not follow him: but coming into *Biſtagno* almoſt at the ſame inſtant that the Duke removed away, and having heard Maſs, adviſed with his Counſel what was to be done upon the preſent occaſion: ſome of the Captains alledged the diſturbance by rain, the narrowneſs of the ways, and the difficult paſſes, which were fit for Ambuſcadoes; and wherein they not being able to make uſe of all their men, the enemy might with a few men reſiſt a much greater number; others alledged the wearineſs of their own Souldiers, and ſome hours being paſt before the Conſultation, wherefore they thought the Enemy was ſo far advanced, as it was impoſſible to overtake them, it was reſolved, the Governour himſelf being of the ſame opinion, that they ſhould not follow the flying Enemy; a reſolution whereby the glory due unto him for ſo ſpeedy and ſeaſonable a ſuccour, whereupon the welfare of ſo many well deſerving Commanders did depend, was turned to as much ſhame and diſhonour; for he was not only much blamed for letting ſlip ſo rare an occaſion of victory, but was worſe ſpoke of, the manner and circumſtances of the preſent action being conſidered: ſome ſpoke againſt the way he took by *Acqui*, being the further about, and worſe then that of *Nice*, which was both the nearer, and would alſo have been a hindrance to the Duke in his retreat; others added, that to make the Dukes retreat the more eaſie, he had forbidden *Don Alphonſo d' Avalos* to advance, who was Governour of *Montferrat*: and who marching from *Coſſalle* with 3000 Montferrian Foot and 300 Horſe, had ſent ſome of his men to the Caſtle *Palaſta*, which being a place upon the way was very opportune to have detained the Duke, and hindred his retreat; ſo as when the Spaniards ſhould have been come upon him, and he conſequently taken in the midſt, he muſt of neceſſity have been defeated; Others argued ſome ſecret Intelligence held between them, by the Governours lying all night in *Terzo*, ſo neer the Enemy, when the beſieged were in ſo great danger; Nor were there thoſe wanting, who ſaid they had ſeen Meſſengers paſs and repaſs between the two Camps, and thereby, as alſo by other counter-ſigns argued that the Dukes retreat was ſecured to him. Howſoever, it is moſt certain the Duke muſt have received a great blow, had he been quickly purſued, without ſo much counſel, and ſuch affected delays; for his men were in very bad condition, by reaſon of their ſufferings, and the hunger they had undergone before *Biſtagno*; and fearing to be aſſaulted, threw away their Arms, and fled in diſorder; and on the contrary, the Duke had that very morning within three miles ſpace, 14000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe (thoſe of the *Langhe* being comprehended) men, who in reſpect of the Enemy, were freſh, and who had reſted moſt part of that night; for *Cardova*, *Gamboloita*, and other Commanders appeared immediately from the *Langhe*, with all the people of thoſe parts; as alſo *Jovan Bravo*, *Carlo Spinelli*, and *Jovan Pietro Serbelloni*, appeared that very morning from the State of

Millain,

Millain, with their Brigades, to beat with those of the Country. *Bellagno* being freed, the Governour without looking further after the Duke, who was gotten but ill-favour'dly with his men into *Canelli*, tarried divers days in *Alessandria*, waiting for Men, Ammunition, and Artillery, which he had sent for from several parts of the State of *Millain*, for the enterprize of *Asti*, which he gave out he would take in hand.

The Duke, when he had brought his men into *Canelli*, sent them by degrees into *Asti*, whether he also sent victuals and Ammunition, for the defence of that City, against which he saw the Governour bent all his Forces; who parting from *Alessandria* about the fifth of *May*, tarried six days in *Felizzano*; and going from thence to *Annone*, the last Town upon the Confines of *Millain*, he went with his Army towards *Asti*: He had with him between 16 and 18000 Italian Foot, 4000 Spaniards, about 2000 Horse, the *Gens d' Armes* being therein comprehended; to boot with 4000 other Foot, and 500 Horse, which he had left under Cavaliero *Melzi* in *Sandoval*, not so much to guard that Fort, as to keep *Vercelles* in jealousie, so as the Duke being forced to keep it well Garrison'd, was the less able to defend *Asti*: He had also 7000 other Foot, which he shortly expected from *Tuscany*, *Urbine*, and *Lucca*, by Sea, and those of *Parma* were already come unto the Camp. At his going from *Annone* towards *Asti* he divided his Foot into four equal *Squadrons*, which being led on by four Troops of Dragoons, the Cavalry divided into two Squadrons winged the left side towards the *Tannaro*, the more inward whereof was led on by Don *Alfonso Pimentello*, General thereof, and the outward by his Lieutenant Don *Sanchio Salina*; after these came the *Gens d' Armes*, conducted by their General the Marquess of *Este*; the Baggage came after the Squadrons, and the Artillery, part whereof was also plac'd on the left hand of the Squadrons.

The City of Asti *Stands in a plain, at the foot of some hills, upon the top whereof stands the Castle, joyn'd to the City, of an ancient shape, as are also the rest of the Walls of the City, which therefore have not those Flanks nor Ramplers which are used in modern Fortifications. On the South side the* Tannaro *runs, two Musket shot distant from the walls; the little hills which run in a large compass towards the North, bending from thence towards the East, terminate in* Annone, *from whence, like a half Amphitheater, they encompass all that plain, between the Rivolis* Versa, *and the hills of* Tannaro, *for some four miles space, and somewhat further, between* Annone *and* Asti.

But the Duke not at all affrighted at the approach of so great an Army, would, though weaker in Forces, face them; and hating to keep inclosed within walls would march into the field against them. He had with him about some 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, most of them Forreigners, and chiefly French, who were come thither, notwithstanding their Kings severe Edicts to the contrary; for the Princes of that Kingdom being desirous of new perturbations and ruptures between the two Kings, and it may be, that their King might be the Arbitrator of Peace and War in *Italy*, sent many men thither, thinking, that look how many more of their Nation should be in the Dukes service,

vice, both Peace and War ſhould the more depend upon their King. Being come neer *Verſa*, and having taken up his Quarters upon the inward bank of the River, where was no commodious foording, ſave in two places, he ſent Monſieur *de Roaſon*, with 200 *Lorrain* Horſe, beyond the River, that he might get into ſome houſes belonging to an Inn called *Corce Bianco*; the firſt bickering fell out here, between theſe men, and *Alphonſo Baleſteros*, Comiſſary General of the Kings Horſe, who was ſent before with 400 Dragoons to diſcover the enemy: This Skirmiſh, by the concourſe of people on both ſides, grew almoſt to a Battel; the Duke having ſent his Van to relieve his men, and the Governour ſome Troops of Curaſſiers, with the Burgonian Forces, led on by the Baron *Batteville*, who was alſo followed by *Alfonſo Pimentello*, with his Horſe Troop; ſo as the fray increaſing, both ſides fought valiantly; in which fight it hapned, that the Lorrainers who were on the Dukes ſide, being cloathed and weaponed like to the Kings Burgonians, did ſo mingle with the Burgonians, as paſſing unknown thorow the midſt of them, they advanc'd even to within ſight of the Spaniſh Camp. The Governour advancing towards them bare headed, thinking they were his men who fled, began, much to his danger, to reprehend them, and to bid them return and fight valiantly; but they for fear of death in caſe they ſhould be known, ſeeming as if they would return to the Skirmiſh, retreated dexterouſly to their own men, leaving their Captain Priſoner, together with Cavalier *San Rainero*, and ſome others. There died in this Skirmiſh an Enſign-Bearer of the Dukes, with ſome others of both ſides; *Baleſteros* was ſorely wounded, and Baron *Batteville* ſleightly, who, together with his Burgonians, behaved themſelves gallantly both here, and during this whole Campagnia, and were of great aid to the Enterpriſe: Don *Alfonſo Pimentello*'s Horſe fell over and over with him, not without great danger of death.

The Skirmiſh being over, (for the Dukes men retreated to beyond the River,) the Governour advanced even to *Verſa*, and took up his Quarters there in the face of the Dukes Army; but he ſent *Jovan Bravo*, with his Brigade, and ſome pieces of Artillery, to Quarter upon the little Hills, for his own more ſafety, and for the prejudice of the Enemy: But the Duke having munited all the bank of *Verſa* on his ſide with a long Trench, which reached from the little Hills to the *Tanaro*, ſent alſo 2000 Foot to poſſeſs themſelves of the Hill which was oppoſite to that where *Bravo* was Quartered; and being mightily well ſheltered on all ſides, and fortified, nor being to be aſſaulted there without apparent danger to the Aſſailants, they began to skirmiſh from the Hills, and from the oppoſite Trenches, with Muskets and Bumbards; but more out of force and fury than out of any well taken advice, or any great effect. This Skirmiſh continued two or three days without any advantage on either ſide; ſo as the Spaniards thinking it a ſhame that the Duke with ſo unequal Forces durſt confront them, and keep himſelf equal to their Army ſo long, they reſolved to advance by the Hillocks, intending to fight him both on the back and flanks, in his own Quarters, and to beat up his Quarters: The Enterpriſe was committed to the Prince of *Aſcoli*, who whilſt he foreſlowed the execution there-

of, meeting with some impediments, he afforded the Duke, (who had notice of all proceedings) leasure to possess himself of other stations, fitter to hinder, or at least to make the Enemies progress more difficult in that part: And because it was necessary for the Prince to go by way of anticipation to the oppugning of *Castiglione*, a little Castle, scituated upon a little Hill, which being of some consequence was furnished with a reasonable Garrison, the Duke, for the better security thereof, chose out about a thousand of his best Musketiers, and sent them under the command of Captain *Odone Rovero* of *Asti*, and Monsieur *d'Arlo*, a French man, men of great courage and experience, to possess themselves of, and to fortifie a certain Hill which stood between the Castle and *Bravo's* Quarters; but the Prince going with 4000 Foot, two Troops of Light Horse, and some Artillery, to take in the Hill, after a long dispute, wherein *Arlo*, *Rovero*, and many of the Dukes chiefest Souldiers were slain, got it at last by stout fighting, for all that the Duke sent a great relief unto them by Count *Guido*; from whence turning immediately to the expugning of *Castiglione*, whether the Souldiers who escaped from the defence of the Hill fled, he likewise easily took it; for the Governour, to the end that he by division might the more easily obtain the Hill, having at the same time sent Don *Alonso Pimentello* to fall upon the Trenches towards the *Tanaro*, which were defended by Prince *Thomaso*; the Duke, thinking that he had sufficiently provided for the defence of the Hillocks, by those that he had sent thither under *Rovero* and *Arlo*, went with the body of his Army to assist his Son; so as not being able time enough to relieve *Castiglione*, the Garrison of that Castle astonished at Prince *Ascoli's* great valour, and through the fearful relations which were made by the Souldiers who were fled thither, basely surrendred it, when the battery was scarcely begun: 500 Souldiers march'd out, who were graciously sent by the Prince to the Duke, not without the murmurs of the Spanish Army, who by this acquisition remained absolute Masters of the Colline.

The Duke not being able to keep any longer upon the banks of the River, those stations being lost, quitted his Quarters, and retired quietly, unmolested, to the City; for the Governour, keeping the Army back, contrary to the opinion of many of the Captains, expresly forbad *Pimentello* to advance, who already moved with the Cavalry to fall upon his Rere, being satisfied with taking the Hills, and with having made the Duke forsake his Trenches, he past with his Army beyond *Versa*, where he tarryed three days to fortifie *la Croce Bianca*, and some other places thereabouts. This mean while those of *Tuscany*, *Urbane*, and *Lucca* came to the Camp, and the Tuscans were sent to *Sandoval*, that, according to agreement with the great Duke, they might be imployed only in defence of the State of *Millain*, and the rest tarryed in the Camp. With the addition of these, and of other Souldiers who came to the Camp, the Army was increased to the number of 30000 Foot, and 3200 Horse, 400 whereof were sent to St. *Damiano*, a Town in *Montferrat*, which stands on the back of *Asti*, to keep back the victuals and munition which came from *Piedmont*. The Captains of the Army consulted how they should assault the Duke, and expugne the City; and it was resolved to attempt it by the Hills near unto it, as

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from a higher and more convenient place, whereby they promiſed themſelves the ſhorter and more eaſie ſucceſs; for that, contrary to the opinion of all men, they were neither garriſoned by the Duke, nor fortified by Trenches, though the ſlow Proceedings of the Enemies Army had afforded him ſufficient conveniency to do it, and the preſent occaſion did neceſſarily require it: Therefore the Governour, leaving *Zerbellone* with his Brigade to guard the Fortifications made about *Verſa*, march'd with his Army in three diſtinct battaglions towards the Hills; Don *Piedro Sarmiento* led on the firſt, which was the Van, compoſed of four brigades of Foot, two Spaniſh, two Neapolitans; whereof the one was that commanded by *Sarmiento*, the other by Don *Feronimo Pimontello*; the one under *Thomaſo Carecciolo*, and the other under *Carlo Spinelli*: After this went the ſecond battaglion, led on by *Giovan Bravo*, wherein was his own Brigade, and the other two of *Cordova* and *Gambaloita*, with ſome Troops of Horſe, according as the ſcituation would permit: Between the one, and the other of theſe were ſome Artillery brought, and ſome carriages of Ammunition; in the reere the two Brigades of *Feronimo Rho*, and of Cavalier *Peccio* followed, with thoſe of *Urbane*, *Parma*, and *Lucca*; the firſt commanded by Count *Horatio Carpegna*, the ſecond by Don *Franceſco Farneſe*, and the laſt by *Franciſco Cenami*: The Horſe ſhelter'd, as formerly, the left wing of the Foot; the baggage came laſt, and a numerous Train of Artillery, with the wonted Guard. In this order did the Army march early in the morning in a thick miſt which would neither ſuffer them to diſcern the Hills, nor the Sentinels which were placed there to diſcover them. The Duke having notice at laſt by his Scouts of the Enemies March, and finding that they went towards the Hills, he, though too late, was aware of the importancy of that ſtation; wherefore iſſuing immediately with all his men out of the City, he went to pre-poſſeſs himſelf thereof; which by reaſon of their nearneſs having eaſily done, ſince he had not more ſeaſonably fortified them, he endeavour'd at leaſt to arm them, and furniſh them ſo with Souldiers, as the Enemy ſhould not be Maſters of them without much prejudice and effuſion of blood. He therefore, having a mind to give battle, placed ſix or ſeven thouſand French on the leaſt Hill, and on that which was fartheſt off; and talking to them on foot, he encouraged them to fight, propoſing unto them the advantage of the ſcituation, the valour of their Nation, their hatred to the Spaniards, the glory and great rewards of Victory; and they being come for the moſt part, rather to pillage then to fight, it is ſaid, that pointing with his hand unto the Enemies Troops, he ſhould ſay to them, give you me thoſe Ranks diſordered, and I will give you the State of *Millain*, and all *Italy* in prey to your valour and worth: For all the Arms, all the Forces that the Spaniards can put together, being aſſembled in this Camp, with what other people, with what other Armies can they oppoſe you? with what Arms, with what Commanders can they bereave you of the reward and fruit of Victory? Then ſeeming as if he were called away elſewhere, he excuſed himſelf for not tarrying longer with them: But ſeeming as if he did totally confide in their worth, he told them that his preſence was more requiſite elſewhere; then going

from them, he disposed 5000 Swissers on the Hill called *Certosa*, where he also placed five pieces of Artillery, with which scouring the Plain, he also light upon the Enemies Squadrons, and made way for the Horse, partly on the side of the Foot, partly in the Valley between the two Hills. The Governour was advanced, verily believing that the Duke would not stir out of the City; and seeing him, beyond all expectation, encamp'd upon the Hills, and prepared for fight, he gave order for giving battle, being thereunto much egg'd on by the entreaties of his men, and by the fervency of the whole Camp, who desired nothing else. This order being published, *Sarmiento's* battaglion, which was the Van, marched towards the Hills, and through the Souldiers fervour, a little more speedily then they ought to have done: And as he passed along having discovered some French quarter'd underneath the skirts of the Hills, some Neapolitanes were sent to drive them from thence. Here the fight begun; for *Onofrio Musi*, a Roman Gentleman and Commissary General of the Dukes Horse, came in to the relief of the French with a great Squadron of Horse, which, as if they had abandoned the Dukes party, past over to amongst the Enemy, crying *Viva la Spagna*, *Viva la Spagna*; whereby they did so deceive the Neapolitanes, as coming close up to them, without receiving any harm, and being by them friendly received, they immediately drew forth their Swords, and wounded some, slew other some, till such time as being relieved by *Gambaloita*, who seeing what was done from the second Squadron, advanced with his men, and forc'd the Enemies Horse to retreat: And at the same time the Neapolitanes, and the rest of the first Squadron, clambe up by those streight paths against the thunder of Cannon and hail of Musket-shot, and fighting as they came up the Hill, they at last got to the Plain, where being back'd by two pieces of Artillery, which were conveniently placed, they press'd so home upon the French, as beginning first to wave, and afterwards shamefully to turn their backs, they fled into *Asti*: The Duke, though in vain, sent Monsieur *Limogiont* Lieutenant to Prince *Thomaso* to assist them, that he might set upon and oppose the Enemy with his Horse; and he himself turning to the Swissers on the other Hill, on whom all his hopes lay, began to encourage them to make that station good; 'shewing them, That the first Hill was lost, not through the valour or 'number of the Enemy, but by the cowardise of the French; that 'they might make amends for the shame, and repair the loss: Wherefore they had an excellent occasion to shew how much the Swissers 'did exceed the French in valour, and to boast that it was the Swissers 'that had preserved his reputation and the state of the House of *Savoy*: 'He therefore wished them to make head, and face the Enemy, not 'only by keeping them from that station, but by beating them also 'from the other which the French had so basely abandoned: That he 'himself would hazzard his life amongst them, to whose valour and 'worth he had trusted his honour, State, and reputation; that he was 'therefore ready to keep with them, and run the same fortune, and 'fighting valiantly with a pike in his hand, either dye there, or bear 'away a plenary and glorious victory from the Enemy: That therefore 'they should fight as valiantly for the defence of that station, as they

would

'would do for the very walls of *Turin*; and let the world know that 'the Swiſſers had not loſt the ancient gallantry of their Fore-fathers, 'whereby they had won ſo many, and ſo famous Victories, with ſo 'much glory, wherein he did not in vain confide, nor yet ſo many 'other Princes, preferring the Swiſſers worth, in the defence of things 'of greateſt importance, before that of all other Nations.

But all theſe words were ſpoke in vain; for *Giovan Bravo*, who followed *Sarmiento*, having this mean while wheeled about with the ſecond Squadron on the ſide of the firſt Hill, and got upon the ſecond, and together with him *Gamboloita*, and *Don Alphonſo Pimontello*, *Limogione* could not only not do any thing of moment; but the Swiſſers ſeeing themſelves ſet on, on ſo many ſides, turn'd their backs more baſely then the French had done, without or fighting, or ſhewing their face to the adverſary; and though the Duke and Prince *Thomaſo* indeavoured to make head with ſome Squadrons of Horſe, and to detain the Swiſſers; which not being able to do, they themſelves withſtood the coming on of the Enemy, as much as might be; yet his men running faſter and faſter away, and the Enemy coming faſter and faſter on, they were forced to yield, and to leave five piece of Cannon in the Enemies hands; two of which being thrown into a ditch towards the City, were by night recovered by the ſame Swiſſers.

This was that which hapned on the Hills of *Aſti*, on the 21th of *May*, wherein though *Sarmiento's* Squadron fought more then any of the others, and particularly *Spinello's* and *Caracciolo's* Neapolitans, to whom therefore the praiſe of the Victory was little leſs then wholly due; yet becauſe their too great fervour and fury wherewith they charged the Enemy was a hindrance to their companions, and to the Kings other Squadrons, who proceeded in a more orderly, and Military manner, ſo as they could not come time enough to the fight; therefore theſe coming up after the French were routed, their action was not ſo advantagious as it would have been, if they had made a joynt aſſault; for then doubtleſſy the Dukes men would have been totally beaten. The number of the ſlain (as is uſual) is diverſly related; yet was it leſs then was to have been expected from ſuch a conflict; and no wonder, ſince they minded flying more then fighting. The Neapolitans received ſome loſs, being deceived by the Dukes Horſe, who were they only that may be ſaid to have laid about them, and to have made ſome reſiſtance, whereas the Kings Horſe did little or nothing; nor were there many taken priſoners; of the Spaniards the only man of account that was taken, was *Don Franceſco di Silva*, brother to the Duke of *Paſtrana*, who going out a picchering alone, out of his ranks, and entring with too much youthful ſpirit amongſt the Enemy, was wounded, and died not many days after a priſoner in *Turin*. Thoſe of quality who fell on the Dukes ſide, were Monſieur *di Crepagna*, Serjeant Major-General, and ſix other Captains; on the Kings ſide, ſix Captains and ſome other under-Officers: Great was the reputation which the Kings Forces won by theſe ſucceſſes, who were brought very low by the former; and very much the ſuppreſſion of the Dukes party, whoſe affairs were hereby thought to be reduced to ſo low an ebbe, as the news of the loſs of the Battle being brought to *Turin*, and

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the Dukes writings, and things of greateſt conſequence being ſent thither, men betook themſelves to ſuch courſes, as in times of greateſt extremity is uſual; they carried the Jewels and beſt of the Court-houſhold-ſtuff into the Caſtle; and as if the Enemy had been before the Walls, the people fell to fortifie them, to furniſh them with Sentinels, and *Corps de guarde*; and the women clothed in ſackcloth, went bare foot in proceſſion to the Churches, and ſacred places of the City; and yet little was the advantage that was got by the Victory: For contrary to the common cuſtom of War, the Kings affairs did from thence begin to decline in power, and reputation; and on the contrary, thoſe of the Duke grew daily better and more glorious; for the conquering Army, which ought to have run with fervour to the ruine of the City, which was full of men affrighted, and confuſed through exceſſive fear, and which was not likely to have held out long before ſo victorious an Army, as was generally confeſs'd by all men, did not only forbear doing ſo, but kept idle upon the Hills that they had won, and as if they had been infatuated with ſtupidity, buſying themſelves only in making Trenches, and in fortifying their Quarters, to defend themſelves from the Enemy which they had beaten; who after ſome days were paſſed began the Battery, but ſo cold, ſo leaſurely, ſo uncertain a one, that the Bullets of the Artillery either did not hit at all, or with very little damage, though the Walls which they plaid upon, were exceeding weak with age.

Wherefore the Duke, who was alſo entred the Town in fear and aſtoniſhment, and ſaw things in ſo deſperate a condition, by reaſon of his own Souldiers confuſion, prepared rather to abandon, then to defend it, taking courage at the ſo ſlow proceeding of the Enemy, began to hope he might be able to defend it; the which that he might do with the more honour and ſhew of valour, he lodged his men between the Walls and the Trenches, over againſt thoſe of the Enemy; and he did not only play upon the Enemies Camp from the Caſtle, and from the Bulwarks, and Platforms built without in convenient places; but ſallying often out of the Trenches with ſtore of Musketeers, even to the Enemies Banks and Works, he moleſted them continually both by day and night; and particularly on that part, where, as being moſt expoſed to aſſaults, *Giovan Bravo*, and *Lodovico Gamboloita* ſtood to make defence, who conſequently underwent the burthen of all that enterprize. The City was plentiful in Victuals and Ammunition, which were daily brought to the Duke, notwithſtanding the 400 Horſe which were ſent to St. *Damiano*; and the neerneſs of the ſame City afforded him convenience not only to quarter his men commodiouſly, and under covert, but alſo to refreſh them; for dividing his Souldiers between the Guards of the Walls and the Trenches, and ſome ſucceeding other ſome in labour, and in reſt, they recreated themſelves, and getting more ſtrength by their reſt and recreation, they fell with more vigour to their labour again, and made the longer reſiſtance: and though they were not over-well paid, yet did they ſerve in that War with much affection and induſtry, and were incouraged not ſo much by the Dukes preſence and authority, as by his civil comportment, which won upon the Souldiers, whom he accompanied in all their labours and dangers;

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To this was added, that he being naturally liberal to the Souldiers, they knew he failed them not in their pay through avarice, but impossibility: so as every one esteeming the cause his own, they laboured in the enterprize as for their own honour, incited by their hatred to the Spaniards, and by their desire of cancelling the fault which they had committed in the Battel; and they fought the more fervently, for that they saw the Enemies Army grow the less couragious; Which not being only molested by continual labour (as hath been said) but afflicted with infinite wants and inconveniences, and exposed to a thousand hardships in the *Campagnia*, wasted and consumed miserably away, as ice beaten on by the Sun; for abounding in Victuals, and in all other refreshments, which was brought them from the States of *Millain* and *Montferrat*, they grew unruly and ill-governed, from whence infinite disorders did result: they were quarter'd upon those barren Hills, and without water, the scarcity whereof was very great, which they wanted not only for their refreshment, and to keep them clean, but even to drink: for having none but what was brought on the backs of beasts from the *Tanaro*, and *Versa*, there was not sufficient for the Men and Horses to drink: especially the neighbouring Cisterns of *Certosa* being immediately dried up by reason of the great concourse of people; and a little rivulet which ran neer their Quarters, through the small care they had of keeping cleansed from the immundities of the Army, became so foul and loathsome, as it was of no service: So as the Souldiers were not only scorch'd up through heat, but fell sick through sluttishness. Moreover, there being no habitations there, save in the Covent of the *Certosa*, the Souldiers for the most part lay without Tents or Shrouds, naked upon the earth; so as they were burnt by day, by the Sun-beams which were at that time very hot, and by night distempred by the blasting Evening-dew, and cold Air. In many places you might have seen the Souldiers sitting on the ground under the shadow of a bough, fixed in the earth, thinking it a great refreshment to shelter their heads a little from the scorching heat of the Sun: they took little care in burying the dead; so as the air grew noisome through the stink of dead bodies, sickness, and other pollutions. The Souldiers not being able therefore to bear with so much labour in War, and inconveniences of body, fell many of them daily sick, who not being fitted with opportune remedy, and the contagion still increasing, the Camp within a few days became rather like an Hospital of sick-men, then Military Quarters: It behoved therefore to send for the Germans who were in the Garrison at *Sandoval*, to supply the scarcity of people in the Camp, wherein there were not enough able to supply the Guards, and other usual Military Duties; the rather for that the Governour having made a Trench to be digg'd towards the west, by which way Victuals and Ammunion were brought into the City from *Piedmont*; the Duke being aware of it, caused another Trench to be made over against it, wherewith he sheltered the way, and on the head thereof made a Fort be built, from whence the opposite Trench being furiously plaied upon by the Artillery, the quarters about *la Certosa* were exposed to assaults: it being therefore necessary, for remedy, to build another Fort opposite to it, *Thomaso Caracciola* was deputed to

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have the custody thereof, with his Brigade of Neapolitans; and these not being sufficient, for many of them diminished, the Dutch who were come but a little before from *Sandoval*, were sent thither. The Governour continuing thus, many days, to oppose the Enemies Army which lay before the City, and seeming neither willing, nor resolute to assault it; the Souldiers being oppress'd with so much labour and inconvenience could not be kept from murmuring, not complaining so much of the effect, as of the manner of the Governours suffering them, who were willing to fight the Enemy, to be so basely consumed by sufferings; and that undergoing a thousand deaths hourly, and running manifest ruine and destruction, he would not suffer them to dye honourably by assaulting the City and the Dukes Quarters; nor so much as send the Horse which lay there idle, to divert the enemy from making defence, or to pillage and over-run *Piedmont*, and to keep back the provisions which were daily brought into *Asti*: Every one therefore spoke ill of him, detracting from his Honour and Reputation, saying, as they were wont, that he held private intelligence with the Duke, and had no good intentions to the Kings Affairs: Now that the true ground of these Detractions, as also of what was alledged in his defence, (for it was variously argued) may be known, it will be necessary, that leaving the Spanish Army in their difficulties and troubles, wherein it continued till the end of the war, and till the peace was concluded; that looking a little backwards, we make some particular inquiry.

'The Governour being naturally inclined to proceed with maturity and safety in all his actions, and therefore professing that he managed the war not with any military violence, but with Spanish slowness and caution seemed in all his resolutions to have for his chief end, not 'to hazzard the present condition of affairs; and that therefore, as a 'dangerous Rock to the Kings affairs, he abhorred nothing more then 'to make either the Italians or French jealous that the King would 'make himself master of *Asti*, and of *Piedmont*; lest such fear might 'move too brisk humours, and might perturb the very foundation of 'the peace of *Italy*, which was far from the intention of the King or his 'Councel to do: These his ends and thoughts, which he from the be'ginning, for the justification of the business did not conceal, made 'him afterwards so circumspect and reserved, as well in the prosecuti'on of the war, as in all his other actions, as the Duke growing bold 'thereupon, and fearing the reputation of his forces the less, did with 'more courage continue the war; and the Embassadours who mana'ged the peace made use thereof as of a bridle, or spur, to bring him 'to what they would. The Prince of *Ascoli* seemed, though with more 'setled thoughts, to be of the same opinion; to whom the Duke did 'much adhere, as to both of them did some of the Commanders, who 'being gratified by the Governours failed not to side with him in all 'Consultations depending; though *Morsara* declared against them, but 'in vain; who according to his custome being averse to the Gover'nours proceedings, and not at all ab'sh'd at what had happen'd at '*Bistagno*, was for the setting aside of all such respects, as pernicious 'to the final end of the affairs, and for the making war manfully: To

'him

'him did the moſt of the Captains in their hearts incline, and openly 'the whole Army; who were ſcandalized at the Governours ſo great 'circumſpection; the Governour and the Prince were much nou-'riſh'd in this diſpoſition by the Negotiation of peace, which was 'hotly treated of in *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy*; For the King of *France* 'having ſent Monſieur *de Silleri* with a ſtately Embaſſie to carry his 'Preſents to his new Spouſe, and beginning to grow jealous of the 'Governours ſo great preparations againſt *Piedmont*, had given him 'Commiſſion to treat efficaciouſly with the King of *Spain*, touching 'the manner of compoſing the Dukes Affairs; from which compoſi-'tion, after the ſaid Dukes hoſtile actions, the King and Court of '*Spain* ſeemed to be much averſe; That King and Court were loath 'to yield to the King of *France* his deſires, thinking them too much 'mis-becoming Kingly dignity, not ſuiting with ſuch threats and pre-'parations: They were yet more troubled for the examples ſake; 'thinking that to agree with the Duke, without ſome preceding juſt re-'ſentment, and due revenge for the hoſtility, and little reſpect ſhewn, 'would be too great a detriment to the Authority and Reputation of the 'Crown. The Dukes neceſſity in defending himſelf pleaded for the 'other ſide; which being permitted for a free Prince to do, did not 'only mitigate the name of the offence, but the offence it ſelf; As al-'ſo the continual deſire of preſerving *Italy* in peace, which contrary to 'all expectation was now diſturbed by the effuſion of ſo much Chri-'ſtian blood, to the ſo great prejudice of the people, and not without 'danger of *France* her being intereſſed therein: The reſpect of Kin-'dred likewiſe between the King and Duke; ſo as the King being re-'ſolved that the reſentment ſhould not only be finally forborn, but all 'ſatisfaction for the pretended intereſt, by reaſon of the interceſſion of 'his Son in law, his conjunction of blood, and the peace and quiet of 'Chriſtendom; it was agreed that the Duke being always underſtood 'to obſerve the ſaid three Points which were propoſed from the begin-'ning of the war, he ſhould be freed from the moleſtations of war: 'But to the end that all things ſhould be proceeded in with the dignity 'and reputation of the King; and that the Duke ſhould not be mind-'ed to be pertinacious, as he ſeemed to be, and to refuſe the of-'fer; it was agreed upon, That the King of *France* ſhould by his Em-'baſſadour intimate war to the Duke, if he ſhould refuſe to accept of 'the aforeſaid three things; and that on the contrary, if the Duke 'ſhould accept thereof, and that this acceptation ſhould be brought in 'writing by the French Embaſſadour to the Governour, it might be 'as an expreſs Command from the King, that forbearing all hoſtility 'in *Piedmont*, the Army ſhould immediately retreat: That things be-'ing thus compoſed, without the medling of any of the Kings Offi-'cers, or their Articling any thing with the Duke, it ſhould be in-'terpreted in *Spain* as a form of compoſition ſuiting with the Kings 'greatneſs and Majeſty; the Dukes bare and ready acceptance ſerving 'for a full amends and ſatisfaction for what was paſt: That the Gover-'nour was made acquainted with this Agreement by the Embaſſadour 'Rambolliette, when he was in *Feltzano*; and that fearing the danger 'that might inſue unto the Duke by ſo gallant an Army, he ſhould ex-

'hort him to desist, to the end that the peace which was almost concluded, might meet with no disturbance: He gave him, together with this advice, a Letter from *Don Inego de Cardevas*, Embassadour for the King at *Paris*, wherein he gave him notice, That the King of *France* had given order to *Rambogliette* to denounce war in his name to the Duke, if he should not accept of these three Points: And it not being to be believed that the Duke would gain-say the pleasure of these two Kings, who, as if they were both one, proceeded with joint Counsels; therefore the Governour, since the occasion of fighting did not deserve that for it the Kings Affairs should be longer disturbed, did prefer safe peace before long and dangerous war; and thought it sufficient to shew war unto the Duke, rather then to make war upon him; and that it would suffice to come to some honourable action with him, rather to make an honourable peace, then to damnifie him: In token whereof he moved but slowly from *Feliz Zano* to *Annone*, and did likewise proceed but slowly for six days about *Versa*; as also in beating up the Dukes Quarters, in consulting of the whole carriage of war, and of the manner of expugning *Asti*; hoping, peradventure, that the apprehension of the neighbouring Army, the Embassadours intercedings, and the fear of having war intimated to him in the King of *France* his name, might prepare him for conditions of peace; so all things might be with much honour appeased, without any danger or hazzard to the Kings Affairs; That this might, peradventure, also be the cause that when he had got the Victory, he was contented with the Dukes retreat, and proceeded no further: And that thinking that he being superiour in forces, and victorious, he might willingly listen to the urgent and efficacious protestations of the French Embassadour, who acquainted him that the King did not intend he should proceed with loose Reins to oppress the Duke, assuring him also that the Duke being overcome in battel could not but accept of the conditions of Peace, as the Embassador, mingling hopes and promises day by day with his protestations, assured him it would succeed.

This is that which is pleaded in the discharge and defence of the Governour, besides many other Orders given, which are unknown, which were secretly sent to the Governour from the Duke of *Lerma*, according to which it behoved him to govern himself; for it was then tacitly murmured amongst many, which increased afterwards in fame and opinion, and was constantly and universally believed: That the Duke of *Lerma*, to whose severity the reason of these Commotions was chiefly attributed, seeing how much contrary to his expectation, and contrary to the Kings affairs, they increased; and fearing lest the disturbance of peace, and the Dukes alienation, might at long running ruine his own interests, did streightly charge the Governour, that setting aside all other respects, he should wholly mind composition and reconciliation with the Duke, and that he was precisely commanded to slacken the carrying on of the war: But these things wer neither then nor afterwards so certainly manifest, as that they were able to quench the pregnant suspicions which were formerly had of him: Therefore the contrary opinion of those did generally prevail, who arguing either out of self-emulation, or out of a sinister impression of his

his actions, said; That none of the Kings Orders could be so precise or limited, especially the far distance being considered, but that they were to be varied according to the variation of affairs; nor that the Governours hands ought to be so bound up, as that he might not make use of his forces according as time and occasion should require: Nor that any Negotiation of peace should with any reason so much impede the heat of war, as that the progress of the latter should be lost or slackened, in respect of not disturbing the uncertain conclusion of the former; They made no account of the apprehension of future evils, as being vain and not consonant to these times; for the Governour having a well-experienced Army on foot, commanded by the best Commanders of these times, and provided with all things fitting for war; which received greater force and reputation by the assistance of divers Italian Princes; things were so well-ascertained, as he might be confident of not only maintaining *Italy* in her wonted fidelity and inclination to the King, but to keep forreigners from moving, and to suppress such as had moved: And howsoever, what sinister action, said they, could ever happen, which would not be less then the prejudice which would result from the disbanding of that Army, which being kept on foot, was able to repair all inconveniencies; and which being disbanded did infallibly draw after it all those mischiefs, nay, greater then those which were so much feared; therefore, said they, it behoved the Commander in chief to know the condition of his own forces, to make use of them to his best advantage, by streightning and assaulting the enemy, and by keeping him so molested, as that he might desire, covet, nay, account it a great favour, to obtain a secure peace; which assuredly is always most advantagious to those who are most against it: That all Commanders and Generals had always govern'd themselves so, and that by so doing they had reaped great advantage, honourable conditions, and much reputation to their Princes affairs; but that to keep idle within Works, to sit quietly under Pavillions, and to expect that the enemy should be inclined to peace; to suffer themselves to be wheedled about by words, to feed themselves with vain promises of interessed State-Ministers, and to shew small inclination to war, and a great desire of peace; was nothing else but to increase the adversaries confidence, to make him the prouder and more bold, to alienate him from Articles of peace, to make him backward and harder to consent to that which he finds to be so much indeavoured by his Adversary.

These and the like things were spoken of throughout *Italy*, in the very Camp, at all assemblies of men, who not knowing the final ends of Princes and Commanders, and of the Reasons which make them operate, or which keeps them from doing so; and less knowing what would have happened if they had done according to their intentions and discourses, do often arrogate unto themselves to the prejudice of other mens reputations, the censuring of humane actions, even as if the heart of him that governs, or future events, were apparent to their eye; And confining the duty of a Writer to the bare narration of what passeth, will not permit of his judgment in the truest and most equitable ratiocination, to him who shall be pleased and satisfied with his pains:

it is most certain that the Governour, in the general opinion of men, made himself suspected of having at the first, instead of extinguishing, disloyally nourish'd that fire, the suppression whereof if he had more indeavoured, he would have shut up the mouth of detraction, and have better justified his loyalty to his King, and together with his own reputation wherein he suffer'd very much, have preserved the Kings honour, which beginning from the first to bow did afterwards decline without any stop, as the future success will shew.

But that we may return to where we left; whilst the Army wasted, as hath been said, the indeavours of peace were not given over by the Agents of Princes: the French Embassadour did Negotiate it, together with *Pier Francesco Costa*, Bishop of *Savoy*, and Nuntio resident with the Duke, who succeeded *Savelli*, he having for some particular indispositions of his own, obtained leave to return to *Rome*: and together with them the same *Zeno* for the Commonwealth of *Venice*; with whom (but apart from the Nuntio) Sr *Dudly Carleton* did intervene, who was come from *Venice*, were he had been Embassadour in ordinary, and was come a little before into *Piedmont* with the title of Embassadour extraordinary from the King of *England*: which King, adhering privately to the Dukes affairs, at the same time that he Negotiated the peace as a friend to both, had taken order for the disbursing of a hundred thousand Ducates to the Duke, at *Lyons*, and also, seeming as if it were done by the Peers of the Kingdom, but in effect by his own command, sent him some Ships, as it was said, fraughted with Foot. Count *John* of *Nassau* was also daily expected to come with men by land from *Holland*; and it was heard that succours came from *Germany*, to assist the said Duke, which were sent him from the Protestant Princes of that Nation, who did not a little foment the Wars of *Piedmont*; Nor did the Venetians foment them less then they, though secretly; who from the beginning being anxious at the proceedings of the Spanish Army, and fearing that the Duke might be oppress'd, began to assist him underhand with moneys, and advice: and afterwards seeing his affairs proceed prosperously, they being desirous to abate the Spanish grandezza, were not wanting in sustaining him, and shoaring him up, to the end that he might resist him who thought to suppress him. So all these Princes being thought privately to blow this fire, it was imagined that their Embassadours, who Negotiated the business; did not proceed therein with sincerity, unless it were the Popes Nuntio; for both their manner of treating, and form of conclusion, was sufficiently different from that reality which in appearance they did profess: and contrary to the great confidence, and good correspondency between the Kings of *Spain* and *France*: the French Embassadour having the appointment made at *Madrid* in one hand, and in the other the intimation of War, being consequently able to compel the Duke by the latter, and to force the Governour by the other: so as he was the chief Arbitrator of all that Negotiation, the rather for that the French Souldiers and Captains, who fought on the Dukes behalf, depending upon his command, he might at his pleasure make them forego their Arms, and bereave the Duke of the greatest part of his Forces; and though by orders from his King he was to be careful

of

of the reputation of the Spaniſh Crown, and to give ſatisfaction thereunto; and as a good ſervant to ſo great a King ought not to ſuffer the peace to be concluded otherwiſe, for the example which it would be to all greater Kings; and being truſted by the Barons of *France*, was choſen by the Queen to be imploy'd for this end at the Court of *Spain*; yet the Authority and common deſire of the Princes of that Kingdom, wherein they differ'd from the King in point of keeping friendſhip with the Crown of *Spain*, prevailing more with him: as alſo peradventure the French humour, naturally averſe to the name of Spaniard, he made leſs account of the Kings command: which was the chief cauſe of all the inconveniences which befell the Spaniſh Army. For doubtleſſy things would have gone otherwiſe, if he had punctually obſerved his Kings directions immediately after the Victory upon the Hills: but whilſt under pretence of not exaſperating the Duke, he proceeded ſometimes too favourably with him, and ſometimes approving of his jealouſies, he feared that by intimating War unto him *Piedmont* might be made a prey to the Victorious Army, much to the Kings prejudice; and that therefore he temporiſeth with the Duke, wherein he is fautor'd by the Engliſh and Venetian Embaſſadours: the Duke knowing what was done, fenc'd himſelf on one ſide with ſubterfuges, and delays, and on the other ſide aſſaulted the Enemies Trenches, and faced him: and on the contrary, the Spaniſh Army (as hath been ſaid) mouldred away; and the weaker they grew in Forces and Men, the Duke had the leſs mind to come to an agreement; and conſequently ſtanding harder upon the advantage of Articles, propounded delays, and greater difficulties; and hoping to get the better at the laſt, had a greater deſire to fight; and venting his conceived hatred againſt the Spaniards, aſpired at glory, by the total Victory of ſo invincible an Army; and the Embaſſadours, who would ſpin the threed of the Negotiation, as they were reſolved to do, held the Governours in hand with efficacious promiſes of peace; the concluſion whereof being from day to day defer'd, and they the mean while delighting to ſee the miſeries of the Spaniſh Army, they delaied ſo long, as finding it at laſt reduced to ſo great weakneſs, as that it was not able to fall upon any enterpriſe, they began to treat of new conditions; which together with the three particulars of *Madrid*, contained many other things of ſatisfaction to the Duke. Thus was the Capitulations of peace made, upon the beneath written terms and agreement.

'That the Duke ſhould diſarm effectually within one moneth; and 'retaining only four Companies of Swiſſers for the ſafety of his States, 'together with as many of his Subjects as he would, ſhould caſhier all 'the reſt of his men, that he ſhould not offend the Duke of *Mantua*'s 'Dominions, and that his pretentions ſhould be diſcus'd in the Empe-'rours Courts of Juſtice. On the contrary, the French Embaſſadour 'promiſed that the Rebels of *Monferrat* ſhould be pardoned, and be 'fully reſtored to their Goods, Honours and Offices: that he ſhould 'be protected by *France*, in caſe he ſhould be moleſted by the Spaniard, 'contrary to what was agreed upon; to which purpoſe, expreſs com-'mand was given in the Kings name to Marſhall *Diguere*, Governour 'of *Dolphiny*, and to the other Governours of Provinces confining

'upon

'upon the Dukes Territories, that immediately, without expecting 'any orders from the King, they should succour the Duke, in case the 'Conventions should not be agreed upon: that the Swissers and Wal-'loons should be restored to free Commerce in the State of *Millain*: 'that the places taken by either side should be restored: that all the 'French should be generally pardoned, who had served in the present 'War, contrary to the Kings command: that the King of *Spain* should 'not demand passage for six moneths space of the Duke, for any men: 'That the Duke should have three moneths allowed him, to give no-'tice to his friends, that they were to abstain from any hostility against 'the King; during which time the Duke repairing any damage which 'should be done, nothing of Hostility which should happen should 'prejudice the peace; and herewith the removal of the Spanish Army 'was agreed, upon in form following.

'That the French Embassadour should desire the Duke to draw a 'thousand Foot out of *Asti*; at whose marching out he would write to 'the Governour, and cause him to quit his quarters and to retreat 'to *Croce Bianca*, and to *Quarto*: Which being done, the same 'Embassadour was to intreat the Duke to remove the rest of the 'Souldiers out of the City: and the French Embassadour promised, 'that on the same day that that should be done, the Spanish Army 'should march out of *Piedmont*; and that then the Duke should imme-'diately disarm, but with this promise from the Embassadour, that af-'ter such effectual laying down of Arms, the Governour should so dis-'pose of the Kings Army, as neither the Duke, nor any other Prince 'of *Italy*, should thereby have any cause of jealousie; and that the King 'of *France* should ratifie the agreement within twenty days. All these 'Articles and Conventions were reciprocal between the Duke and the 'French Embassadour, who bound himself in his Kings name; which 'King took upon himself the whole business, and obliged himself to 'see whatsoever on his side, or by the Spanish Agents, abundantly ex-'ecuted; For what remained, there was no mention of any submission 'to be made by the Duke; only in the preamble, amongst the Reasons 'which moved him to peace, he alledged the desire he had to witness 'to the world the obsequence, and particular devotion which he had 'always profess'd to bear unto the King. These Articles were sub-'scribed by the Embassadours of *France*, *England* and *Venice*, expressly 'obliging their Princes to defend the Duke, if all that was promis'd were not made good to him, as long as he should observe what he had promised.

When these Capitulations were ingross'd or drawn up; The Duke, who hearing that the *Germane* and *Holland* succours were at hand, thought that he should now get absolute victory over the enemy, who were reduced to great extremity, and were not able to keep longer in their quarters by reason of the excessive heats, refused to under-writ the Articles: But the French Embassador, forced by express command from the King, did at last let him know that he came to intimate war unto him; and the Duke shunning his sight, he made the Kings Order, and the necessity of putting it in execution, known to Prince *Victorio*, and commanded the French Souldiers and Commanders, under pain of grievous

grievous punishment, in the Kings name, that they should immediately forego the Dukes service and return to *France*, whither he would follow them the next day; which certainly he would have done, if the Nuntio had not opportunely interposed his Authority; who going several times between him and the Duke, and earnestly intreating them not to let the almost concluded peace be disturbed, obtained that the Embassadour should tarry and give leave to the Duke to bethink himself better, and to reflect upon the danger and necessity of his affairs, which would grow to a bad condition, if the French, who were the chief sinews of his Army, should mutiny as they seemed to be already inclined to do; or foregoing his pay, should be inforced suddenly, and in so ill a crisis of time, to abandon him; Wherefore raging at the Embassadour, he not without much indignation, was at last brought to subscribe the Articles of peace; but upon condition that the Instrument should be kept in the Nuntio's hands, to be by him assigned over to the Embassadour when he should receive another from him, wherein the Governour of *Millan* should sufficiently bind himself in his Kings name, to observe what the *French* Embassadours had promised on the Kings behalf: the Duke being desirous that it should be rather covenanted with him on the King of *Spains* behalf, for that he knew he for his reputation sake abhorr'd to do it: He was also satisfied herein, though contrary to the capitulations of *Madrid*, and to the intentions of the two Kings, yielded unto by the Embassadour of *France*, and by the other Embassadours, who were desirous that Peace might be concluded the most that might be to his advantage and honour; and therefore the Embassadour of *France* having written to the Governour, (who was now reduced to a state rather of giving then of receiving conditions of peace) and having obtained sufficient assurance from him under his hand, the business was at last totally agreed. Whilst these things were a concluding, or were rather held to be totally concluded; the Duke not being yet satisfied with venting, nor with resenting himself, went out of the City by night with a great number of his valiantest Souldiers and Captains, and assaulted the enemies Trenches: He hoped to find them unprovided, by reason of their great sufferings, and negligent out of their hopes of the near conclusion of peace, which made him desire to make great slaughter, and notably to resent his conceived injuries; but he failed in his design; for the Governour having notice thereof, re-inforced the Trenches with Garrisons, and gave the chief care thereof to *Gambelotta* and *Bravo*; who managed the business so well, as they forced the Duke to retreat, with the like prejudice which he had plotted against the Enemies. The Duke lost in that assault by night above 200 of his best and valiantest Souldiers, besides many Commanders, and persons of note; and had the Governour (as some of his men thought) sent a good body of men out of the Trenches, who might have fallen upon the Assailants on the Flank, not any of the Dukes men might have escaped scot-free; and the Duke himself, who was affirmed by many to be there present, would have run danger of his person; Wherefore the Governour was for this action also much blamed, ill spoken of, and detested by the whole Camp. The next morning, which was *June* the 23d, and the 34 day after the Battel, upon the

the Hills, peace was proclaimed, and was the very self-same day put in execution, for as much as was then requisite; wherein the Governour was fain to pass by two things also: which though small in themselves, yet of no small consideration in point of honour: the one, that the Dukes Souldiers, who went to throw down the abandoned Trenches, should kill 200 of the Enemies Souldiers who were found sick there, the Spanish Army being in a manner present, who were not all of them gone from their quarters; the other, that the Governour deferring his removal for that day, in respect of the scarcity of Carriages, as also of the multitude of sick persons, and of many other impediments, the French Embassadour not admitting of any excuse, nor giving way to any one hours delay, forced him to dislodge immediately, protesting, and that resolutely, that otherwise he would make the Souldiers return who were gone out of the City, and that revoking the command to the contrary, he would permit the French to tarry and continue in the Dukes service. Thus meerly through their fault who govern'd the Kings Forces, not only the enterprise of *Asti*, but those others that proceeded had but bad success; and not conformable to the greatness of preparation, to the threats and imagined resentments. Thus the Governour rather inforc'd, then willingly, and rather as conquered, then conquerour, went out of *Piedmont*, sufficiently diminished both in Forces and Reputation, who was entred thereinto but forty days before with a flourishing and gallant Army, and glorious and triumphant for the Victory he had obtained.

The End of the third Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

THe King being but badly satisfied with the peace of Asti, *makes* Don Pietro di Toledo *Governour of* Millain; *Between whom and the Duke new differences arise touching the execution of the Articles of peace: The* Venetians *by reason of the* Slavonians, *who molest their Navigation in the* Gulf, *make war in* Friuli *against the Arch-Duke, and in* Istria *against the Emperour; and possessing themselves of many Towns in* Friuli, *come before* Gradisca; *from whence they depart not many days after by reason of Treaties of Agreement which were introduced. The Duke of* Savoy, *complaining still of the not observance of peace, fears to be again assaulted by the Governour, and therefore prepares for war again: He joins under-hand with the Venetians, and calls* Digueres, *Marshal of* France, *into* Piedmont; *but is quickly and unexpectedly assaulted in* Savoy *by the Duke de* Nemours, *who is fomented with monies and promises from the Governour of* Millain. *The King of* France, *to provide against the commenting uproars in* Lombardy, *sends Monsieur* di Bettuve *thither; and the Pope* Monsignore Lodovisio, *Arch-Bishop of* Bologna. *Preparations for a new war are renewed in the State of* Millain, *and in* Piedmont, *which is again begun between the Duke and the Governour; who draws near the Confines of* Piedmont *with an Army.*

FOrces were more appeased by the Articles of *Asti* then ments minds; and none having met with such satisfaction as was by them expected, they were not generally held a sufficient tye for the uniting

of wills, nor a secure foundation for the performing what was agreed upon: As for the Duke, though he might have been contented to have made his party good against the Kings so formidable Army, and to have defended himself beyond expectation, made his agreement upon equal terms, and that the peace was for his sake subscribed by so great Potentates; yet he thought it too hard for him to be at last inforced to receive those Laws, which to keep from being imposed upon him, he had exposed himself to so much danger and trouble: It further troubled him, that his men being by these Articles reduced to a set number, he was left like a body without Arms, and as it were, like a Lyon without Teeth or Claws, to be laugh'd at by the Spaniards, with whom he was sure he could never have any secure peace, nor sincere intelligence, as long as they should remember his past offences: So as the past Commotions not having produced effects wholly answerable to his high hopes; the vivacity of his Genius, and pride of his undaunted Spirit being considered, it was more probable that his having escaped unprejudiced out of so great a tempest would incite him to novelties, and not keep him from putting himself again into new dangers. On the other side; though the King by this peace had obtained the chief intent of the war, yet the Duke not being so humbled as at the beginning of the war they firmly believed he should be, the Court of *Spain* thought the King was not lightly wounded in his honour, and more then untouched in that veneration and respect which the Italians had wont to bear him. The Spaniards were therefore generally much unsatisfied, that the fruit of so many threats, and of so great preparations, should end in a peace so little advantagious for the King, and purchased by the Governour with so little reputation, and with reciprocal promises and obligations, and wherein there were not terms befitting the Majesty of that Crown, nor suiting with the Authority and Grandezza thereof. They were yet more troubled that the French, who were formerly laboured to be kept from having any thing to do with the affairs of *Italy*, should upon this occasion prove to have not only maintained an Italian Prince who had made insurrection against the Kings Authority, but had taken upon them to be the mediators of peace, exercising that arbitriment in the managing and concluding thereof, which the Spanish Nation pretended did in *Italy* belong only to their King: They were likewise vex'd to consider that one sole protestation, one bare intimation of the French Embassadour, whose King had no footing in *Italy*, should be of more consideration to make the Duke accept of conditions of peace, then the authority and forces of their King, bent with such fervency against *Piedmont*; and as they did inwardly, but ill resent the Dukes total alienation, so could they hardly well digest that such a separation should be confirmed by a tacite League, contracted before their eyes between the Duke and the Princes who had subscribed the Peace, amongst the which, that the Venetians did not particularly keep from obliging themselves against the King, was a thing which had not yet been practised by any Prince of *Italy*, where the Spaniards had so deeply fix'd their roots: So as thinking that the King suffered too much thereby in his Dignity and Reputation, they were very much unsatisfied both with the war so unsuccesfully

unſuccesfully begun, and with the Peace concluded againſt their Dignity and Pretentions: And throwing all the fault publickly upon the Governour, and privately upon the Duke of *Lerma*; the name of the Governour as the executor of ſuch ſcandal, and of the Duke of *Lerma* as the Authour thereof, was deteſted both in *Spain* and *Italy*; Nor was it thought by any one that the King would ever ratifie the Articles of that Peace: All which conſiderations, though they were of power enough with the King and his Council, and made them very much doubt what to do; chi fly ſince they were done by a State-Miniſter contrary to Orders given him, and beyond the appointment made in his Court with the French Embaſſadour; yet, whether it were that the Duke of *Lerma*'s authority prevailed, that he deſired no uproars, or the being much preſs'd by the Pope, and by the King of *France*, or peradventure through the conſideration of that Councel, that all the aforeſaid reſpects were not to be compared to the good of peace, and to the ſafety of the States of *Italy*, from whence the Authority and Dignity of the Crown take more force and vigour, then from the events of war: It was at laſt reſolved, that ſetting aſide all other conſiderations, peace ſhould be accepted of as it was concluded: Wherefore the King delayed not ſending the Ratification thereof to the King of *France*, who had likewiſe ratified within the prefix'd time by a particular Decree; but being not a little offended with the Governour, (the Duke of *Lerma* not being able to ſway againſt the general ſence of the Court, nor keep himſelf from the puniſhment which was ready to fall upon him and the Governour) *Don Piedro di Toleda* was choſen to ſucceed him in his place; and he was ſent for into *Spain*; and in demonſtration of greater diſſatisfaction *Don Piedro* to go with all poſſible ſpeed for *Italy*.

Don Piedro had always, and upon all occaſions, been very free in reſolving upon publick affairs, and very zealous for the publick good, and not depending upon any ones authority, ſhew'd very ſingular accuſaneſs in what belonged to the publick Dignity: Wherefore he had won a general opinion, that neither any reſpect of the Duke of *Lerma*, nor any private Intereſts, which (ſetting aſide thoſe of the King) had much furthered the Dukes affairs, ſhould be able to remove him from this reſolution: He was therefore thought both by the King and Council to be one who would ſute well with the preſent condition of affairs, and ſuch a one who might eaſily reduce the affairs of the Crown in *Italy* to their former condition and reputation: But things being brought to that paſs, as they could not be repaired either without great maturity of counſel, or without extraordinary valour in War, this choice proved not a convenient remedy for the malady; for when *Inoioſa*, in conformity to the agreed upon Articles, laid down Arms, and afterwards offer'd himſelf to be the firſt who ſhould reſtore what was gotten in the preceding War, it was not agreed upon in expreſs words, that the King was to lay down Arms, but it was only ſaid, that the Governour ſhould ſo diſpoſe of the Kings Armies, as neither for ſtate, nor time, the Duke, or any other Prince ſhould have reaſon to be jealous thereof; nor, though the Duke had commanded upon pain of great puniſhments all forreign Souldiers to depart his Dominions, did they really de-

part; for many French, under the name of Savoiards, and many Walloons, under the name of Swissers, by reason of the conformity in their apparel and speech, kept concealedly there, whereof it was held the Duke was not tacitely ignorant: Many also (if all were true which was pretended against the Duke) were sent by him into some parts of *Piedmont*, far from the Commerce of Forreigners, and unfrequented by them; so as the diligence of those that were sent by *Inoiosa* into *Piedmont* to certifie the effectual performance of the Treaty of peace proved but vain: And many of the French Commanders kept publickly in *Turin*, some by reason of sickness, some for their own affairs, and others under colour of being the Dukes particular servants. And yet *Inoiosa* being desirous that the peace made by him might be perfected, and to leave it as little as he could in the power of his successour, when he heard what relation his Spies brought back, he without any more ado dismiss'd his Swissers, and the Regiments of the Italian Princes, and reforming the Spanish Companies and Lombards, which were much diminished, he cashiered likewise many Captains and Officers, and reduced his men to a much lesser number; and not to come short of the Duke in his forwardness of restoring such places as were taken, he gave order to the Governour of *Oneglia* that he should be ready upon the first notice given to quit the Town; who therefore began to send away some Artillery and Ammunition. But the face of affairs alter'd at the coming of his Successour, whereof as soon as *Inoiosa* had notice, he went from *Millain*, and not tarrying to see his successour, he went with two Gallies into *Spain*, richer in moneys which he had gotten in his Government, and by the War, then in any glory he had gotten in the last actions: whereof to excuse himself he gave out that he carried with him particular orders which he had received from *Spain*, (meaning those of the Duke of *Lerma*) and the opinions of many of the Council of War in *Millain*, according to which he professed he had govern'd himself upon all occurrences. When he came to *Spain*, he was by order from the King confined in *Alcala*; where his cause being tried by Justice, and the Judges who were deputed by the King to examine his actions not agreeing in their sentence, he at last, after some moneths space, was admitted to see the King, and was acquitted of all imputations. It was thought by many, that the Duke of *Lerma*'s favour stood him in much stead, who besmeared himself sufficiently in procuring his liberty, for the doubt conceived, lest by his depression, who was a creature of his, his own reputation might be concerned; especially for that he doubted lest many of his rivals might use all their indeavours to have him condemned, rather out of a desire to lessen his the Dukes authority and grandezza, then to see the guilty person punished for his misdemeanors: but though his Grandezza, till now untouched, did also in these affairs surpass his corrivals; yet envy increasing upon these occasions, and the gate to murmure being opened, he began from this time to decline, and fell afterwards totally. The first thing the new Governour did, was to revoke the Reformation made by his predecessour in the Spanish, and Lombarde Companies; under no other colour, but for that the less worthy Captains and Officers were detained, and the more deserving and experienced were cashiered;

sheired; so what remained, though he in words profest the observance of the treaty of peace, yet there appeared many signs which shewed he was otherwise minded; for being naturally zealous of the Kings dignity, he, even with injurious words detested the actions of his predecessour; of whom having received ill impressions, he in his actions and countenance appeared every day to be more and more offended, and broke often out into spiteful speeches against the Duke, even to the telling him he would in a short time reduce him to nothing: and that he was very certain that the Kings affairs, especially for what concern'd him the Duke, should be otherwise handled under his Government then they had been. It was also observed that as he sailed above the City of *Nice*, when he passed from *Antibo* to *Finale*, he shewed no friendly intention, not saluting that Fort with shot according to custom: being moreover visited by the said Duke by way of Embassie, as Italian Princes are wont to visit new Governours, he did not answer with equal civility, till delay had made it unseasonable; and being offer'd by the Duke to have all places restored, as soon as he should have laid down Arms; he answered that the Duke ought first to do all that he was obliged by agreement to do, before he should pretend to the observancy of any thing agreed upon. He moreover rejected *Claudio Marini*, who in the King of *France* his name desired him to disarm; telling him, that he was no legitimate person for that King: so as the Duke and all *Italy* were not a little doubtful of his intentions; which for what he afterwards manifested, was not to break the peace at first, nor yet to keep his Army idle; for he was by the King forbid to do either of these; but, were it either for the greater preservation of Dignity in disarming he would seem to do it of his own good will, and not as being bound so to do, or at the request of any other, or that he had really any such injunction from *Spain*, or that he was moved thereunto for the honour of his King, or out of private glory, he delay'd the execution of the agreement; not without hope, as appeared afterwards, so to better the Kings conditions. It was notwithstanding believed that he had a mind to bring the Duke to lay aside the Articles of *Asti*, and to humble himself of his own accord unto the King, into whose hands if he would totally put himself he should be received into like favour as formerly, and treated with more advantagious satisfaction; wherein if he should have prevailed, he should, much to his glory, have abolished those abominable conditions; and also have wrought the Dukes so much desired humiliation, and his re-uniting to the Crown; a thing as much desired for the quiet and safety of *Italy*, after the breach, as it was little valued before; and that which *Don Piedro* seemed most of all to desire; if the Duke should agree upon any other terms, or by any other means, then by the Articles of *Asti*, the the French mens plots, and those of the other enviers of the Spanish greatness, would be cancelled; and the King of *France* his arbitrement, which the French boasted they had introduced in the affairs of *Italy*, and excluded that of *Spain*, would have proved vain: being probably moved thereunto, out of these ends, he began to propound many difficulties touching the Dukes demands, more relating to the Kings dignity, then to the peace of present affairs: pretending that it

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was not expreſs'd in the now Capitulations of peace that the King ſhould diſarm; that the Swiſſers were diſmiſt, and the Auxiliary Forces of the Italian Princes; and that the remainder were ſo much leſſened by running away, and by death, as there were ſcarcely enough left for the Garritons of the State of *Millain*, which was not limited by the Capitula ions. And finally, that the Duke had not fully diſarmed, who was to obſerve all the other Articles anticipately: but the commotions begun at the ſame time in other parts of *Italy*, between the Emperour, and the Archduke of *Gratz*, in one part, and by the Venetians in another, afforded him more reaſon of juſtifying his deſigns; For the Kings Agent, holding for certain that the Commonwealth had made War upon thoſe Princes, out of a deſire to bereave the houſe of *Auſtria* of many Towns which it poſſeſſeth in *Friuli*, and of the Havens of *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*, they thought themſelves bound to maintain them, not only for that the Arckduke was brother to their Queen, and of the Kings family, but for that by their poſſeſſion of thoſe Havens they did for ever ſhut up the entrance from any German ſuccours, which upon occaſion might be ſent into the Kingdom of *Naples*. Wherefore, becauſe whilſt there was War in *Italy*, it neither became the dignity, nor the ſafety of the Kings affairs, that they his Miniſters ſhould be unarmed, idly expecting the event of thoſe differences wherein the King was ſo much concerned: the Governour adding this no leſs juſt (as he termed it) then neceſſary reaſon to the reſt, and therewithall refuſing the Dukes demands, alledged that ſuch accidents had hapned as forced him to keep more ſtrongly armed; nor that there could be any pretence made, but that the King might lawfully re-arm upon new occaſions, though he had been bound by thoſe Capitulations to diſarm.

By the interpoſition of theſe difficulties, together with his rigorous and threatning proceedings with the Duke, he hoped that by making the Duke deſpair of reaping his pretended fruit by thoſe Capitulations, whereby he might boaſt that he had once been able to make the King lay down Arms, he might eaſily make him bethink himſelf of new reſolutions: This the Governours hope was likewiſe confirmed by the occaſions and preſent conjuncture of times, which ſeemed to make very much for him. At this very nick of time was the conſignation of the Royal married Couple made by the two Kings, with a glorious and ſplendid attendance upon the Confines of their adjoyning Kingdoms; and therefore their Union being eſtabliſhed by ſuch pledges, he thought that the King of *France*, and the Queen Regent, by whom, and according to whoſe pleaſure, the Kingdom was then Governed, that they might gratifie the King and Court of *Spain*, towards whom the Queen ſeemed to be very well inclined, would no longer ſtand ſo much upon the alteration or obſervation of the Treaty of *Aſti*; eſpecially ſince he knew it had happened partly by ſiniſter intentions, partly by the negligence of the State-Miniſters in *Italy*, beyond the chief appointment made in *Spain* with that King, by the Commendator *Sillery*, and beyond their intentions who pretended nothing from the King of *Spain*, but the Dukes ſafety; but ſtill joyned with the ſame Kings Dignity, whoſe Authority they had not the leaſt drift to dimi-

diminish; nay, if they had been otherwise minded, it would not have been easie to have made good the Dukes Affairs, since *France* was then in greater combustions than ever, and fuller of new broyls, and intestine discords, raised by the Prince of *Conde*, the neerest Prince of the Blood, next to the late King *Henries* line, and by many other Princes and Barons of the Kingdom; who being much unsatisfied with the Kings Match, and with the so strong union between those two Crowns, since they saw they could no longer hinder it, made head under pretence of reforming the Government, with great Forces, and attendance of the Nobles, against the King, as he returned with his Wife and Mother to *Paris*; so as the necessity which their Majesties had of keeping united to the Crown of *Spain*, that they might thereby the better fence themselves against the Civill Insurrections of the Kingdom, being added to their own good will, made them the less able to mind the Affairs of *Piedmont*. Moreover the Duke of *Savoy*, being but badly satisfied with the King and Queen of *France*, by reason of their denial to assist him upon the late occasion, and by their intimating War unto him, just then when by the diminution of the Spanish Army before *Asti* he thought himself sure of Victory by *Conde*, and the other Princes that were tacitely united, thought him a fitting means to disturbe, together with them, that union of the two Crowns which was contrary to his ends, which he had already endeavoured, and had disbursed moneys largely to such as having a hand in the business might trouble those Marriages: so as being still able to do so, their Majesties had little reason to look upon his Affairs with a favourable eye. The Governour therefore thinking he might lay a good ground-work for his designs, in ordering that King, and the Affairs of that Court, he doubted not but that his Reasons for not disarming effectually represented in that Court by Don *Hettore Pignatelli*, Duke of *Monteleone*, Embassadour for the Catholick King at *Paris*, and a great Confident of Don *Nicolo's*, by reason of the neer alliance that was between them, might be accepted of as lawfull, and consequently the opposition of that Crown being taken away, he was sure that the Duke, being destitute of such a leaning-stock, and his Forces being consequently lessened, might be put upon great necessities, and that submitting himself to the Kings pleasure, he would agree to any thing, without talking any longer of *Asti*, or of the Capitulations made there. The Duke then understanding at last, that the Governour desired one might be sent unto him, with whom he might treat touching the Common occurrences, gave order to Count *Gio: Battista Scaglia*, who upon other occasions was destined Embassadour to *Venice*, that passing by *Millain* he should hear what should be said unto him about that business, and he sent the Senator *Lodovico Zuello* along with the said Count, to the end that the Count passing on to *Venice*, *Zuello* might bring him the Compendium of the business. These being gone to *Millain*, the Governour propounded Propositions unto them, not only very satisfactory for the Duke, but made also many promises of advancing the Duke and his Sons to great preeminent, if passing by the nicety of the Capitulations, he would humble himself to the King; and on the contrary, strange doubtful difficulties touching the execution and interpretation

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of the said Capitulations; if the Duke should tenaciously stick thereunto; they were therefore desired to exhort the Duke to write unto the King in conformity to what he had proposed; but the Duke being frustrated of any Spanish hopes would not give way to the Governours allurements, esteeming them so many baits to make him fall unworthily from that Glory which through so much trouble and danger he had atchieved; to the end that throwing himself dishonourably into the Kings Arms, and indiscreetly estranging himself from the friendship and protection of those Princes who had subscribed the Peace, he might the more easily be brought into his former condition by the Kings Ministers of State, with little hope that the same Princes should resent his injuries another time, if upon this occasion he should so sleightly have foregone their favour and Authority: Resolving therefore to undergo whatsoever misfortune, rather than to do what he would not consent unto whilst he had the Enemies Army upon his hands, he absolutely denied to forego the Capitulations, or to make any submission; but pretending that the King was bound by the Articles to disarm, he said it was the Embassadours intentions who made them that he should do so, though, for his Majesties greater honour it was expressed with more circumspection; and notwithstanding, being desirous that he might not thereby receive any prejudice in compassing his chief end, which was, that that Army might be disarmed, he was content to write a Letter, wherein *not saying any thing which was not worthy of himself, as a free and independent Prince, and without parting from the Capitulations at Asti, he with great respect excused himself for what had happened, and laying the fault upon the late Governour, he added, that by this means he hoped he should keep himself in his Majesties former favour, desiring him to preserve him therein in the same degree which he and his children had of so many relations pretend unto:* This he sent to the Governour by *Zeglio*, with a flying Seal, with order that he should deliver it him when he should engage himself by express word, that he would dismiss himself within a certain prefixt time: But this Letter was neither received by the Governour, nor sent into *Spain*; for it did not please him, who desired it might have been written more humbly, and so as that it might have prejudicated the Capitulations; or else thinking that the Duke by that Letter might get a promise of effectual disarming, he did not think the prize equivalent to the demande, nor the bargain answerable to the condition of the present times: therefore shewing the Duke the necessity he had to keep his men in Arms, by reason of the war in *Savoy*, and offering to restore the places that were taken, and giving him his word in the Kings Name that he would not offend him, he kept from disarming. He added also, that the Duke of *Mantua* would not listen to the pardoning of Rebels; and, as if the King of *France* had done more than he had power to do, in promising that without his consent, he seemed to be prejudiced in the rights of his Principality; having sent the Marquess Don *Iohn Gonzago* into *Spain*, he obtained that point, that it might be left to his free will, that King professing, though himself not bound by the Articles of that Peace to pardon Rebels; and that he would not, nor could not justly keep the Duke from exercising Jurisdiction in that State which he had obliged

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ged himself to protect: And therefore the Duke of *Mantua*, being therein encouraged by the new Governour, to whom he was near allied, and being moreover desirous that the Duke of *Savoy* might reap no good by this peace, he did not only constantly delay the pardoning of Rebels, which he was much prest to do by the King of *France*, but selling the remainder of Count *Guido*'s goods, and confiscating those of the rest who he pretended to be Rebels, he also put some of his Subjects to death, for having served the contrary party in that War.

But the Duke of *Savoy*, who could not be satisfied neither by the Kings words, nor by the delivery of places taken, which the Governour offer'd him, without the effectual disarming of the Kings Army; seeing that no good was yet got by the peace of *Asti*, but some vain promises, by which he had suffer'd himself to be perswaded to lay down Arms, and to consent to other of the Kings demands, having now lost all hopes of obtaining his intent of the Governour, as if he had run the danger of being again assaulted by the Spanish Army, and being inforced to send some Souldiers and Ammunition to the Confines of *Piedmont*, that he might thereby move the Princes who were bound to observe the Capitulations; to which breaking himself, he did not a little exclaim against the not observance of what was agreed upon under their Authority, and replying to the Governours oppositions and difficulties, he complain'd that all this proceeded only from his not submitting himself unworthily to the King, and by renouncing the Articles covenanted, from not unbending himself from their union, and from his not undervaluing their Authority and Dignity, who were the Arbitrators and Moderators thereof; and putting all men in mind, but particularly the French, how prejudicial it would be to their King, and to the honour of *France*, that the Regal Name and Authority should be cancell'd from the Conventions of peace, he endeavour'd by all means to make them to get them to be maintain'd and made good, promising that for his part he would refuse no pains, would not forbear for any expence, would not be afraid for any loss or danger, but would adventure his own person, his sons, and his State, and whatsoever he held dear in this world; that the glory of that King and Nation, in having preserved his State unto him, and in the Kings having interposed himself as an Arbitratour in compounding the affairs of *Italy*, should not be turned into as much shame and dishonour, by not being able to maintain them; but though he could promise himself but little from the King of *England*, by reason of the far distance of his Country, or of the King of *France*, for the aforesaid reasons, yet had he a new occasion to hope well in the favour of the Venetians, who, being entred (as hath been said) into a new War with the House of *Austria*, were necessitated for their own Interests to assist him, so to secure themselves from the Spanish Forces, whilst they were entertain'd by him the Duke, and diverted from their Dominions confining upon the State of *Milain*. And since this War began just at that time, and had much connexion with that of *Piedmont*, and because it hapned in *Italy*, it is proper to our present History, and it will be necessary, that taking it from its original, it be described by us equally with that of *Piedmont*, and distinctly related.

The Venetians for some hundreds of years since pretend to the Sovereignty of the Adriatick Sea, now called the *Gulf of Venice*, and have long maintain'd it more by the authority of a powerful Fleet, then by any ground of ancient concession or just title; by virtue whereof inhibiting many neighbouring people the freedom of Navigation, they do not suffer them to transport their Merchandize freely through that Sea into forreign parts, nor that any such be brought from forreign parts to their Havens and Shores. And as it makes much for the advantage and grandeza of that Commonwealth, that the Inhabitants of the Gulf, and Forreigners who sail through it do not only put in at *Venice*, and pay a great tribute to the Commonwealth, and that the said Inhabitants provide themselves with things necessary from that City; so on the contrary, it redounds to the prejudice of the same people, not to be able to make use of their own Sea without paying Taxes, nor carry that wherein their Country abounds through it to other parts, nor furnish themselves with necessaries from elsewhere; for the Venetians are wont to send forth some Gallies to guard that Gulf, and do not only seize on such Vessels as sail for other parts, contrary to their Inhibition, but confiscate the Merchandize, and strangely molest the Masters and Passengers. The neighbouring people and Princes did always gainsay these pretensions, complaining that the use of the Sea, which by the Law of Nations was free to all men, was interdicted them by this Commonwealth; and how that she used more respect to those that were more powerful: But those of *Trieste* did always repugne, and those of ancient *Liburnia*, were more contumacious then they, who are now called Sclavonians, who, as being members of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, are under the Archduke of *Austria*, and they have always questioned it, and debated it with the Venetians, not without the tacite knowledge of their Princes, who being busied in more weighty Wars with the Turks, and not being able either by forces, or by endeavours to alter the Commonwealth, thought it at last to be their only remedy for that sore, to bring into those parts some of the people of *Croatia*, who were commonly called afterwards Uscocchi, Croates or Cravates, a fierce and couragious people, and who valued not life; who being there as a thorn in the eyes of the Commonwealth, might to the best of their power make good the liberty of Navigation upon those Seas to the Archdukes Subjects. To these, instead of stipend, Pyracy was at first permitted, but only against the Turks, as common Enemies, and Foes to their Prince; abusing which permission against the Venetians Vessels, or being willing to treat them alike (for the Venetians persecuted them) they afforded the Commonwealth reason of complaint; which not prevailing, they resented the injury so far, as they resolved to extermine that whole Nation; professing that so to do, was not only necessary for freeing the Gulf from Pyrates, but also, as they alledged, to provide that the Turk being irritated by the Uscocchi's or Croates's injuries might not send powerful Fleets into the Gulf, not only to the danger of their Dominions, but to those of other Princes which they possess upon those Seas: Thus making their own cause common to all, the Commonwealth began of her self alone to provide against it; and endeavouring more to remove the effect, then the cause

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of the malady, they went against them, and began to prosecute them as Pyrates and publick Robbers; who being already much increased in number (for many driven thither by the barrenness of their Countrey, and allured by the profit of pillage, and many banish'd vagabond Italians, and particularly such as were Subjects to the Venetians, flock thither as to lawful prey of great gain) and growing much more powerful by their numbers, and more cruel by reason of the losses they had suffer'd by being persecuted by the Commonwealth, they were very cruel in their Piracy throughout that whole Sea, and in all the neighbouring Havens and Islands; and coming sometimes even to within a few miles of *Venice* her self, they took Vessels even almost in her sight; insomuch as they grew so terrible to Navigators, and so dreadful through their cruelty, as the Commonwealth, without the Archdukes trouble or expence, began to make trial of those sufferings which she had formerly indeavoured to make the neighbouring people undergo; and as they could hardly suppress their insultings with the Venetian greater Vessels, the yarenes and multitude of Boats wherewith they scoured up and down in several parts being considered; as also the vicinity of their friends Countrey, whither they fled when chas'd by the Venetian Vessels, and the condition of the Sclavonian seas and shores, which being full of Rocks and narrow Channels made by the many little Islands and Flats, are scarcely navigable for greater Vessels; so did the agreements and stipulations often made between the Commonwealth and the Archduke stand them but in little stead; for though the one promis'd to keep in the *Cravates*; and the other to leave the sea open and free, neither party being willing to prejudice the main of their pretentions; they inserted some clause or other in the close of each convention, whereby leaving the controverted point touching the liberty of the Gulf undecided, neither the difference between those Princes was composed, nor yet were the promises made, and agreed upon between them kept; the point of freedom of Navigation put off to another time, and the permission of free Commerce at sea, as it had been formerly had, being incompatible: which incompatibility occasioned the one the mean while to pretend unto, and the other to prohibit the freebooting of the *Uscochi* or *Cravates*: they being long accustomed to pillage, and urged by poverty, and necessity to live from hand to mouth, which they were not able to do but by rapine, the Covenants agreed upon must needs be broken, and the Gulf must necessarily remain subject to the former molestations. The Commonwealth finding no more ready nor opportune remedy, began to pretend, that to extirpate the evil, as they said, by the roots, that whole Nation should be removed from the Maritime parts. But this meeting with many difficulties, at last in the year 1612. an agreement was come unto, almost of the same contents, and with the same clause of reservation as before, between the Empe our *Mathias*, to whom the places inhabited by the *Croats* belonged, and the Archduke *Ferdinande*, to whom the Emperour his Cosin german gave the Government thereof, he being the next neighbour Prince to that Country, on the one part, and the Commonwealth on the other; which that it did not long continue, as it ought to have done, the Venetians according to their cu-

from, upon the *Uscochi* or *Croates* ravenousness, and upon the Archdukes dissimulation, and that of their Officers, who were well enough pleased to see the Commonwealth continually molested on that side. But they complain more particularly that a Galley of theirs being taken by the *Uscochi* or *Croates*, after that agreement, whilst it lay in one of the Havens of *Sclavonia*, it was carried to *Segna*, a Town belonging to the Emperour, and that the Galley-slaves being there set at liberty all the rest were slain, and barbarous cruelty was used upon the dead Corps of *Venier* the Master of the Galley; the Archduke not resenting so abominable an excess committed not against private men or Vessels; but against the publick Barques and Officers. The Austrians, on the other side, laying fault upon the prohibition of Navigation continually pretended to by the Venetians, and stifly maintained contrary to the Capitulations, gave their Reasons for the fact which they had committed, and which they did not deny: affirming that some differences being known between people that were under the Turkes, and under the Venetians upon the Confines of *Dalmatia*, the Commonwealth did resolve not to meddle therein openly, but thought it better to make use of the *Uscochi* or *Croates*, naturally enemies to the Turks; and that privately furnishing them with moneys, they egg'd them on underhand against the Turks, not so much within land, as upon the sea shore.

But when not only the complaint of this fact came to the Court at *Constantinople*, but also the Commonwealths underhand dealing therein; the Commonwealth could find no better means to free her self thereof, then by coming to some sudden severe demonstration; and that therefore some of the *Croat* Barques being gone by the Commissary of *Dalmatia*'s express license to sack *Pagno* and *Trebigna*, Towns belonging to the Turks, as they returned home with their prey, they were unexpectedly fallen upon by some of the Venetian Souldiery in the Iland of *Lesina* where they had touch'd in their passage, after they had eaten friendly with them in company, that leaving there great part of their prey, and 200 of their men slain in the scuffle, the rest escaped away by night, and returned home, who did so move the kindred and friends of those that were slain, and generally the whole Nation, as hasting to their Barques, they went to resent the injury: and that fighting by chance upon that Gally, they took her, and there vented their rage; and that yet there were Commissaries sent to *Segna*, to see justice done; but that understanding the truth of the fact, and no body appearing on the Commonwealths behalf to make complaint, they proceeded no further: but howsoever the matter went, the breach was occasioned upon this occasion; For the Commonwealth being more mindful of revenge then of complaining, as if all their Articles and Law had been violated, they began presently to forbid Commerce by Navigation to all the Archdukes Subjects; and placing many armed Boats in the Gulfe of *Trieste*, and in other convenient places, they did so handle those people as they could not only not Traffick, but neither Fish, nor carry the fruit of their possessions home in their domestick Barques: and moreover, *Hieronimo Cabruna*, Captain of the Gulf, entred into *Laurona*, and *Lorenzo Venier* General of *Dalmatia* into *Nona*,

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Towns inhabited by the *Uſcocchi*, where they miſerably ruined them, ſinking many Barques loaded with Victuals in the former, and recovering the Artillery of the Venetian Galley which was lately taken, in the other: at the ſame time, by way of Intelligence they aſſaulted the Fort of *Carlobago*; but meeting with greater reſiſtance, they were repuls'd with the loſs of 200 Souldiers, and their Captain: the People and Officers on both ſides being hereby more incenſed, they began interchangably to diſturb each others Confines, rather by tacite permiſſion, then by expreſs order from their Princes, who ſhunned coming to an open breach; making inroads, firing Houſes, and deſtroying the Countries; and ſome towards the Law began to publiſh defamatory Edicts, and to laſh one another reciprocally: and afterwards the fury increaſing, the Venetians entred into *Iſtria* with 1500 foot, and ſome Horſe; and having in vain attempted the Caſtle of St *Servolo*, they ſack'd and burnt the Towns of *Cernotis* and *Cervicale*. And the Commiſſary of *Iſtria* ſack'd *Berbenito*, *Berce*, St *Theodorico*, and once more *Cernotis* and *Cervicale*, with 1500 Foot and ſome Horſe, not meeting with any reſiſtance. And not long after they aſſaulted the Confines of *Trieſte* with 4000 Foot and 200 Horſe, with a Gally and many Barques, they deſtroyed the Salt-pits, put the neighbouring Country to fire and ſword; intending to do more miſchief, had it not been for *Volfango Frangepane*, Count of *Terzacco*, General of *Croatia*, who coming by order from the Archduke with the Militia of thoſe Confines, to defend the Country, and with the Cavalry of *Carliſtat*, which came in unto him, aſſaulted the Venetians; againſt whom there came alſo out 400 Trieſtians commanded by *Benedetto Pettazzo*, and by *Daniel Francol*, ſo as there hapned a fierce skirmiſh, wherein the Venetians were routed, and put to flight, with the death of above 600 of them, and of their General *Mario Gullo de Oſtimo*: and the Commiſſary, and reſt who were in the ſcuffle, had much ado to ſave themſelves, by getting into the Galley, under the ſhelter of the Artillery which was ſhot from thence. After which Victory, the Vice-general, ſuffering ſome of the Souldiers, and of the *Uſcocchi*, to over-run *Iſtria*, where they did much miſchief, he himſelf with ſome of his men entred the Territory of *Montefalcone*, and deſtroyed all things by fire and rapine: but the Commonwealth, whom the ſucceſſes of *Piedmont* had peradventure made apprehend the Spaniſh Forces leſs, in reſpect whereof they had forborn to come to an open breach with the Archduke, and had therefore till formerly been contented to ſuffer and to temporize, reſolved now to do ſo no longer, but to ſhew their reſentment by open war. A reſolution which though as it was publickly ſaid, the graveſt and wiſeſt Senators were far from; who foreſeeing the conſequences, would not have willingly ſeen the Commonwealth imbroil her ſelf in that war; yet the heat of the younger ſort prevailing, which was fomented by one more antient Senator, who to win favour from the meaner Citizens adhered to the more general Vote; the greater opinion overcame the better, as it ſometimes happens amongſt multitudes; and though the Towns and places, from whence the *Uſcocchi* came to pillage, belonged (as hath been ſaid) to the Emperour, and above a hundred miles from *Friuli*, yet becauſe they were govern'd by

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the Archduke *Ferdinando*, and that the said *Ferdinando* was bound for the behaviour of the *Uscocchi*, the Venetians complain'd that he winked at their Piracy, or at least did not inhibit them, nor punish them for it; and would not only assault, and make war upon that Country from whence their prejudice came, but also upon that part of *Friuli* which belonged unto the Archduke: thinking that the only way to provide a salv for this sore, was to molest the patrimonial Territories of that Prince. They therefore ordered *Pompeo Giustiniano* to goe into *Friuli* with six companies of paid Foot, which were destined for *Candia*; and he carried thither also many other Souldiers, most of them of the meaner sort of those parts; and making the rendezvouz at *Palma* and *Udine*, he commanded them to go against the Archdukes Country: *Francisco Erizzo* govern'd *Palma*, and the Militia of that Province, but *Giustiniano* was to govern the war. Having assembled toge her about 1200 Horse, and some seven or eight thousand Foot, he at unawares entred *Friuli*, and possessing himself at the very first of many of the open Towns, he also took and fortified *Medea*, *Meriano*, *Chiopris*, *Romanso*, *Cormonso*, and *Vilesso*, the chiefest Towns belonging to the Archduke, and distributed his men therein: At the same time the Territory of *Monfalcone* took up Arms, and the Commonwealths Souldiers took *Sagra*, one of the Archdukes Castles on the other side of the River, over against *Gradisca*, and munited it, to defend the Country from the troubles it might receive from *Gradisca*. The War being thus begun against the Archduke, and footing being got in the Archdukes Country, the Captains in the Camp, and the Senators in *Venice*, began to aspire unto greater things. The two chief Towns, and of most consideration, were *Goritia* and *Gradisca*; the former, which is as it were the Metropolis of the Archdukes Country on this side of the Mountains, is situated beyond *Lisonzo*, at the foot of the Alpes, which was by the Antients called *Giulie*, very strongly situated, and defended by a Castle hard to be come at: The other lies lower towards *Palma* and *Udine*, upon the right hand of the *Lisonzo*; which washing the walls thereof on the East side, serves it for a Rampier, and it is secured on the other three sides by large and deep ditches; The passage over the River made against the expugning of the former, as also the danger that the Souldiery being too far entred into the enemies Country they might be molested, and peradventure much prejudiced, if *Gradisca* should remain behind them on their backs in the enemies hands; and the expugning of the other was withstood by her Fort, and by her being easily relieved by the succour which might easily be conveyed to her every day by the neighbouring River from *Goritia*, especially the Archdukes men being incamped, as they were, on the left shore. Between these two lay the third less difficult enterprise of *Lucino*, a great Town on this side of *Lisonzo*, in the midst between *Goritia* and *Gradisca*, near the stone Bridge which leads to *Goritia*; neither so strong, nor so easily to be succour'd as *Gradisca*, as lying somewhat farther from the River, and not so far within the Archdukes Country, as *Goritia*. Commissary *Erizzo* resolved therefore to attempt it, and sent *Giustiniano* thither with some men, who took it, and sack'd it, meeting with no resistance, and quit it the same day, as not

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thinking it a safe place to tarry in; but nothing was so great a hinderance to the Venetians, nor did so much detain their resolutions, as the want of experience, discipline and valour, in their men; the greater part whereof being unorderly, who being by force taken by the Magistrates from their houses and imployments, kept the Campagnia unwillingly, and did unwillingly serve in those exercises whereunto they were not bred up nor accustomed, nor led unto by their genius: So as their Captains not being able to rely upon them, they were not only kept from attempting new enterprises, but from bringing them into the field, or imploying them in any Action.

The whole Arch-Dukes Country being therefore by reason of these Commotions up in arms, and *Adame*, Baron of *Trautmistorfe*, being sent from *Germany* into *Friuly*, who was General of *Croatia*, and Captain of the Emperours Guard, and who though but young, yet of try'd valour, was made the chief in this war by the Arch-Duke, with Title of Captain General: He had also brought along with him between two and three thousand Veteran Souldiers, long trained up in the wars in *Hungary*; and Garrisonizing such places as were fittest to hinder the enemies progresse, he often-times scoured the Campagnia, assaulting to some purpose the Venetians Stations, and men, who not being able to stand before the Dutch, were sometimes shrewdly beaten: Therefore the Common-wealths Commanders were forc'd to keep themselves within their Works till they were furnished with better Souldiers; True it is, that *Daniel Francol*, coming out of *Gradisca* with some few Horse, was taken in an Ambush that was laid for him, and with some 30 of his men was slain by some Troops of the *Albanesses*; and *Ferdinando Scotto*, who had the custody of the County of *Monfalcone* routed some of the Archdukes forces who were come to plunder and infest that Country, and made them retreat into *Gortia*: But the Common-wealth, which entered into this war with more fervour then preparation, began to meet with many great difficulties; for having in all former times made use of paid-men in their Militia, as being more useful and less suspitious to that Government, they had made less esteem of their natural subjects; and according to the condition of those ages, when the Militia of *Italy* served any Prince under famous Commanders, she, as being richer, and abounding more in monies then any other Prince, had better conveniency of furnishing her self with the valianteſt Souldiers, and most experienced Commanders; by whose means and valour she made notable atchievements, and signal progress on *Terra ferma*; augmenting her State, and bringing it to that Grandezza which now she injoys: But now the condition of times being changed, the Italian Militia being reduced under the command of their natural Princes, and Forreigners depending in a great part upon the King of *Spain* and House of *Austria*, the Common-wealth found her self to be at the same time deprived of her natural forces, and totally unfurnished of Forreigners: Wherefore indeavouring to get Souldiers and Commanders, she found not so much difficulty in getting them from amongst Italian Princes, from the Switzers and Grisons, as to get passage for those that came to serve her out of *France* and the Low-Countries; the former not being willing to disfurnish themselves of

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their best Souldiers in so turbulent times; and the others being loth to deprive themselves of the Commerce of the State of *Millain*, so necessary for their maintenance; and none of them being greatly desirous to offend the House of *Austria*, upon which they in divers respects have an ient dependence; and not to incense the King of *Spain*, who they knew would favour the House of *Austria*. Nor could she hope for any assistance from *Romania*, or *Marca d' Ancona*, from whence the Venetians had wont to be furnish'd with so many Foot and Commanders as did supply their ordinary Garrisons, as well in their Forts in the *Levant*, and in *Dalmatia*, as on *Terra ferma*; for the Pope professing to be outwardly a Neuter in all these Occurrences, but being in effect very much unsatisfied with the Venetians, by reason of the great disgusts between him and them in the beginning of his Popedom, he was more severe then any other Prince, in prohibiting his subjects to assist them: Wherefore the Duke of *Parma*, were it either in respect of the Popes Orders, of whom he held in Fee, or out of the neat interests and intelligence which he held with the Crown of *Spain*, being offended with his Son *Don Ottavio*, whom he loved dearly, though he was illegitimate, condemned him to perpetual imprisonment for his forwardness to serve the Venetians. The Duke of *Modena* shewed little less anger against his second Son *Luigi*, whom he banish'd for going to serve the Venetians against the Dominions which were under the sacred Empire whereof he was a Feudatory: And the Duke of *Urbine*, who had formerly received great pay from the Commonwealth for being their Captain General upon occasion of war, as his Ancestors had been; having of late years found some difference in geting his stipend, the Common-wealth growing weary of that continual charge, now that they believed well in the peace of *Italy*; had some years before sided with the Crown of *Spain*, from whence he received better and readier pay; so as they could not build upon him in their present need.

In this great difficulty, and streights of men and mony, the Common-wealth was forced to call in her Feudatories, and all other her subjects who were in service under any other Princes, and to pardon all their Banditti, though for whatsoever heinous offence; but that which seemed more uneasie, and of greater importance, these Provisions being very scarce, and far short of the present occasions, they placed the Trained-Bands of their Country in their Garrisons in *Terra ferma* towards the State of *Millain*, and drew out the best Souldiers from thence, to make use of them in the Camp, to the no little wonder of all that knew, that that Commonwealth which was formerly wont to be careful in Arming their Confine upon the State of *Millain* whensoever they heard the least news of Arms in that State; and to recruit those very Garrisons with Forreigners, and to provide so well for that part of their State, as if it had been undoubtedly to be assaulted; should now (when they knew there was an Army on foot in the State of *Millain*, and that the Spaniards threatned to interest themselves in that war on the Archdukes behalf) unfurnish that Frontier of their best Souldiers, and should trust the defence of those places of such importance, in the hands of their Country Militia or Trained-Bands, which

which were unexperienced in war. Next (all this not being sufficient to serve their needs) they betook themselves to *Albania*, *Morea*, and to *Braccio di Maino*, seeking to get from thence, at great rates, as many men as possibly they could: And for their last refuge, these not sufficing, they were at a very great charge in taking a Regiment of 4000 Hollanders into pay, who were to be brought by shipping to *Venice*; which provisions being contagiously ordered, and executed with no less expence, and even to the end of that war constantly, and by general consent increased; though they witnessed the unanimity of their minds, and the readiness of that Government to uphold the publick dignity and enterprises resolved upon by publick Authority; yet so great a scarcity of Souldiers did not only prejudice the conceived reputation of the Venetian power, being so necessitated at the beginning of the war to borrow mony of Forreigners; and not finding much that way, to ingage her self to her own Citizens, in little more then one year, for above a Million of monies, did not a little lessen the opinion which was commonly held of their publick Treasure, which was held to be the richest of all Italian Princes; though to preserve their credit they gave out that they would rather spare the publick monies, even at the greatest need, and at the present take up at interest from private men, then by wasting it when they might make use of other mens monies, be forced afterwards to depend upon the will of others; which though it was not then believed, was afterwards proved to be true by the event: For the Common-wealth having had many occasions of vast expences in this war, yet she, contrary to the opinion of all men, found means to supply all the necessities which came upon her, with the publick monies; wherein she was never found to withdraw from not only what was necessary, but from what was useful or fitting for any whatsoever difficulties, or want of ready monies; and it was affirmed by those who were well experienced in their affairs, that the Common-wealth upon this occasion spent above 14 Millions of Duckets: True it is, that their Taxes and Impositions were very great throughout the whole State, which grew thereby much indebted; and that all that not sufficing the whirepool of war, they ran her in debt afterwards for more then eight Millions.

These were the preparations for the war of *Friuli*; but not being able otherwise to provide against the danger of the Spanish forces upon the confines of *Milain*, they did it by making a tacite League with the Duke of *Savoy*, who standing more in need of mony then of men; to boot with many provisions which they furnished them withal, they lent him great sums of mony, to the end that persisting still in his pretention of not laying down Arms, he might inforce the Governour to disarm; or that if he would not disarm, they might keep him so imploy'd, as he should not be well able to assault their Confines: They also caused monies to be paid to the Marquess of *Castiglione* in *France*, to bring him in to assist the Duke in *Piedmont* with 4000 Foot, and 4 or 5 Horse; though because the execution of the Treaty at *Asti* was not totally off the hooks, it was noised abroad that *Castiglions* French men were raised to assist the Venetians, not the Duke of *Savoy*: And though these provisions, by reason of delay, could not ease the present need of

the Camp; for it was said that powerful aids were preparing in *Germany* by the *Germane* Princes, to assist the Archduke; yet the Commonwealths Army being somewhat increased, the Senate, that it might not lye idle, but that it might attempt somewhat worthy of the Forces and honour of *Venice*, ordered it to go and expugne *Gradisca*. This place was governed by Count *Richard Strasoldo*, and by him fortified; and though Captain *John Petrino*, a Walloon, was entered therein with 300 Curassiers and Dragoons; as soon as the enemy drew near it, General *Trautmisdorf* entered by the River with about 1200 Musqueteers; and having incouraged the Souldiers and Citizens with promises of daily succour, he left *Petrino* there, in whose valour he did much confide; and went out himself with the Curassiers that he had brought with him, to make use of them in the Campagnia, and to imploy them where it was necessary elsewhere.

The Common-wealths Commanders went to the taking in of *Gradisca*, more out of obedience to the Senate, then that they thought themselves able to take it with so weak forces; and having first possessed themselves of a Castle near *Furo*, they afterwards drew near *Gradisca*, and began to draw a Line; but finding the earth to be sandy, so as it was impossible for them to intrench themselves, or to make Rampiers; and wanting both men and other provisions, they quitted the enterprise, *Pietro Barbarico* consenting thereunto, who succeeded *Erizzo*, with Title of Commissary; but being returned to *Cormons*, they were forced to reassume the business by expres Command from the Senate; who were desirous by all means to have that place taken. And therefore bringing much earth thither in Carts, they sate down before it; and having raised some Banks they planted the Battery on four sides with 24 peices Cannon, and indeavoured by their approaches to get into the Ditch; a Raveline was built in defence of the Gate which looked towards the Camp: this the besiegers thought necessary to take before they should come to the assault; wherefore they indeavoured to make a Mine underneath it: To effect the which they sent many Pyoneers thither, who, whilst they indeavoured to perfect the work with their Spades and Pick-axes, (for they met with Quarries of stone) the defendants were not idle, but shot continually into the Camp, whereby they did much mischief; ran to and fro, and made diligent reparations wheresoever it was necessary; and seeing the enemy draw near with their Trenches, they resolved to fall upon them by night within their own works: Issuing therefore out a little before day, and finding the Souldiers lye disorderly asleep in the Ditches, and without any military discipline, they assaulted them, put them into great disorder, and returned to *Gradisca* loaded with prey, having lost but six of their men. The Venetians Army was more indamaged by the bad success of a Scalado, and by an assault given to the Raveline after they had given fire to the Mine; For there being but few in the Camp who durst go first on upon the enterprise, and mount the Rampiers first, those few that did so, who were for the most part Corsicks, though they behaved themselves egregiously, yet they lost their lives; not so much by any stout resistance which they met with, as by their companions shameful flight; who being terrified at the very first Volley of the enemies

mies Musket, some of them ran away, and return'd into the Camp, some threw themselves upon the ground; nor was it possible for the Souldiers to make them rally for any threats, or blows which they could give them; and such was the consternation of their mind, as many chose rather to dye basely by the hands of their own Serjeants and Captains, whilst they endeavoured to make them advance, then to hazzard the uncertain danger of an honourable death; nay it was said that many of them dyed out of meer fear: It was impossible to renew the assault; for none of the Souldiers durst advance; and the first ranks or files were so shun'd, as whereas in other places upon occasion of bickerings or assaults, they are much endeavoured by the valianteſt Souldiers, and not obtain'd without much favour, none could be hired to do so here. This mean while the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, out of their alliance to the Archduke, and of the trust which the Commonwealth imposed in them, had begun some Treaty of Peace, not without the Emperours consent; who being desirous to see these differences composed in a friendly manner, was not displeased with the interposing of these Princes: But the Governour of *Millain* having received express Orders from *Spain* to assist the Archduke, sent *Don Sanchio di Luna*, Keeper of the Citadel of *Millain*, with many Souldiers and Artillery to the Confines of *Bergamo* and *Crema*; wherefore the Commonwealth fearing what might ensue thereupon, admitted the Governour into the Treaty of Peace, who having to this purpose sent *Don Andrea Manriques* to *Venice*, demanded in the Kings Name that they should desist from oppugning *Gradisca*; and they finding daily more difficulty in the Enterprise, by reason of the continual succour which could not be kept from thence, willingly honested the occasion of the necessity they saw they were in, of either desisting with little honour, or of continuing the Enterprize with little hopes, and less advantage, by the present colour of complying with the Kings desires: So the Army rise from before *Gradisca* on the 26th day after they had sat down before it, and retreated to their former Quarters of *Cormons*, *Meriana*, and *Medea*.

The endeavours of agreement were afterwards re-assumed, and divers proposals made, not only in *Venice* by the Popes Nuntio and the Agents of other Ministers, but also in the Emperours Court between Cardinal *Clesel*, *Cesars* chief Agent, and *Giorgio Justiniano* the Venetian Embassadour, but all to no purpose; for all agreeing in the principal point of providing for the business of the Uscocchi, they disagreed in the manner how. The Archduke, who thought himself unjustly assaulted by the Venetians, would not listen to any thing before he was first put into possession of all that had been taken from him: The Commonwealth on the contrary would not give way to any restitution till the Uscocchi were driven out of the Gulf, wherein they insisted upon more then they had done at first, demanding not only the expulsion of their Chieftains alone, as they had done at the beginning of the War, but (that they might dig up the mischief by the roots, as they termed it) the total extirpating of that Nation, and of the other banish'd men who were joyned with them; and they persisted so much thereupon, as they did not only refuse the resigning of the Towns

which they had taken, as was propoled by the Pope, together with a ſuſpenſion of Arms till ſuch time as the buſineſs of the Croates ſhould be agreed upon to their ſatisfaction; but neither would they accept of the Governour of *Milan's* word, given them in the Kings name, and the ſecurity offer'd them by the Pope, that they ſhould be ſatisfied in that point, as ſoon as what had been taken ſhould be reſtored; and the proviſion therein was ſuch, as not only the Chieftains, but thoſe that were expelled the Commonwealth ſhould be driven out. The Venetians alledged for their obduratcy herein, that the Commonwealth had been ſeveral times fed with ſuch words and promiſes to no purpoſe; which being but badly performed afterwards, they ſeemed to have juſt occaſion to perſiſt ſtiffly in keeping what they had got, as a pledge or pawn at leaſt of the total extirpation of the Pirates, by them pretended unto: which demands the Auſtrians thought very unreaſonable, who argued by this their ſo great tenacity that they aimed more at being maſters of what belonged to others, then at the purging their Gulf of Pirates. The war continued therefore in *Friuli*, with greater forces, and preparations, but with but ſmall progreſs made by the Venetians: much ſuccour came to the Archduke from *Germany*, part at his own charges, part at the Emperours; and ſeveral valiant and well experienced Commanders were ſent him from other Princes: as Count *d' Ampierre*, the Commandatore *Colorado*, the Baron of *Lelle*, and Colonel *Standardi*, amongſt others there came 4000 Foot and 500 Horſe, all ſelect men raiſed at the King of *Spains* coſt, and ſent into *Friuli* under the command of *Don Baltaſſo Marradas*, *Don Inigo di Guevara*, Count *d' Egnate*, and Embaſſadour for that King in the Emperours Court, a very accurate Lord, and vigilant in publick affairs; and to whom the King committed all the charge and proviſion of ſuccour which he contributed to the Archdukes ſervice. General *Trautmiſdorf* not thinking it now any longer time only to make excurſions, but to keep the Field and face the Enemy, paſt over *Liſonſo* with his Army, took up his quarters under *Lucinico*, intending to fall upon the Venetians quarters, whoſe valour he ſo little valued, as he cared not to fortifie himſelf: The Venetian Commanders had notice of the weakneſs of his Works, and of the Enemies negligence in fortifying themſelves: and thinking it a fit occaſion to prevent being offended, they reſolved to aſſault them unexpectedly by night. The Venetians Camp was no leſs re-inforced then the Archdukes, with Souldiers raiſed in *Terra ferma*, *Sclavenia*, *Albania* and *Greece*: and having alter'd their Officers, they had made a new form of Government: inſtead of *Barbarico*, three Commiſſaries were ſent to the Camp from *Venice*: *Antonio Priuli*, Procurator of S. *Mark*, *Jovan Battiſta Foſcarini* and *Franciſco Erizzo*; the firſt had the title of Commiſſary-general, the other of plain Commiſſaries. The e were the only three that voted, and all things were reſolved upon by the Votes of two: the Council of War being therefore firſt called, and conſulted with, wherein was *Don Luigi de Eſta*, General of the great Cavalry, *Franciſco Martinengo de Conti di Malpaga*, General of the Light-horſe, *Ferrante de Roſi*, General of the Artillery, *Pompeo Foſtinland* Camp-maſter, and *Camillo Triviſano* Commiſſary of the Albaneſſe Horſe, called *Stradiotti*: theſe aſſiſted the three Com-

Commissaries with their advice, and gave their opinions, but had no Votes: the execution of what was resolved upon belong'd to *Fustinone*, as Camp-master, which he ordered under the Commissary-General; guided the Directions, and directed the intended Enterprises.

The enemy being then to be assaulted within his Quarters, according to the resolution already taken, *Fustinone* disposed of the Army into several Squadrons, the first assaulted to *Trivigiano*'s share with his Albanelle; and to *Baronio Baglioni* with his Brigade and some Corsicans; the former on the west-side where the Hills ended, and the others on the south-side towards their Campagnia. *Trivigiano* took some works far from the enemies Quarters, kill'd the defendants, and past no further; but *Baglioni* at the same time, which was day-break, forcing the first Port of the Rampiers, and having seiz'd on the Court, found a stiff dispute at the second, for the Austrians, awakened at the noise, ran in to the defence, and had not some Corsicks come to relieve him, he had undoubtedly been slain, as many of his men were: A great on-set was also made on the other side; which though it appeared to be prosperous at first, yet the assailants were forced to give back; the same befalling them as did those that made the assault at the Raveline before *Gradisca*; who fought both valiantly, and received more harm from their friends who were upon their backs, than from their enemies who were before them: for the former being timorous and fearful, stood crouching, and many of them lay grovelling on the ground, who firing their Musquets did slew the best of their own men. The Venetian being repulsed without having done any good effect to *Marano*, had no better success in the assault which they resolved afterwards to give to the Fort *Stella*, built by the Austrians on the other side the River in form of a Cavalier, against those of *Sagra* and *Fogliano*, held by the Venetians; for *Pietro di Vasques*, a Spaniard who was Captain there, fore-knowing the enemies resolution, put his men quietly in a defensive posture, and repulsed them, with the death of above a hundred of the assailants: The loss which the enemy received was increased by a great mortality in the Venetian Camp, which beginning with their horses, came afterwards to their men; for the stench of the dead horses being intollerable, the air grew so infected as it begot dangerous diseases; whereby the Camp was reduced to so small a number, as if they had been then Assaulted by the enemy, it would assuredly have been totally defeated: A danger whereat the Common-wealths Commanders were much troubled, the courage and gallantry of the enemy especially being considered, and the little esteem which the Austrians made of their men: But they were afterward somewhat inheartned by the taking of two places situated on two several ways which lead from *Germany*, and therefore of great consequence, *Ponteba* and *Chiavaretto*. *Ponteba* is cut through in the midst by the River *Fella*, which falls into the *Tagliamento*: the nether part thereof belongs to the Venetians, and is called *Ponteba Venetiana*; the other part to the Dutch, and is called *Austriaca*: The Souldiers which guard *Austriaca* passing over the River had taken *Ponteba Venetiana*; which when the Camp heard, 2000 Foot of the Country were presently dispatch'd

patch'd away thither, under Commissary *Roſcarini*, *Franciſco Martinengo*, led on by Count *Nicolo Claldo* of *Vicenza*, Governour of *Udines* by Captain *Antonio Manzano*, and by Captain *Daniele Antonini*, of the ſame City, who when they had paſt the River drove the Dutch out of *Auſtriaca*; and did not only recover the booty which they had taken, but moreover, took much Merchandize which they found in *Auſtriaca*; and entring further in, burnt *Malborgeto* and *Triveſe*, two neighbouring Towns; not had the other Commiſſary *Ezzelino* leſs fortunate ſucceſs, who advancing towards *Chiavaretto*, together with *Trivigliano* and his *Stradiotti*, and a good ſtrength of Foot led on by *Giovanni Martinengo*, took it, to the no little praiſe of *Trivigiano*, to whom almoſt the whole honour thereof is due, he being the firſt that came thither, and the firſt that did manfully aſſault it. The taking of *Chiavaretto* was ſucceeded by the like of *Enciſo*, the Auſtrians having abandoned it, who going to recover *Chiavaretto*, repaſt over the *Liſenzo*: which when the Venetians knew, they marched immediately thither; and poſſeſſing themſelves eaſily of the Town, which was but weakly guarded, they in a ſhort time made themſelves maſters of the Caſtle, ſituated upon the top of a Hill: where after three days ſtout reſiſtance, the defendants were forc'd to yield for want of water. The like did thoſe of a certain Fort called *la Trinita*, built by the Auſtrians, a little higher: to theſe happy ſucceſſes was added the taking of *Fara*, a ſmall Caſtle between *Lucmiſo* and *Gradiſca*, which being plaied upon by the Cannon, yielded upon Articles; and *Bagliano*, a valiant Colonel, was ſorely wounded before it. Thus did the affairs of the Venetians alter in *Friuli*: but they were not idle the mean while in *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*; for *Marcho Loredano*, Commiſſary in thoſe parts, and *Benedetto da Lezze*, Commiſſary of Horſe, as they ſcoured the Country, met with ſeveral incounters, wherein having the better, they took many priſoners, and ſlew many: and ſome Galleys going to *Antignana*, after having plaid upon it long, they took it upon Articles, and afterwards ſcouring along the Coaſt of *Peſino*, they put it to fire and ſword; and *Giovanni Jacomo Zane*, Commiſſary of *Dalmatia*, went to before *Segna*; but for want of proviſion durſt not attempt it; but turning to *Moſconizza*, after having plaid upon it two days, took it: *Berſes* upon the bank of the River, and the Fort of *Siriſſa*, over againſt the Iſland *Pago*, through the Garriſons diſcord, fell alſo into the Venetians hands.

But not long after the Auſtrians being become maſters of the field in thoſe parts, by the multitude of men that came in to aſſiſt them, they ran all over with much terror, burning and ruinating all the Country, and the Venetians Subjects: the affairs of which States began ſore to go leſs in reputation, all mens eyes being bent upon *Lombardy*, where the war grew hotter between the Governour of *Millain* and the Duke. The Duke (as hath been ſaid) was entred into private confederacy with the Venetians: in whoſe name publickly, but privately for the ſervice of the Duke of *Savoy*, a Regiment of 4000 Foot was raiſed in *France* by the Marqueſs of *Caſtiglione*, beſides many others who flock'd in threves into *Piedmont*: The Duke had alſo made his complaints in that Court, of the difficulties interpoſed by the Governour in the performance of the Treaty: and though the Reaſons where-

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with he ſtrove to imprint in that Nation, the neceſſity which they had for the Kings honour to make the Articles be obſerved, prevaded but little with the King and Queen, who were not to be removed from their friendſhip with *Spain*; yet having made great impreſſion in the Prince of *Conde*, and in the other Colleagues, they afforded them more occaſion efficaciouſly to demand the Reformation which they pretended unto, of the Kingdom: openly complaining that the Queen Mother by reaſon of her ſecret intelligence held with the Court of *Spain*; and the chief Officers and State-Miniſters of the Kingdom, for the great advantage they got in that Court, and that they might not withſtand the Queens authority, did wink at, and did not value the Kingdoms ſafety, nor the honour of the King, who by reaſon of his years, was incapable of knowing how much the ſuſtaining of *Piedmont* concerned the ſafety of that Court. Wherefore theſe having ſent Monſieur *d'Orfe* to *Piedmont*, to the end that his aſſiſting the Duke in the name of the Confederates, he might incourage him, and give him reputation; they alſo made open demonſtration in *France* that they would favour the Dukes affairs by all the means they might. But in effect their whole ends tended to bring about their own intereſts, whereunto the union of the two Crowns being contrary, they found no better means to break it then by preſſing the affairs of *Piedmont*; and that the King of *Spain* being buſied in *Italy* might be leſs able to aſſiſt their King; and yet the King and Queen, were it either to take away this occaſion of complaint from the Princes, or that they had a real value for the obſervance of the Treaty, the execution whereof they never had forborn to indeavour, though in a moderate manner, as becomes Princes really united, they always found the Court of *Spain* very ready to allow of the Dukes diſarming, as legitimate, and forward to order the Governour, that diſbanding his Army he might readily, and without difficulty or delay obſerve the reſidue of the Treaty: not ſo much for that the peace of *Italy* was there deſired, as for that the Duke of *Lerma*, who was intereſted in *Inoioſa's* defence, and thinking that according to the cuſtom of Courts, he was bound to make good his actions, would that all exceptions being laid aſide, the peace of *Aſti* ſhould by all means be executed, and made good. But were it either that thoſe orders were not over preciſe, or were peradventure ſo expreſs'd, as that they left a power in the Governour to do therein according to the condition of the preſent times and occurrences: or that the Duke thought he could not execute them, in conſideration of the new accidents, and preparations for war, as well on the Dukes behalf, as on the Venetians: or elſe, as ſome would have it, that he had ſo involved himſelf in the thought thereof, or had ingaged himſelf ſo deeply, that the Duke ſhould by his means be brought to humble himſelf to the King, and that the Capitulations of *Aſti* ſhould be cancelled, as that he thought he could not in honour do leſs, he did not much care to ſee them performed; many were of opinion that as the aforeſaid orders proceeded not from the Kings nor his Councils mind, but from the Duke of *Lerma's* meer will, whoſe exceſſive authority, grown odious to the Grandees of *Spain*, began to decline (as hath been ſaid) after the ſucceſs of *Piedmont*, ſo were they not punctually obſerved, nor much

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valued by *Don Pietro*; for he thinking that the Grandezza and Majesty of the Crown lay now upon his Shoulders, which he thought had not been very carefully sustained by the Duke of *Lerma*, out of private respects; was not well pleased that *Lerma* preferring his own affairs before those of others, unless it were *Inoiosa's*, whom he detested should abandon the publick cause; which he professing himself to be very zealous of, was ready to repair; wherefore not openly gainsaying the Kings commands, but excusing himself upon the Venetians new occasions, upon the Dukes new commotions, and upon the strange pretentions of the French, he did as it were by force draw the Court to incline to his opinion. Hereunto was added, that he not being able to perswade himself but that the past disorders had been occasioned through his predecessours fault, and tacite Collusion, he took it for granted, that when the Duke should see himself assaulted by a powerful Army, commanded by himself, who proceeded really, and would assault *Piedmont* with all the true rules, and rigour of war, should out of excessive fear, yield, and humble himself unto the King: he therefore being big with vast conceits, promised by Letters written to the Court, that he would bring him under, without almost once unsheathing his sword, and without breaking the peace of *Italy*, by his demonstrations only, and by his preparations: and that undoubtedly he would repair the publick dignity, and that he would easily reduce affairs into their former condition. Which hopes being greedily conceived, and believed that he should be able to make that Court slacken their former orders, and permit more freedom to him in conducting the publick affairs, according to his own mind, and according as times and occasions should serve: but howsoever affairs went there (for the more intimate occasions of this new commotion appeared too obscure and too repugnant within themselves, and peradventure were no less unknown to the Officers through whose hands they past, then to the people who only minded the effects) it is certain, that the Duke either took, or the Governour gave him occasion of re-assuming those Arms: which being naturally given to war, he had unwillingly laid down; from the wresting of the meaning of the Capitulations of *Asti*, from the dispute about their execution, and from the rigorous pretentions about the point of honour between the Duke and the Governour. Wherefore the Governour seeing him busie in preparing for a new war, and being himself no less desirous to set it on fire, then the Duke thinking undoubtedly to bring him lower, and to subdue his Forces, he began to prepare an Army not inferiour to that of the preceding year: he took order for men in *Germany*, in *Burgony*, in *Switzerland*, and in the Kingdom of *Naples*; he disburst moneys to fill up the Brigades of *Lombardy*, and to raise new Foot in the State of *Millain*: so rather as it were out of sport, and out of a fained shew, then out of any deliberate will, war was again begun by him who was able to have quench'd the fire thereof: which afterwards breaking forth in earnest, and contrary to his opinion who caused it, was the occasion of much prejudice, and ruine to the people of *Lombardy*. And as the first war was not improperly termed the Duke of *Lerma's* war, so this upon better grounds was called *Don Pietro di Tolledo's* war. The troubles of *France* were at

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this time reduced to such terms, as the King being neer the Princes Forces with a powerful Army, the business had like to have been decided by a Battel. But the King and Queen choosing rather, even upon disadvantagious terms, to forbear shedding of civil blood, and to secure affairs, then to get the Victory by the ruine and destruction of the Kingdom, and by the common danger, were not against According many things by way of Negotiation, even contrary to their wills and authority: *Whereof two were the chiefest; the first, that the principal State-ministers should be removed from their Offices, in whose places others of the confiding Princes should be put; the other, that the King should swear to make the Treaty of* Asti *be observed.* Wherefore the King understanding what orders the King of *Spain* had given to the Governour, commanded *Lodovico Mangianet*, who was his Agent in *Turin*, to go to *Millain*, and sollicit the execution of that Treaty. *Who being come to* Millain, *and having spoken with the Governour, desiring him in the Kings name that he would become more pliable, and prosecute the begun execution of that Capitulation with all sincerity, received this answer; that the Kings Army was much lessened by the dismission of the Swissers, and of those of* Tuscany, Urbane, Parma *and* Lucca, *and by the death and running away of the* Lombardy *Regiments: that the King was not obliged to disarme by the Articles of* Asti, *and loose upon new occasions to reassume Arms; that notwithstanding he the Governour had, for the intire observancy of the Capitulations, offer'd the Duke reciprocal restitution of what had been taken; which the Duke had refused: and that not relying upon the words of two so good, and so great Kings, who offer'd to secure him from the Forces of the State of* Millain; *he contrary to the said Capitulations, had detained most of his men in* Piedmont, *and therefore given new reason of jealousies: and that notwithstanding, he the Governour offer'd again the proposal of restitution, and promised not to offend him, if the Duke would resolve to observe the Capitulations intirely: and that if he should refuse to do this, he the Agent might witness this to the King, to the end that he might be fully satisfied of the new preparations made by the Duke, and of what he should hereafter do; and that he might plainly see, that he the Governour would proceed with such authority and reputation as became his King, without obviating the peace.* The Governour gave this answer in writing to the Agent, and made the same be given to the King by the Duke of *Montelieu* in *Paris*, who writ him word back, that the King had approved thereof. But the Prince of *Conde*, & the other confederates seemed to understand it otherwise, whose authority by this new and advantagious agreement was then very great, and got ground upon the King, who by reason of his tender years was not yet constant in his Counsels and Resolutions. They therefore agreed to send an Embassadour into *Italy*, and made choice of *Philippo di Bettune*, a nimble-witted Gentleman, and well experienced in the affairs of *Italy*, where he had been Embassadour many years with the Pope from the King: his Commission was to find out the Governour, and press him to the perfect performance of the Treaty. This mean while all things inclined daily to a manifest breach in *Lombardy*; for new seeds of troubles being already sown, the Duke arm'd strongly, and so did the Governour; the Duke threatned to reassume the war in *Montferrat* by reason of the Duke of

Mantua's backwardness to pardon the Rebels: the Governour would quarter his men in that State, not only to defend it from the Duke, but also that he might be the readier to offend *Piedmont*; and to the end, that the Duke of *Savoy* fearing to be assaulted neerer hand, and as it were at his own doors, might lay aside his thought of assaulting others. But the Duke of *Mantua* refusing to receive forreign Souldiers into *Montferrat*, the Princes of *Italy* storm'd thereat, and chiefly the Duke of *Savoy*, who from a fore assailant, being become a jealous Protector of that State, did not only exclaim against it, for his own interest, but, to raise suspicions of the Governour, and of the Spanish Court, and to make them be ill thought of by the Italians; and renewing the ancient jealousies, he gave out, that under colour of defending and protecting *Montferrat*, the Governour did fully intend to usurpe it; and the Queen Mother exclaiming much against it in the Court of *Spain*, the King of *Spain* commanded absolutely that it should be forborn. At this time the Duke of *Savoy* increased in reputation, it being given out that the French Embassadour came in favour to him, who, as it was said, was sent from the Prince of *Conde*, and from the confederates, who managed the affairs of that Court as they listed, and seemed to adhere sufficiently to his cause; nor was the tacite League between him the Duke, and the Commonwealth of *Venice*, of less consideration; which being formerly kept secret, grew now to be manifest. The King of *England*, and many other Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who seemed to favour him, confirm'd him in his belief, that being upheld by so many, and so potent Princes, he might withstand the violence which was threatned him; and this opinion was increased in many men by the coming of Embassadours at this time to *Turin* from the King of *England*, and from some German Princes: but (that which did out-do all other appearings and seemings) Marshal *de Deguieres*'s coming into *Piedmont* made all men wonder, he having been long held to be one of the best Commanders in *France*, and one who took the Dukes affairs very much to heart, and more an enemy to *Spain* then any other French-man: this man, though he came in a peaceful posture, and unarmed, as it were to be a superintendent over the French Embassadour's Negotiations, and privately to inform himself whether things were in that dangerous condition as the Duke related them to be: yet the good correspondency which was held between him and the Duke, and his continual assisting him; his being nominated in the Capitulations of *Asti*, to see all things perform'd; and much more the great desire which he and the other French-men seemed to have of maintaining and backing the Duke upon this occasion, so to lessen the Authority of the Spaniard in *Italy*; made it appear manifestly, that if the Governour should persist resolute in not disarming he would call the French Souldiery into *Piedmont*, who were said to be ready at his beck upon the Confines of *Italy*, and prepared for *Piedmont*. His coming therefore did not only much countenance the Duke, but all the Embassadours future Negotiation: and the Duke being very vigilant, and ready witted, and accustomed to consort the disposition of his genius with outward demonstrations, made much use of this present occasion in boasting of his own Forces, and of the assistance which was promised

him,

him, and which he hoped for: wherefore receiving the Marshal with exceſſive, and unuſual honour, and with ſingular magnificence, and keeping cloſe at very private Counſel with him, he ſeemed to repoſe much confidence in him, not pretermitting any term of honour and liberality to make to himſelf propitious, particularly ſuch, who being intimate with the Marſhal might further moſt his ends and his deſires: but theſe ſo many demonſtrations did more prejudice then further the concluſion of the agreement; for the Spaniſh Miniſters of State being very much troubled at the King of *France* and King of *England*'s interpoſing themſelves in the affairs of *Italy*, did very much diſlike, nor could they tollerate the Capitulation agreed upon in *France*, wherein the King ſwore unto the Prince of *Conde*, and the other confederates, that he would cauſe the Articles of *Aſti* to be performed; and the Embaſſadours and Marſhals coming to ſee them executed, and the new preparations which were ſaid to be made in *France*; for *Italy* being hereunto added, they thought that the French did arrogate that authority to them in *Italy* by rigour and threats, which the occaſion and conjuncture of times, and much eaſineſs of the preceding Governour of *Millain* had procured unto their King; and that the Venetians and other Princes, did by declaring themſelves to adhere unto the Duke, pretend to have an eye unto their Crowns authority: ſo as if the power and dignity thereof were therein too much concerned, they thought themſelves the more bound to reſiſt what ſo great a union of wills did threaten, for that the danger was greater, that if they ſhould give way, it might be eſteemed they did it out of fear of the French Forces. A reſpect which if it penetrated deep into any one, it muſt needs make a deeper impreſſion in the Governour; as in him who being come into *Italy*, wholly inflamed with exalted thoughts, who had put himſelf in a poſture of reſtoring his Kings authority to its former condition, would have been too much failing to himſelf, and to the opinion which he had generally won, if he had gone leſs in any thing, then what he had at firſt ſo openly proteſt; and it would have been baſely done by him, it ſeeing his affairs grow worſe and worſe, he had not indeavoured by all poſſible means to ſuſtain them: and if he had not been the more ſollicitous in providing for war, by how much his enemies bravadoes were the greater. Therefore to boot with the moneys which he had already diſburſt for raiſing of men; that it might be ſeen he durſt ſhew his face, and to make them jealous who did almoſt already openly threaten him, he ſent ſome Forces to the Venetians Confines, and to the Confines of *Piedmont*; and as if he would aſſault the State of *Venice* (for the effects of their League with the Duke appeared daily more and more) he gave order for a Bridge to be made over the *Adda*. Whereat though the Commonwealth were much troubled, yet having a great ſcarcity of men at that time; the Senators not being able to do more were forc'd to commit the defence of that part of the State to the people of the Country.

Whilſt the Governour was thus buſied in making preparations every where, the Embaſſadour, after having ſtaid ſome days at *Turin*, came to *Millain*; the ſubſtance of whoſe Embaſſie was, *That the King had, by reaſon of the accidents which hindred the laying down of Arms, uſed*

many indeavours to the Duke, and given him his word to ſecure him from the extraordinary Militia of the State of Millain; *but that the Duke not being therewithal ſatisfied, the King, out of his great deſire to publick peace, and by the obligation which was upon him by the Articles of* Aſti, *did deſire him that he would proſecute the diſarming which was begun by his Predeceſſors; to the end that the reſtitutions of the Towns might be come to; and the execution of other things appointed by the peace:* To this propoſal, which was given in in writing, the Governour replied in a long diſcourſe given alſo in in writing; wherein by a methodical Narration of all things that had occur'd from the beginning of the war of *Montferrat*, to the peace made at *Aſti*, he inferr'd, *That the King had done all things for the protection and ſecurity of that State, to which he was much ſollicited by the Queen of* France; *That the King was not bound by the Treaty of peace to diſmiß, no not ſo much as one man; and that the Duke had only at the beginning given ſatisfaction in this point, but that he had afterwards openly contravened it by the many novelties attempted againſt* Montferrat, *by his new Levies of men, and by his League lately concluded with the Venetians againſt the Houſe of* Auſtria: *So as the King was in all acceptations free from the Articles of peace; That the Duke refuſed the ſecurity offered him by the words of two ſo great Kings, not out of any doubt or diſtruſt, but in favour to the Venetians; and that therefore the King of* France *was no longer bound by the Capitulations to favour the Dukes hidden ends: He concluded with offering readily to obſerve the reſt of the Articles, if the Duke would obſerve them punctually on his behalf; and with paſſing his word again in the Kings name, not to wrong him; But as for laying down Arms, he confeſt freely it was impoßible to do it by reaſon of the Venetians new Commotions; And finally, he entered his Proteſtation, That if the Duke ſhould refuſe this, and ſhould withdraw from reciprocal reſtitution; the King ſhould remain free from any whatſoever obligation, ſince he had abundantly ſatisfied him by the aboveſaid offer.*

This was the ſubſtance of the Anſwer given to the French Embaſſadour, who at his going from *Millain* was earneſtly deſired, That as a good ſervant to his King, who was by affinity ſo nearly join'd to the Crown of *Spain*, he would uſe the beſt means he could to appeaſe the Duke; and diſpoſing him to make good the Treaty, keep him from favouring the Venetians, whoſe ends were only to uſurp the Arch-Dukes States, who was a juſt Prince; and this the rather, for that the Duke might be ſure he would thereby irritate the King of *Spain*, towards whom he had reaſon to proceed with all manner of reſpect; and that therefore taking the word of both the Kings, he ſhould not provoke the anger of the whole Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt him, wherewith he the Duke was ſo much intereſſed, both by alliance, and in ſo many other reſpects: The Embaſſadour promiſed he would do ſo, and having therewith obtained a Suſpenſion of Arms for the whole moneth of *Auguſt*, which was then began, he went to *Turin*, where he was preſent at a Diet in *Moncallieri*, between the Duke, the Marſhal, and the Venetian Embaſſadour, who was admitted thereinto under pretence of making him acquainted with every thing; but in effect, becauſe that Common-wealth which is naturally of her ſelf ſparing in ſpending, having till now been more liberal in words and promiſes, then in deeds, the

Duke and the reſt of that Cabal, thought it now a very fitting time to make uſe of her troubles and danger to make her contribute a great ſum of mony which they pretended to from her; and therefore the Governours Anſwer and offers being heard, the Duke began to liſten to the propoſals, ſeeming to be thereunto inclined rather for want of monies, whereof he and his State were much exhauſted, then out of any deſire or inclination to abandon the common Cauſe: The French Embaſſadour, under colour of being a peace-maker, aſſiſted him in his drift; and the Marſhal more then he; who being to be the head of the French ſuccour, was to ſhare deeply in the Venetians money; and therefore concluding that it was impoſſible for *Piedmont* to ſuſtain ſo great a war as was threatned her, otherwiſe then by the Sword of *France*, and Purſe of *Venice*, he minded the Duke that he could build but little upon the former if he ſhould fail of the other; But the Common-wealth, which ſaw affairs were ſo far proceeded in, as it was impoſſible to come to any atonement; eſpecially the fiery nature of both parties being conſidered; little valued the threats which were made under the colour of neceſſity; and knowing whether theſe counſels, and this ſudden inclination to peace tended, did not at all fear being left alone to bear the burthen of the war; and ſo much the leſs, for that the Duke was already envelloped in many difficulties, and was already by his demonſtrations ſo far ingaged in war, as it was impoſſible, at leaſt very hard, for him to draw back his hand: Wherefore ſhe ſeemed as cunningly to be inclined to a compoſure of affairs, which ſhe was as much deſired to do as the Duke was by the Archduke, and by the other Princes; and it was in her power to obtain it upon very honourable terms: wherefore the Duke, hoping that the Negotiation about peace would be a perfect antidote againſt the Venetians Tenacity, gave order that the Treaty ſhould be had in *Rome* with the Pope; who for this and for other affairs ſent *Aleſſandro Lodoviſio*, Archbiſhop of *Bollagna*, into *Lombardy*, under the Title of Nuntio in extraordinary, that by his Authority he might ſtop the Governours forces; who growing every day hotter againſt the Duke, was gone from *Millain* to *Pavia*, to haſten on the war the more; which whilſt he threatens openly on this ſide to *Piedmont*, yet he plotted it privately on that ſide where it might be worſe for the Duke, as leaſt ſuſpected by him. The Duke of *Nemours*, a French Prince, of the Duke of *Savoy*'s blood, and the neareſt to the Ducal Line next after the children of this preſent Duke; upon whom, that Line failing, the States of *Savoy* and *Piedmont* were to divolve, was for ſome years paſt not well ſatisfied with the Duke, upon occaſion of ſome private Picques; wherefore he had not ſuccoured him at all upon occaſion of the laſt troubles of *Piedmont*; but ſeeing new Commotions now about to ariſe from the Capitulations of *Aſti*, he laid aſide all paſt enmity and rancor, and offered to ſerve him in that war freely of his own accord with 4000 Foot, and 500 Horſe: The Duke accepted the offer, and monies were diburſt unto him in point of pay; and he was expected with his men in *Piedmont*, according to his promiſe: But his antient hatred and deſire of revenge prevailing over his new Reconciliation; or his ambition and deſire of Reign over his conjunction in blood and his obligations, he cloſed with the Governour of *Millain*, who gave

him both men and monies, promising to assault *Savoy* with the same men wherewith he was to have fallen into *Piedmont*; which when taken, he offered to acknowledge it as held in perpetual Fee from the Crown of *Spain*. The Governour listened to this offer, that he might weaken the Dukes Forces by diversion; and therefore sending mony to *Nemours*, he ordered Monsieur *di Disse* to pass into *Savoy* in assistance of this enterprise with 6000 Foot, and 400 Horse, which were raised by his directions in *Burgony*: And *Nemours* promised moreover that divers Princes and great Lords of *France*, who were his friends and adherents, would likewise come thither upon this occasion: Nor was it to be doubted but that the Duke being thus assaulted would have been mightily troubled; he not having forces sufficient for two sore wars made upon him at one and the same time; in *Savoy* by *Nemours*, and in *Piedmont* by the Governour: But a Letter written from the Governour into *Spain* freed him from this so near and so important danger; wherein the complotting of this business was intirely contained, which were it by chance, or by the craft of some of the Governours servants, came to the Dukes hands, and afforded him opportunity to prevent what was plotted against him: Wherefore sending Prince *Victorio* away in all haste to those parts; he also gave order to Monsieur *di Lanz*, Governour of *Savoy*, to secure himself as speedily as might be of *Nissi* and *Remigli*, places which lying upon the Frontier of *Savoy* towards *Burgony*, served as a gate to let in, or to keep out, the Governours men who were to enter by those parts under *Disse*. This Order being readily executed by *Lanz* rendered *Nemours* his business vain; for he, seeming as if he were coming with his men into *Piedmont*, but indeed turning upon those Towns, was repulst'd by the Dukes men: wherefore forced to retire more inward towards *Chiarmonte* and *Cleramonte*, his men out of meer necessity of livelihood and maintenance, fell to sack the neighbouring Villages: whilst *Nemours* kept idle in those parts, expecting that the forces of *Burgony* should have come and have joined with him; but it was in vain to expect that; for *Nissi* and *Remigli* holding for the Duke, and the Governours of *Lyons*, *Dolphony*, and the Dutchy of *Burgony*, discovering themselves forthwith to be for the Duke; and soon after all the Princes of *France*, moved thereunto out of consideration of the great prejudice which might thereby insue unto the Kingdom, if the Spanish Forces entering into *Savoy* should more inviron the Confines of *France*; *Disse* could not get to joyn with *Nemours*: And *Albertus*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, who, as Lord of *Flaunders*, and of the Low Countries, governed the County of *Burgony*; though he made use, for the most part, of the King of *Spains* Armies and Militia, and of the Spanish Officers, in the Government of those Provinces, yet would he not by any means be brought to assist or consent, unto that Enterprize, were it either that he was unwilling to disturb the Peace between his men and the States of *France*, or for that that enterprise not being either commanded or approved of by the King, but only framed by the State Officers in *Italy*, he did more value the neer interest of blood which he and the Infanta Arch-dutchess his wife, and Daughter to the King, (whose Dowry those States were) had with the Duke of *Savoy*, and with his children, born of a Sister

of

of his Wives, than he did the Governour of *Millain's* deſigns; nay, giving ſevere Orders to his Officers in *Burgony*, that they ſhould not countenance *Nemours* in any ſort, nor receive his men, he was abandoned by all at the faireſt of his play: So the violence of that ſtorm began ſuddenly to paſs over, which, whileſt it hover'd in the Air, did much alter the Dukes Affairs, which continued troubled for many moneths; but for all this he did not give over the defence of *Piedmont*, where having Garriſonned the Towns of *Aſti* and *Vercelles*, and made Count *Guido* Governour of the former, and the Marqueſs of *Cleuſio*, who had eſcaped ſome few moneths before from the Caſtle of *Millain*, where he was kept cloſe priſoner, Governour of the other; he cauſed a Bridge to be made over the *Poe*, between *Verrua* and *Creſcentino*, to the end that the Counties of *Aſti* and *Vercelles* being thereby joyned, they might more eaſily relieve one another in caſe they ſhould be aſſaulted; and having ſent the remainder of the pay to *Caſtiglione*, and the other Commanders who raiſed men for him, he ſtaid expecting him: The Governour did the like in *Pavia*, but with more fervency; where breathing forth nothing but fire and ſword, and being impatient of any the leaſt delay, he haſted proviſions, that he might go into the field; and giving out that he would be all *Auguſt* with his Army upon the Confines of *Piedmont*, he made his Artillery be Imbarqued upon the *Poe*, took Order for many Pioneers and Bridges, and diſburſt moneys in *Monferrat* and *Millain* for the raiſing of new Regiments; and laying all the Civil Government of the State upon Don *Sanchio di Luna*, Keeper of the Cittadel of *Millain*, he was wholly intent in providing for War, promiſing marvellous things unto himſelf from ſo great preparations; and the Nuntio being come to *Pavia* about the midſt of *Auguſt*, he gave him Audience booted and ſpurr'd, in which poſture he uſed then to go thorow the City, that it might be ſeen he was in a readineſs to march; and the Nuntio deſiring a ſhort ſuſpenſion of Arms, he would not grant it, ſaying, That he was come too late: But all things were not ſo ready for going to the field as the Governour could have deſired; for neither were the Swiſſers come from their own homes, nor were the Dutch come into the State of *Millain*; and many draught-horſes for the Artillery, and many Arms which were expected from *Germany* for the uſe of the Army, were not yet come: Execution therefore not anſwering reſolution, and buſineſſes not proceeding on ſo faſt as was expected; nay, new difficulties ariſing every day, the Governour began to ſlacken that vigour of mind wherewith till now he had with ſome violence been tranſported; and beginning to know the difference between ſaying and doing, he found alſo that the bad ſucceſs of the laſt War was not wholly through his Predeceſſors fault: His courage was alſo cooled by the bad ſucceſs of the buſineſs of *Savoy*, which was the chief ground-work of his deſigns; wherein, to boot with having ſpent above 300000 Ducats, he had alſo conſumed the Marqueſs of *Diſſe* his whole Regiment of Burgonians, which had cauſed no leſs diverſion to him than to the Duke: He was not a little ſcandalized neither, that the enterprize ſhould be thought to have miſcarried through the wickedneſs of his men, corrupted by the Dukes moneys; for his chief Secretary was impriſoned as guilty of having

made

made the Letter written unto the King come unto the Duke of *Savoy*'s hands; and though nothing could be proved against him, he was rigidly tormented: He was likewise detained by continual remembrances from the Court, that he should rather break off, than imbrace any new occasions of new ruptures; finding those Ministers of State more inclined to preserve that Authority and Greatness which they received privately, and the Crown publickly, from the tranquillity of peace, then to advance it by perturbation of affairs: chiefly when he called to mind that the Duke being desperate, and extraordinarily exasperated, not caring into what danger he ran, seemed to desire nothing but tumults, and alteration of affairs, which was contrary to the Crowns interest in *Italy*. Of which opinion some of the State-ministers of the State of *Millain* seemed also to be; those chiefly who out of a particular friendship to the Marquess *Inoiosa*, and for good turns received from him, thought it suited more with his reputation, that either the peace made by him should be perfected, or else the new war prove unfortunate. And as, for the aforesaid respect, moneys were not provided in *Spain*, so some State-ministers of the State of *Millain*, not going along with the Governour in his opinions and ends, but opposing as much as they might such provisions, and resolutions as were to be made, caused diffidence in him in his Counsels, and impediments in the execution of what was resolved upon: wherefore he who was almost surrounded with Competitors, consulting in things of weightiest importance only with *Vives*, who was then his Confident, communicated nothing to the rest save sleight and ordinary affairs; whereat they thinking themselves injured did the more willingly thwart his Counsels and Resolutions.

The Embassadour *Buttano* returned about the end of *August* from *Turin*, who professing that he had used all his best indeavours to make the Duke bear all due respect to the King, and to the house of *Austria*, brought with him in the Kings name a middle way for composure of the present differences. *Which was, that the Treaty of* Asti *should be made good, with the reciprocal restitution of all places taken away; that it might be lawful for them both to keep armed, with reciprocal word of not offending each other till such time as it should be fully accorded within a certain prefixt time, in which interim the whole Treaty might be fully performed; and that the Governour should abstain from injuring the Venetians, whilst the King should indeavour the composure of those differences by his Embassadours, sent to the Emperour, to the Archduke, and to the Venetians.*

These Proposals were debated in full Council; where it fell into consideration, that if (the Duke and the Venetians being agreed) the Kings Forces should go against one of them, and the other should assault the State of *Millain*, whether the war might be diverted from the assaulted Dominions; and that the Governour not having a sufficient Army for two offensive wars, whether it were better to accept of the Proposal only so far as regarded the affairs of *Piedmont*, and turn with the Army against the Venetians, so to divert them from the war of *Friuli*; or whether, if the said Proposals should not be allowed of, they should assault *Piedmont*: it was said for the first part, that the war

against

against the Venetians was the chief cauſe of retaining, and afterwards of increaſing the preſent Army, that it might ſeem ſufficient for the Kings honour to ſeem to lay down Arms, as the Duke had done, inſtead of effectually doing ſo; and the King of *France* having by the Dukes word, ſecured thoſe of *Spain*, that *Monſferras* ſhould not be aſſaulted, whether the King (eſpecially when the Duke ſhould have paſt his word again, not to innovate any thing to the prejudice of the State of *Millain*) might diſſemble and keep ſtill in Arms, ſo to keep from making war upon him, which would not be ſo eaſily decided, becauſe he was daily ſuccoured by men from *France*: that therefore it was more expedient, to ſecure affairs with the Duke, to aſſault the Venetians Towns, to bereave them of all defence, and ſo to aſſiſt the Archduke by diverſion. But they were much troubled leſt the Duke, when he ſhould ſee the Kings Forces go againſt the Venetians, might think himſelf free, and might aſſault the State of *Millain*, according to the Articles of Confederacy; and this the rather, for that the Marſhal being at the ſame time gone for *France*, with ſpeech that he was to return ſuddenly armed, the Duke was gone to *Creſcentino*, where having built a Bridge (as hath been ſaid) over the *Po*, he did not only prepare for defence, but drawing neer the Confines of *Millain* did fortifie at *la Motta*: where having alſo thrown a Bridge over the *Sefia*, a River which divides his State from that of *Millain*, he gave evident ſigns that he would be the firſt who would paſs over with his Army, which begun already to be numerous. To remove theſe doubts, the Embaſſadour was demanded, whether his word paſt, of not offending, would ſerve, if the Kings Forces ſhould march to the prejudice of the Venetians; and he anſwering, that he had had no ſpeech thereof with the Duke, the other opinion prevailed, that war ſhould be made upon *Piedmont*, though *Don Giovan Vives*, who was got into great power with the Governour, and was commonly thought either the Author, or great Fautorer of the renewed war, ſeeing the Court of *Spain* averſe from war, and for the aforeſaid Reaſons, the Governour weary, or grown cooler therein; or peradventure to keep the fault from being imputed to him, if any inconvenience ſhould happen by the war, which the Duke was adviſed againſt, giving his opinion openly in writing, exhorted the Governour to accept of the Embaſſadours offer for what concern'd peace with the Duke, and that ſetting in the Frontiers of *Piedmont* 7000 Swiſſers, and 10000 other Souldiers, did exhort him to aſſault the Venetians State with the remainder of his Army, which was 13000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, moleſting it, till ſuch time as they ſhould reſtore to the Archduke what they had taken from him in that war.

But this adviſe being neither accepted by the Duke, nor allowed of by the reſt, nor yet the Embaſſadours new Propoſals, this anſwer was given the Embaſſadour: *That his Propoſitions were not anſwerable to the Capitulations at* Aſti, *nor if they were, was there any Reaſon to yield thereunto, the many things which the Duke had to object againſt them being underſtood: that the King of* France, *who was intereſſed in theſe affairs, only for what concerned him in that Capitulation, was not allowed to make any new Propoſals: that in reſpect of the new alliance, and good correſpon-*

Agency which was contracted between him and the King of Spain, *he should rather oppose than interpose himself in the so many commotions made by the Duke, to the house of* Austria, *and to the Kings Dominions, tending to the prejudice of the publick peace: and this so much the rather, as that the same Proposals would not be a fitting remedy for the present evils; for by keeping in Arms the people were exceedingly prejudiced, Princes were put to infinite expence, and new enlarged for Tumults were indangered, from whence bloody Wars might afterwards ensue: that it was superfluous to restore that anticipately, which differences not being afterwards agreed, was necessary to be resaken. And in fine, the Governour complained that the Embassadour, after having a months space allowed him to treat of atonement, should propound new terms and new delays, when he should have brought the Dukes ultimate resolutions touching his accepting or not accepting of the peace which was offer'd him: though afterwards laying the fault upon the Duke, he added, that that was one of those Princes usual pieces of cunning, that he might the better prepare himself for the defence, and that letting the season for the Field pass over, the Kings Forces might become unuseful to offend.* This answer was followed with extraordinary orders, and diligence in putting the resolution which was put on in execution; for the Embassadour not ceasing to give them hopes, and almost assurances that the Duke should promise not to move, no not though they went against the Venetians, he did not obtain his chief end, which was to keep them from providing for war; for the Governour sent Orders to those that were already upon the Venetian Confines, and to the rest of the Souldiery that was in the State, that they should speedily march into the *Nevarese*, whither he said he would send the Artillery and Ammunition the next day. But whilst he laboured both in body and mind about making these preparations, he fell into an Ague; whereof before he was wholly free, he made himself be carryed upon a Bed, on the third of *September*, to *Candia*, where he told the Nuntio, and the Embassadour, both which he had dismist, he would wait the Dukes final resolution: he staid some days there, paying out moneys to the Souldiery which came unto him from several parts: and making a Bridge over at *la Villata*, he intended to pass over there with his Army, into *Montferrat*, and from thence to where the Duke should be, or whither he should like best. He had here in a short time a flourishing Army, not only in respect of the number and valour of the Souldiers and Commanders, but for Artillery, Ammunition, and all things else necessary; there were therein 20000 Foot, made up of several Nations; to wit, 4000 Spaniards, divided into five Regiments and led on by the Camp-masters, Don *Fevanni*, Don *Lewis*, and Don *Gonsallo di Cordua*, Don *Feronymo Pimontello*, and Don *John Bravo*: 9000 Lombards, in five Regiments, the one consisting wholly of Musketeers, led on by *Prior Sforza*, the others, by *Ludovico Gambaloita*, *Feronymo Rho*, *Giovanni Pietro Serbellone*, and *Giovan Battista Pecchio*; all of them likewise Camp-masters: 3000 Neapolitans, led on by the Camp-masters *Carlo Spinelli*, *Carlo di Sanguine*, and *Thomaso Carracciola*: 13000 Dutch in two Regiments, the one Trentinians, led on by Count *Guadentio Madruzzi*, the other Hollanders under, *Luigi Sols*: to boot with 6000 Swissers, who as being Confederates with the Duke,

Duke, were to tarry in the State of *Millain*: the Horſe, wherein the *Gens Armes* were comprehended, came to 3000 under their General Don *Alphonſo Pimontello*; they were for the moſt part new men, and untrain'd; and therefore though ſuperiour in number, yet much inferiour in worth to thoſe of the Duke, who keeping ſtill at *la Motta*, with no contemptible forces, had with him, as fame gave out (wherewith he uſed to keep up the reputation of his own forces) 25000 Foot and 2500 choice Horſe, but in effect, between 1500 and 2000 Horſe, which were held to be the flower and ſinews of his Army: between 8 and 9 thouſand French, as many Savoiards, Swiſſers, Walloons, Piedmonteſes and Provencials. And though the differences of *Savoy* were not yet compoſed, and that he knew he was to be faced with a more implacable Enemy; yet egg'd on by the fierceneſs of his ſpirit, and fed with hopes that neither the French, nor Venetians would ſuffer him to periſh; and perhaps arguing the Governours future actions from his former, did not wholly diſtruſt, but that after the firſt onſet the war would not continue in the ſame fervour as it ſeemed to begin, he ſeemed little to fear the Enemies threats: ſo as inſtead of ſending back the Embaſſadour with the acceptation of the conditions of peace, he made his Horſe go to *Langoſco*, a Town within the State of *Millain*, and ſent Souldiers to take *Villa Franca*, and to burn *Murano*, and other places in *Montferrat*, upon pretence that proviſion, paſſage and quarter was there given to the Enemy; and ſending ſome Shallops down the *Seſia*, loaded with Powder, and artificial fire, ſo ordered as that it ſhould play when it came to the Bridge made by the Governour, and break it; whilſt he being not far off, intended, when the Bridge ſhould be broken, to fall with his Horſe upon the Garriſon, which were upon the head of that Bridge towards *Montferrat*, and cut them in pieces: but the Shallops being kept back, the deſign failed: ſo as the Dukes Horſe appearing on the River bank, there hapned a ſmall skirmiſh betwe n them and the Kings men, wherein but little harm was done. Thus the ſecond War of *Piedmont* began from the drawing neer of two Armies: which was not occaſioned through any differences, or State-pretentions, nor for any freſh injuries done or received, nor by any new commands to the Duke that he ſhould lay down Arms; but if the truth were known, it proceeded on the Dukes ſide, from his ancient rancour, and from his deſire thereby contracted, of venting himſelf in any whatſoever manner, in abuſing the Spaniſh Grandezza; and on the Governours behalf, from the bad ſucceſs of the late War, from the Capitulations concluded with ſmall ſatisfaction before *Aſti*, and from a deſire to aboliſh them, and therewithall the prejudice of the late actions, and to eſtabliſh the Kings affairs in *Italy* in their former condition and honour. But if we ſhall mark the outſide of things, this war had no other title, unleſs it were, that the Duke pretending the Governour ſhould diſmiſs his Army, he not doing it, did contrary to the ſame Capitulation reaſſume Arms, and joyning in League with the Venetians would not abandon his Confederates (by whom he was ſo little aſſiſted in the former war of *Piedmont*, and by whom he was ſo apparently wrong'd in that of *Montferrat*) not diſarm upon the ſecurity of both the Kings words, nor yet promiſe not to moleſt the Kings Dominions.

These wars, and the ends and motives of these Princes, was variously discoursed of: some praised the Duke for his faith, valour and free spirit, and cried him up even to the Stars, as if he had been a new *Marcellus*, who had taught that the Spaniards power, which was held unconquerable, might be resisted: he was therefore esteemed a seasonable defender of the Venetian Commonwealth, and the generous Protector of the Liberty of *Italy*; and the Governour of *Millain* was detested, as one that studied novelties, and was no way zealous of the publick peace: others who attributed the Dukes resolution to an over-contentious mind, to an immoderate hatred conceived against the Spaniards, and to a too excessive desire of suppressing the authority of that Crown, imputed unto him an unquiet spirit, and that he was a greater friend to turmoils, then to quiet: because, to the prejudice of peace, and of the security of *Italy*, he had let in forreigners into the bowels thereof, to the peoples so great loss, to the so great effusion of blood, and to the so apparent danger not only of himself, but to the contaminating of that little of sound or wholsome which was yet left in *Italy*. But they wonder'd not at the Duke, by reason of his warlike humour: the wisdom of the Venetian Senate was the more common subject of mens discourse; why they who were so profest friends to peace; (a thing so good for their Commonwealth, by means whereof they had so long continued to be thought rich and powerful, and for which the safety and grandezza of *Italy* seemed to be upheld by them;) why they (I say) should suffer themselves to be ingaged in war with the Archduke, for unnecessary and trivial things: in which war, to boot that they might be sure the German Princes and King of *Spain* would interest themselves, they should, to the prejudice of their reputation, make known the utmost bounds of their Forces, which proving short of what they were generally thought to be, and not being such as that they were able at one and the same time to contest against the Archdukes and King of *Spains* Forces, they should be inforced to run the same fortune with the Duke of *Savoy*, and in a business of such weight and concernment depend upon his award and inclination; who if he should continue to disagree with the King might secure their affairs, and by agreeing might make them run great danger; many could therefore have desired that they had either been more circumspect in their resentment, or that after their first resentment they had used their wonted moderation in their Counsels; whereby their ends, hatreds and desires being tempered, they might have given way to the fair conditions which were presently offer'd them; if for no other end, at least not to justifie the complaints which were made against the Commonwealth, as if she had moved in this, not to free the Gulf of Free-booters, but out of a desire of possessing herself of the Archdukes Dominions; and much more, to obviate the trouble and dangers which might result to her, to the Duke, and to all *Italy* by such commotions and troubles.

The end of the fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book V.

The Contents.

The Duke unexpectedly assaules the Spanish Army which was entered his State; and being beaten retyres to Affigliano; *From whence finding that the enemy went to possess themselves of* Cresentino, *he departs, and speedily preventing them, defends it. The Spanish Army take* Santya, *and* San Germano: *The Duke indeavouring to keep back their Victuals was forc'd to come to a Battel, where he was again worsted. The Popes Nuntio and the French Embassadour hold the Governours forces in hand by introducing new Treaties of Peace; In the interim the Marques of* Mortara *entering* le Langhe *takes many of the Dukes Castles; and Don* Sanchio di Luna *takes* Gattinara: *Winter coming on, the Governour fired* Santya; *and leaving a Garrison in* St. Germano *sends the rest of his Army into their Quarters, and retires into the State of* Millain. *The Duke, the Prince his Son being come to him from* Savoy, *and the Marshal* Diguieres *from* France, *with new men, takes the Principality of* Messerano, *and makes himself master of* San Damiano, Alba, *and* Monteggio, *Towns in* Montferrat: *Wherefore* Mortara *firing* Canelli, *abandons the* Langhe: *The Marshal being sent for back by the King, returns with his men to* France. *The Venetians whilst they are busying themselves to little purpose in* Friuli, *are molested at Sea by the Spanish Fleet, sent by the Viceroy of* Naples *into the Gulf; which not being able to draw the Venetian Fleet to fight, take three Gallies richly fraught.*

THE Governour being come to the Confines of *Piedmont*, rather out of a grounded opinion of compounding affairs, then with any

any resolution to fight: And seeing that the French Embassadour did not return back to him, and signes in the Duke absolute contrary to his expectation, began to fail in the chief foundation of his designs, and consequently to apprehend the difficulties to be greater and of more importance now that he was near at hand, then they could appear to be when he was farther off: He saw that enemy appear against him whom he thought would assuredly have been quell'd at the first brandishing of his Sword; and that not being at all astonished at *Nemours* his wheeling about, nor at the approach of such an Army, he appeared with well adjusted forces; and that rather like an Assailant then one assaulted he would run any fortune rather then to abandon his Confederates, or part the least from his first resolutions: he was troubled to see so many French appear already on his behalf; those who were wrought upon by the Venetian gold, by the desire of prey and of novelties, and those also who were driven on by *Guise*'s authority, almost the sole Arbitrator of *France*, were likely to come thither: So as being troubled that the present war should be the beginning of another with that Nation which was naturally a Rival to the name of *Spain*, he feared he might hazzard not only the safety of the States, but even the honour of that Crown for which he had been so hot in taking up Arms: He was confounded at the disagreement in opinion of his men; he suspected those who desiring him to be more cautious and circumspect, proposed dangers and difficulties: He thought those rash, who incouraging him unto the war, promised him assured victory; and having neither art nor experience in the administration of war join'd to his natural judgment, he was altogether perplex'd and irresolute in betaking himself to what was best for him to do, and in chusing the best of many proposals made by his Commanders: The so great number of those of various Nations who fought under his Banners added to his anxiety; especially the Dutch, more numerous and fierce then the rest, and consequently the harder to be govern'd according to the military Government: That in proportion, the number of the Spaniards being but few, upon whom the safety of the Empire leaning, it totter'd; the dissatisfaction of those of *Millain*, who to boot with their former grievances, were already weary of the present war, and attenuated by the former: And being invironed on all sides by Forreigners, his thoughts were perplex'd, not only with the uncertainty of Battel, with the dissolving of his Army, and with the casualties of war; but with the uncertain Loyalty of his Officers, the mutinying of Souldiers, the rebellion of subjects, the peoples inclinations, the favour of the Princes of *Italy* depending upon the success of things, the hatred of those of the Nation to the dominion of Forreigners; and finally, whatsoever may happen to the prejudice of security in great commotions by the variety of fortune. Diving deep into such considerations, and considering truly how much the placing the quiet and safety of affairs upon the uncertainty of a Die was a business which fell very short of all that greatness which the Duke pretended unto; he began by practice to know how wise and salutiferous their counsels had always been who had thought the peace of *Italy* to be the surest foundation of the Spanish Empire: He therefore began to call to mind the Instructions and Orders

ders which he had continually had from the Court; which as being contrary to his then fervour, he valued but a little; and as if it had been in his power yet to put on new reſolves, he weighed the condition of affairs now when it was time to fight, as he had formerly examined them when it was time to make peace, with fiery thoughts bent upon war: So as having paid the Souldiers, and made up his Muſters; wavering, and not knowing what to do, to the great admiration of all men, and to the great diſlike of the field-Officers and Army; he was like *Ceſar* upon the Banks of *Rubicon*, not being able to reſolve of removing from his Quarters for fear of worſer commotions; yet at laſt his Souldiers perſwaſions prevailed, and particularly *Vives* his Reaſons, upon whoſe Authority he much relied; ſo as he reſolved to paſs over the Seſia, and to go againſt the Duke: And *Ferdinando Meſia Gomez*, Sergeant-Major of the Army, was a great occaſion thereof; who ſeeing the Governour ſo perplex'd and unreſolved, ſaid roundly unto him, *I will uphold, as though I were as ſure to dye for it as thoſe who go to Preach the Catholick faith in* England, *if this Army do not this day paſs the River, the honour of the Spaniſh Nation will be here loſt with perpetual infamy*; They therefore paſt over into *Montferrat* by the Bridge at *la Villata*, on the 14th of *September*, 1616. that they might from thence enter *Piedmont* the more commodiouſly, but otherwiſe reſolved then before; for whereas before *La Mortara* was to have entered by the way of *Aſti* with 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe; and with the Foot Militia, and *Aleſſandrian* and *Tortoneſſe* Horſe; and Don *Alphonſo d' Avalos*, Governour of *Montferrat*, with 3000 Foot, and 300 *Montferrat* Horſe jointly with him; and Don *Pedro* with the reſt of the Army by the way of *Vercelli*, preſuming that the Duke, conſtrained to divide his Forces, would be the weaker, and unable to ſtand againſt him in the field; now, his mind being altered, he went with all his joint forces againſt the enemy: And therefore being paſt over the Bridge he intended to quarter his Army between *la Motta* and *Villa Nova*, to the end, that at the ſame time when the Van, wherein were the beſt Souldiers and moſt experienced Commanders in the Army ſhould aſſault the Duke, who was intrench'd at *la Motta*; the Reer ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Villa Nova*, and drive out the French Horſe which were Quartered there; But the Duke prevented this deſigne; for lying in Ambuſh in a field of very high corn that was on the left hand of the way as you go from *Villa Nova* to *la Motta*, he aſſaulted ſome fore-runners and Muſqueteers of the Van, as they paſt over a little wooden Bridge which croſſeth the way; which happening unexpectedly and on the ſudden, cauſed ſome confuſion in the Spaniſh Army; wherefore many of the Commanders advanced with part of their men; amongſt which were *Gamboloita*, *Bravo*, *Prior Sforza*, and the Prince of *Aſcoli*, who ſhewed much valour upon this occaſion: By the coming in of theſe the Skirmiſh increaſed, and held equal on both ſides for the ſpace of four hours; for beſides that the Cavalry was come in to aſſiſt the Duke from *Villa Nova*, the ſituation proved likewiſe advantagious for him; the Spaniards not being able by reaſon of the narrowneſs thereof, to make uſe of all their Force.

But at laſt the Aſſailants being much prejudiced by four pieces of Artillery placed upon a little riſe, they were forced to give back, leaving

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ving four Troops of Horſe and two Bands of Muſketeers on their backs to make good the retreat, which was notwithſtanding not done without ſome diſorder. There fell in this firſt conflict between four and five hundred of the Dukes Foot, about ſixty Horſe, beſides many that were wounded; of the Kings ſide about fifty, and as many wounded; amongſt which *Almarante delle Canarie*, Son to the Prince of *Aſcoli*, and *Lodovico Gambaloita*, who having received a ſlight wound in the head with a Muſket, before it was well cured died of other diſorders, to the general grief and dammage, being held by the Kings Commanders to be of an approved valour, and good at Counſell. Many thought that if the Duke had ſuffered the Van to paſs, and had given upon the Battel in the midſt, which was weaker and more impeded, he had occaſioned more loſs and diſorder; and on the other ſide, that if the Governour had ſent a Squadron beyond the Rivulet which was on the right hand, and aſſaulted the Duke on the Flank, he had not only hindred his retreat, but totally defeated him. But humane wiſedom does not always foreſee what is beſt, and in actions of War confuſion, danger, and too much forwardneſs, blind the Underſtanding, and diſturb Reaſon. The Governour lay all that night with the Army in the place where the Battel was given, and the Duke in the Treaches of *la Motta*, which he abandoned the next day, and cauſing *Villa nova* to be burnt, and the Country thereabouts, as well his own as that of *Monſerrat*, he retreated with his Horſe, which was come from *Villa nova*, into *Aſtigliano*, neerer *Vercelles*, in great haſte, for fear of being aſſaulted, to his diſadvantage, in the Fields of *Carenzana*; but his fear was vain; for the Governour growing more wary by the laſt unexpected aſſault, and fearing leſt he might be drawn into thoſe dangers into which the Duke did not much care to precipitate himſelf, though it became him to be the more circumſpect, by how much he found his Adverſary to be the more adventurous; ſo forbearing to purſue him, and poſſeſſing himſelf of *la Motta*, and *Carenzana*, and, after ſome Cannon ſhot, of *Stroppiana*, he tarried there ſome days, being detained by the rain; and on the contrary, the Duke being incouraged by the Governours circumſpection, ſent his Horſe into a plain, between a certain wood and *Stroppiana*, to the end that inſulting there he might incourage his men, who were not a little diſmaied; and giving manifeſt ſigns of undauntedneſs and valour, might redeem the loſs of reputation in the laſt Skirmiſh and retreat: Nor did his reſolution prove unlucky; for though when it was given out in the Spaniſh Army, that the Duke came on with the groſs of his Army, the Battaglions were ſet in order, and the Horſe were ready to ſally out upon him, yet the whole matter being quickly known, the Prince of *Aſcoli* with Spaniſh caution ordered, that every one ſhould return to their own Quarters; and ſome Bands of Muſketeers were recalled, who were placed upon a bank at *Mortara*, from whence they might commodiouſly defend their own Horſe, and offend thoſe of the Enemy; ſo as the Duke not meeting with any oppoſition, march'd up even to underneath the Enemies Rampiers. The Kings Commanders finding afterwards how hard it was to fall upon the Duke in his Quarters at *Aſtigliano*, by reaſon of the new Fortifications which were made there, and by reaſon of

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the waters, and conſequently how difficult it would be to get *Vercelles*, as they had reſolved, without beating up thoſe his quarters, went towards St. *Germano* and *Creſcentino*, to the end that by taking the firſt, they might keep back the Dukes Victuals and Succour; and by taking the other, they might remove all impediments which might keep the Army from drawing neer *Turin* by the way of *Monferrat*.

Creſcentino ſtands upon the left bank of *Poe*, in the midſt of the upper *Monferrat*, over againſt *Verrua*, a Town which though ſeated upon the oppoſite bank belongs notwithſtanding to the Duke; ſo as the River which comes from the Territories of *Turin*, and enters immediately into *Monferrat*, running all along the length thereof, would be Navigable from the State of *Millain* to that City, were not the Navigation hindred by its being incloſed between *Verrua* and *Creſcentino*, as between two hedges; ſo as Victual nor Ammunition could not be brought to the Spaniſh Army, if it were to enter into *Piedmont* by *Monferrat*, unleſs they ſhould be firſt maſters of one of theſe two places; They making much for the conveniency and inconveniency of the Armies advancing, the Governour reſolved to make himſelf maſter of them: he therefore marched from *Stroppiana*, going a little above *Coſtanza*, but in ſo little good order, as certainly if the Duke had known it, and would have hazzarded, he might undoubtedly have cut the Reer in pieces, which march'd at a good diſtance from the Body of the Army: but the great advantage in Forces which makes Commanders ſometimes careleſs, ſuffers their errours ſometimes alſo to go unpuniſhed: they might eaſily have gone in one days march from *Coſtanza* to *Creſcentino*; and the Governour might doubtleſly have gotten into it, and made himſelf maſter thereof, it being but weakly garriſon'd, if he had march'd directly on. The Duke knew the danger, and apprehending it, thought it neceſſary to be prevented: but the reſolution was far more eaſily taken, then executed: for he who will go from *Aſtigliano* and *Ruiſecco* (whither the Duke coaſting along the Spaniſh Army was come) will get into *Creſcentino*, muſt either paſs by the Enemies Army, or elſe muſt go far about, and as it were by a bow, on the upper ſide. The Governour then who march'd in a direct line, muſt either come before *Creſcentino* before the Duke, or incountering him in his march, muſt fight him upon great advantage: the rains moreover were at this time very great; and many gullets of water which croſs'd the way by which the Duke was neceſſarily to march, being ſwollen by the rain, were almoſt not to be paſt over, eſpecially by the Foot; but neceſſity made that poſſible which ſeemed impoſſible; and Fortune, which is often a friend to courageous reſolutions, did miraculouſly favour the Dukes affairs in this ſo difficult a caſe; for having ſent his Baggage and other incumbrances to *Vercelli*, whither he feigned to retreat, he ſuddenly went at the firſt watch of the night from *Ruiſecco*, and being cover'd by the darkneſs, and by the rain which poured down, he march'd till day with incredible ſpeed; and having paſt over all the gullets of water, being therein aſſiſted by his Horſe, he got at laſt a little after day break to *Creſcentino*, weary and ill accommodated, and much leſſen'd in his numbers, by the tediouſ-

neſs of the march; but not being at all hindred by the Governour's who inſtead of going ſtraight on by the way of *Deſana*, went (being adviſed ſo to do by the Prince of *Aſcoli*) by *Trino*, much the longer way, only that he might have better quarters for his Army that night. So as not going by a line, as he ought to have done, but marching in a ſemi-circle, contrary to where the Duke went, he loſt not only the opportunity of getting into *Creſcentino*, but of a ſignal Victory: when the Van went early the next morning from *Trino*, it might ſee the Dukes Reer two miles before entring into *Creſcentino*; and having no order to fight, did not aſſault it. This action of the Dukes was really very gallant and ſingular; whether you conſider the boldneſs of the reſolution, or the diligence of the execution, or the happy ſucceſs thereof; but chiefly, if you conſider the importancy of the enterpriſe, or the great alteration of affairs which would have hapned if *Creſcentino* had been loſt. The Governour having loſt this deſign went towards *Livorno* and *Bianza*, two Towns of the *Canaveſe*, not above two miles diſtant one from another: in which march ſome of the Cavalier *della Manta's* Horſe meeting with ſome of the Governours men, they took Don *Franciſco*, ſon to the Embaſſadour *Vives*, priſoner, whoſe Horſe, as he advanced ſomewhat before the reſt, fell, and he himſelf was ſorely wounded in the neck; and ſome carriage of the chief Commanders fell alſo into the Dukes hands. The Duke ſuſpected that the Governour would go from *Bianza* & *Livorno* to *Chivaſſo* a great Town in *Piedmont*, upon the back of *Creſcentino*; wherefore he cauſed a great Trench to be made upon the outermoſt bank of *Dora*, neer to *Saluggio*, and placed 1000 of the Country Muſketeers to defend it; and fearing alſo leſt the Towns of *Monferrat* might prejudice his affairs by giving receptacle to the Enemies Army, he took *Roda* & *Zano* and *Verolengo* before their eyes, Towns of *Monferrat* neer the *Poe*, together with almoſt all the *Canaveſe*; and gave order to the Cardinal, his ſon, to go from *Turin*, and take *Vulpiano*, a place not far from that City; and thoſe of *Lauriano* and of St *Sebaſtian* killing his Keeper of the Caſtle, he put them both to fire and ſword: thinking that if thoſe people were not made an example, the others would not forbear to do the like upon any ſleight occaſion. Thus miſerable *Monferrat* being expoſed to the Dukes injuries, was in the midſt of the Enemies and of the Protectors Forces, affording quarter to the latter out of good will, and to the former out of fear: nor durſt the people thereof for fear of ſevere puniſhment, which was duly executed upon them, move or anger the Duke, who by rigour had made the way as open to him there, as through his own State: the rains continued ſtill, and the ſeaſon was very bad for the Field; ſo as the Governour could not only not attempt any of the enterpriſes ſuſpected by the Duke, but being by the rigidneſs of the weather to lie idle ſome days in *Livorno* and *Bianza*, began to want Victuals. He reſolved therefore to go to St. *Germano*, and from thence to *Inurea*, weak Towns, but capacious, and of fruitful Territories; conceiving that the Duke would either go, or not go, from *Creſcentino*; if he ſhould go, he would be in manifeſt danger of being routed, his men being much leſſened, and ſo the Governour proving victorious, might have free way to advance without any oppoſition, and attempt whatſo-

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ever enterprise; if he should not go out, he might easily take those two Towns; which when he should have done, the whole Country on this side the *Dora* even to *Vercelli* would be at his disposal, where he might not only quarter his Army commodiously all the succeeding Winter; but the City of *Vercelli*, as being cut off from *Piedmont*, and excluded from any succour, would without any danger or effusion of blood fall that Winter into his hands. The design would have been more easily effected, then discoursed; if continuing the same begun execution he had persevered in the same minde; or if the Governour making use of the occasion, and of the good succes of Victory which he got afterwards, had prosecuted it with the like vigour; for the Army being gone from *Livorno* and *Rianzo*, and in his passage taken *Santia*, a Town that is now open, and of no moment, but formerly famous for having resisted the Spanish Army, when it was fortified: and leaving 4000 Dutch there in Garrison, rather to free himself from the fear of their numerousnes, then out of any need of keeping it garrisoned, the Governour went with his Camp to St. *Germano*; where the Garrison having withstood the battery a while, yielded on the third day: and the Duke having burnt *Rianza*, for that having dared to resist him, one of his best Commanders was slain before it, he went to *Vinarie*, a place which stands on the way as you go from *Trino* to St. *Germano*, from whence he hindred the Enemy from Victuals, without abandoning *Crescentino*, or bereaving himself of that refuge, and hoping that his men would be constant in defending St. *Germano*; he hoped to make the Governour rise from before it for famine; wherefore to incourage the defendants, and let them know that he was come, he carried there and fired his Cannon, but all in vain; for at the same time that he came to the *Vinarie*, St. *Germano* surrendred; whereat the Duke was so grieved, as he put the Governour thereof to death, because he had yielded the Town to the Enemy, having promised to hold it out much longer. And yet the Governour keeping three days in St. *Germano* had such scarcity of Victuals, as even his chief Commanders were fain to feed upon dead horse flesh; for the Duke keeping his station kept the Enemy from Provision; and the Governour who detested fighting resolved not to move from thence. But at last, inforc'd by famine, or for shame to see himself as it were besieged, he left *Antonio Mastrillo*, *Caracciolo's* Serjeant-major, in St. *Germano* with 500 Foot, and marched towards the Duke: *Castelmerlino* stands between *Crescentino* and *le Vinarie*, a very little towards which the Army marched, out of a double end; that they might without disturbance receive Victuals there from *Trino*, and to keep the Duke from Victuals, who being excluded *Crescentino*, by the loss of that place, would be brought into the same streights whereinto he had a little before brought the Enemy: and therefore moved by his disadvantage he marched to give battel: to avoid the which, when the Duke saw the Enemy coming, he marched towards the Abby of *Lucidio*, thinking to get beforehand into *Crescentino*: but he could not march so fast but that the Spanish Van fell upon his Reer; notwithstanding which skirmish the Duke march'd on, till being overtaken by the night he was forced to lodge that night in the said Abby; and the Governour in some small Cottages not far

off, where the Souldiers being famish'd for want of Victuals at St. *Germane*, suffer'd also very much by cold that night. The next day the Duke not being able to march so early as he intended, by reason of some hindrances, and not having with him above ten or twelve thousand Foot, and about 1200 Horse, he pursued his way in this manner: the Artillery and Ammunition was placed in the Van, the Baggage in the middle, on the left hand, where there was more field-room, the Horse on the right hand, where it was more wooddy, the French Foot Regiments, led on by *Christy* and *Orfe*; the Reer, led on by Count *Guido*, was mixt of Italians, Piedmontans, and Savoiards, and it had in it the best Souldiers, and most experienced Commanders of the whole Army; and the Country through which they march'd being full of bushes, Count *Guido* placed Musketeers in some of them, to the end that they might keep the Enemy from hindering them in their march; if these Musketeers should be assaulted, they were to retreat to other bushes which were on their backs; and thus to continue the fight that they might hold the Enemy play as long as possibly they might. When the Governour knew what way the Duke marched, he resolved to pursue him; and sending part of his Cavalry before with 1800 Foot *en Croupa* to assault him on the Reer, he himself followed after with the rest of the Army: those who march'd before had much ado to drive the defendants out of the bushes; yet overcoming them at the last, they got up to the Reer; for the Dukes Van being come to some narrow passages, kept the rest of the Army from advancing, so as he could not get to *Crescentino* without disturbance, as he hoped to have done. The Reer being assaulted made their part good against the Enemy; and defending themselves honourably for a while, did not only resist them with advantage, but repulst them: the Battaglions of the Spanish Army were this mean while advanced, led on by *Gironyme Pimentello*, and *Gironyme Rbe*, who though they saw that their men who were beaten back by the Dukes Reer could hardly keep the field, yet having no precise order, and the Governour being two miles behind, they proceeded to fight but slowly: when Don *Alphonso Pimentello*, the Embassadour *Vives*, and Cavalier *Melzi* coming in, and not being able to indure that their men should be beaten for want of help, they incouraged the Captains of the Battaglions to fall on, without expecting any other orders, assuring them that the Governour would approve thereof: by whose words and authority being inheartned, the Battaglions charged furiously, and routed the Dukes Reer, who not able to withstand so fierce a shock, gave back; and at the same time Count *Sulz*, not expecting any orders, assaulted the French Regiments with his Dutch furiously on the Flank; whose fear the Duke foreseeing, he was come himself unto them, earnestly exhorting them to stand fast, to keep their ranks, and incouraging them to fight: but words prevailed not where valour was wanting: *Crichi's* Regiment made some resistance; but *Castiglions* Regiment which was led on by *Orfe*, not daring to look the Enemy in the face, much less to stand the fierce and close assault of the Dutch, threw away their Arms shamefully before they came to blows, and ran; and if instead of pursuing them the Dutch had fallen on upon the main body of the Battel, the

Dukes

Dukes Army had not been only discomfited that day, but wholly routed.

This success had the Battel of *Lucedio*, which lasted for the space of five hours; wherein there fell not above 100 of the Kings men, and about as many were wounded: Of the Dukes party there was above 400 slain, and above 1000 sorely hurt; amongst which 15 Captains, and one French Collonel: The Governours men took eleven Foot Colours, and three Horse Enfignes; and many of those who fled were miserably slain by the Country people of *Montferrat*: So as though there were not many that dy'd by the Sword in the Conflict, there were but few that kept with their Colours, or who retreated with the Duke into *Cresoentino*; whither the Duke being gotten, he was very diligent in assembling them together who were dispers'd abroad, and had abandoned him: Nor did his ill fortune cease here; for the Marquess of *Mortara* entering the *Langhe* with 1000 Dutch, with Cavalier *Peschiera*'s Brigade, and with the Alessandrian and Tortonesse Horse and Foot, took *Canelli*, *Cortemiglia*, *Calosso*, and other neighbouring places; there being none to withstand him in the field, nor to defend those places: And not long after Don *Sanchio di Luna* took *Gattinara*, and other neighbouring places, with the men of *Millain*, and block'd up the passage to *Vercelli* on that side; which City, being invironed by the Territories of *Montferrat* and *Millain*, and being streightned by the Garrisons of the new Fort of *Sandovale*, *Trina*, *St. Germano*, and *Gattinara*, was as it were besieged. A Gally was also parted from *Genoa* toward *Monaco*, with monies for Monsieur *di Beglie*, a Lord of many Castles between the Confines of *Nice* and *Provence*, who having always formerly adhered to the Dukes of *Savoy*, began upon some new distastes to waver in his former friendship; and having at present entertained new intelligence with the Governour, promised to infest the Dukes Territories on that side; who, the affairs of *Savoy* not being yet composed, had his Dominions molested on five sides, himself being absolutely routed in the field, and having lost most of his men: And that these so sad accidents might be accompanied with very sad circumstances; the Prince of *Conde*, who was the only prop and stay of the Dukes affairs, was some few days before, by order from the King, accused to be guilty of high Treason, and imprisoned in *Paris*; so as the Government of that Court being altered, wherein the Duke did confide; and the Princes of the Kingdom, who were his friends, being alienated from the King, they raised men to provide for their own affairs; and filling *France* with civil wars they could not only not succour the Duke in this his so great distress; but many of them who were come from *France* desired leave to be gone, being drawn either by their own interests, or for that they hoped for better entertainment there. The common opinion was, That the Duke being thus prosecuted by Fortune would not be able to bear it, and less able to withstand so great a violence; and that therefore being dejected in mind, and out of hope of ever making head again, he would lay down Arms, and indeavour some kind of peace: And yet, though over-laid, not overcome with such an accumulation of evils, and so great adversity; he, with a couragious mind, was not daunted nor dismaid amidst so many misfortunes:

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For relying upon the Forts of *Vercelli*, *Asti*, and *Nice*, the chief Keys of his Dukedom, he little valued what *Mortara*, *Luna*, or *Beglio* could do against his lesser Holds, which being lost by war would be recovered by peace: So as he began forthwith to make new Rampiers and Bulwarks about *Crescentino*: But on the other side, holding it necessary to allay that fortune by industry, and by cunning to lull those Fordes asleep which he could not possibly then withstand, he procured Monsieur *Lodovisio*, (who of an Archbishop was then made Cardinal, and continued in the same Nuntiature) and the French Embassadour, should go to the Governour and treat of peace: He sent along with these some discreet Gentlemen and Officers, as followers of the Embassadour, to the end that they might pry into the enemies ways, and into the Commanders intentions: And also that making the Rout to seem greater by their speeches, they might cunningly make it be believed that the war was at an end; and that the Duke not being able to resist any longer, was reduced to such a condition, as he could no longer refuse any conditions of peace, which he knew the Governour would imbrace more willingly then war: But there needed not so much cunning; for *Don Pietro di Toledo*, who was already weary of war, and heard nothing but the noise of Drums and Trumpets, and was therefore desirous of repose, wanted not those who either for that they thought it made for the Kings service, or (as it was afterwards laid to their charge at Court) out of secret intelligence held with the Duke, advised the Governour to use his victory moderately, telling him, *That the French were overcome, and the Duke so weakened, as he could no longer hold up his head; so as he must be forced to consent to any whatsoever conditions: That therefore he ought to proceed very warily in hazarding the affairs of the Crown in* Italy; *if by unseasonable prosecuting the war he should once more draw the French over, and make a change in the minds of the Princes of* Italy; *who though they might be content to see the Duke receive a blow, yet not being able to see him totally ruined, it was to be believed they would easily resent it: That as the Dukes suppression increased, the envy, hatred, and jealousies of other Princes would increase; That therefore it was a wise advice, To be content with an indifferent Victory, and not to lose what was already gotten, out of a desire of getting more: That he had been sufficiently victorious in so short a time, sufficiently triumphant; and that now there remained no more for him to do, then answerably to the Kings mind, to secure peace upon such conditions as might be tolerable to the Duke.* The Prince of *Ascoli* was the chief, nay, only Author of this; a fatal Counsellor, that the Duke being reduced to great extremities might have opportunity to raise himself up again. This Prince being till then much suspected by the Governour, for the power and streight intelligence he had formerly had with *Inoiosa*, by these his flattering speeches got into great power with the Governour; and his counsel was afterwards the more credited by the Cardinals and Embassadours coming to the Camp, and by the speeches spred abroad in the Army by the Dukes Spies: Wherefore the Governour being tickled to hear himself stiled Triumphant and Conquerour, would no longer listen to *Vives* his counsel, nor that of others, who weighing the state of affairs better, and the Dukes condition, thought it necessary to pursue the victory, and not to afford the

enemy

Enemy time to breathe: they told him that a good war was the best way to come by a good peace; but all this was to no purpose. The Cardinal and the Embassadour came to Don *Piedro* at *Trinero*, and desired him that he would let them know his intention touching the composing of the present affairs. Don *Piedro*, in a haughty manner, like a Conquerer, answered, that they were to discover what the Duke was minded to do, and then to acquaint him with it: they therefore returned to *Crescentino*, and from thence to *Chivasso*, whither the Duke having found the Governours inclination to an agreement was come: under pretence of well considering the state of affairs, he spun out the Treaty at length, to the end that he might the mean while find where that storm would fall, and that he might have the longer time to discover the proceedings of such Princes as were his friends, in whom the remainder of his hopes lay; for about this time Monsieur *de Verdon* was come to him from *France*, being sent by the King and Queen of *France*, to acquaint him with the Prince of *Conde*'s imprisonment: and perhaps to keep him their friend, in this so great commotion of the Kingdom, and to promise the favour and assistance of the Crown of *France*. In *Savoy* things were in a way to composition; for *Nemours* being abandoned by all assistance, and shut up with his men by Prince *Victorio* in barren Rocks, where they had not wherof to live, and being also restrained by *France* and *Burgony*, was forced to yield to the composition which Monsieur *le Grand*, Governour of *Burgony*, did then interpose himself on the Kings behalf, wherein he was accompanied by Monsieur *di Lazai*, Privy Counsellor to the King: and those commotions being appeased, the Prince was infallibly expected with many Souldiers. Marshal *Deguieres* was also expected with a great attendance both of Foot and Horse, who was very diligently preparing for his journey; and *Boglio* being become a Client of the Crown of *France*, which had newly taken him into its protection, had refused moneys from *Spain*, or to hold intelligence with the Spaniards: *Mortara* who was entred the Langhe with much fervour, having placed almost all his Souldiers in Garrisons in the places which he had taken; and not being able to keep the Militia of the Country any longer together, was grown cooler; so as betaking himself to pillage the fields, and neighbouring Towns, he minded more enriching himself, then making war; and the Venetians, whose affairs declined in *Friuli*, fearing that when the Duke should be quite overthrown, their turns would be next, began to be more open-handed, and to disburse moneys more freely for the recruting of his Army; and did moreover oblige themselves to pay unto him a certain sum of money during the war, which as they say, was 8000 crowns a moneth. The Duke being hereby incouraged began to reassume his former State, and to stand with the Governour, not only upon what was necessary, but even upon punctillios of honour; wherefore after having kept the Cardinal and the Embassadour some days with him, and not being willing neither that any overtures should proceed from him, suffer'd them to return to the Governour, who was then in *Trino*, to whom, not by way of any order from the Duke, but as it were of themselves, they told him in substance, though in good and handsome terms; *That if he*

would

would go with his Army out of Piedmont, *they thought by what they might learn by the ſpeech they had had with the Duke, that being deſirous of peace he would caſhier all the French, ſave ſuch as were his own domeſticks; always provided, that both the Kings would paſs their words to him, that he ſhould be kept indempnified both in life and State; that he would be the firſt that ſhould reſtore what had been taken, if he might be ſecured that the like ſhould be immediately done to him, and that the Governour would diſmiſs all the Dutch, Swiſſers, and ſome Troops of Horſe: And in the laſt place, in their Princes name, they demanded his paroll for the Venetians ſecurity, whilſt the King by his Embaſſadours ſhould treat of compoſing differences with the Archduke.* Conditions, which, to ſay the truth, were ſufficiently advantagious for the Articles of *Aſti*, and ſuch, as had the Duke been victorious, he could not well have demanded better; yet the Governour anſwered moderately enough: *That the King did not alter his mind by ſucceſs, who did not aſpire after the Dukes Dominions, but only by War to ſecure peace in* Italy; *and therefore offering to reſtore immediately what had been taken, when the Duke ſhould have done the like, he demanded that the two Dukes ſhould ſet down their differences in writing, and refer the deciſion thereof to the Emperour, paſſing their words reciprocally not to offend one another: That the Duke ſhould diſarm totally; in point whereof he offered to ſtand to what they ſhould ſay in the names of the Pope and of the King of* France. *This being obſerved, he promiſed to free the Dukes State, and to retreat with his Army into the State of* Millain: *He denied that the King was bound by the Articles of* Aſti *to lay down Arms, and therefore denying abſolutely to enter into the like obligation, he added, that when* Italy *ſhould be in peace, the King, who did abound in his own natural Militia, would need no Forreigners. He conſented to paſs his paroll for the Dukes indempnity, but not for the Venetians, in whoſe affairs, as not being comprehended within the Articles of* Aſti, *he ſaid, the King of* France *was not to intermeddle; and that therefore this was no place to treat thereof, nor had he any Commiſſion to do ſo.* It was hard in effect for the Duke, whilſt the Enemy was armed in his own Dominions, to lay down thoſe Arms which he had with ſuch reſentment re-aſſumed, as not able to endure that the Governour ſhould keep armed in the State of *Millain*: And on the other ſide, it might ſeem ſtrange, that the Governour who was entred *Piedmont* with intention to make the Duke lay down Arms, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be treated as if he had been overcome, by leaving the Duke in Arms, and going out of *Piedmont* juſt when he was poſſeſs'd of Victory: And therefore both of them ſtanding pertinaciouſly not to conſent to what was propoſed by each other, it was thought to be impoſſible to perfect the buſineſs; it was requiſite therefore to cut this knot in two with the Sword, which ſeemed to be ſo hard to untye by Negotiation. But the Governour, who abounded then in Forces, wanted will; and the Duke who wanted Forces was very willing; and the Cardinal and Embaſſadour keeping the Treaty on Foot, and giving continual hopes that they would return with more moderate propoſals, ſuffered not the Negotiation to be broken off.

The Duke this mean while fearing the Enemies Forces every day leſs then other, and his hopes of approaching aid encreaſing, and being ſufficiently aſſured of the Governours no great inclination to fight,

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and of the desire he had to return to *Millain*; and being encouraged by the many disorders which he knew was in the Enemies Army, would not go a jot less from his first demands; but sharpening his wits about the interpretation of the Articles of *Asti*, he pretended that the Venetians were therein comprehended, at least under that head, where it was provided that the Kings Forces should not cause jealousie in the Italian Princes; he therefore demanded that the King should be bound to secure them. This mean while two moneths past on without any action, though the weather, which had been very bad till the battle of *Lucedio*, turn'd to be extraordinarily fair, and therefore very fit for the field; in which time had not the Negotiation of peace, or the Governours backwardness, fomented by the advice of others, slackened and almost taken the edge from off the Kings Forces, they would certainly have made important progress, and the Duke might peradventure have consented to such conditions as he could not be brought unto by the Cardinal nor Embassadour: In which time the Spanish Army being no less wearied in mind through idleness, then in body by labour and hardship, did diminish very much, many of them daily dying, many running away; for the Countrey round about was desolate, and not able to feed them, and the horse were fain to go daily ten miles for forrage, and after so many mile returning were very much weakened: The Heads of the Army disagreed in opinion, and were not only unsatisfied one with another, but all of them were much displeased with the Governour, whose authority grew to be as little valued by the Commanders as by the common Souldiers; so as all Military Discipline being given over, all obedience lost, and all respect, all was full of disorder and confusion: To this was added the want of monies; for the Army having been at vast expence, none came from *Spain* where the War was abominated; nor were those of the State of *Millain*, who were already exhausted, able to furnish sufficient for the daily present need; and *Don Piedro* himself expected nothing more then that the season, contrary to the natural course of Winter, should alter, and becoming less cold, might afford him a fair pretence to retreat. On the other side, the Dukes affairs increased in reputation; he received plenty of money from the Venetians, and abounded in men; for Prince *Victorio* having at last composed the affairs of *Savoy* had brought about 5000 Foot into *Piedmont*, and 600 Horse; some whereof were his own, some belonging to *Nemours*; and Marshal *Degnieres* was either already come thither, or being come out of *Dolpheny*, was ready to come; and all the whole people of *Piedmont* (*a singular example of the Subjects duty to their natural Prince*) flocking diligently thither, were most ready to succour him; so as the Duke raised like another *Antæus* from his mother Earth, was grown more vigorous then at first; and being superiour to the Governour in Horse, was Master of the Field. At last *Don Piedro*, who was bitter pleased with peace, though upon bad conditions, then to continue in the danger, trouble, and expence of War, seeing the Dukes obdurancy, and thinking he should have done enough, if in the conclusion of the Peace he should have excluded the power of *France*, had at last, though too late and in vain, recourse to the Cardinal; to whom he profess'd he was ready to com-

pose busineſſes with the Duke by his means, in any whatſoever manner, yea even with paſſing his word for the Venetians ſecurity; and therefore deſired him that he would return to the Duke, and bring back with him the final concluſion of Peace: A thing which being afterwards known did not a little incenſe the King, and the whole Court of *France*. Wherefore the Embaſſadour, by particular order from the King, demanded that the Governour ſhould ſend an Embaſſadour in extraordinary to *Paris*; where the Kings aim was, that the whole buſineſs of Peace might be carried on by his own proper intereſt. But the Duke, under pretence that he would not alter a tittle of the Articles of *Aſti* without the conſent of the Princes who did intervene therein, excuſed himſelf; and ſo the Treaty of Peace broke totally off, to the ſmall liking of the Cardinal and Embaſſadour, who ſeeming little pleaſed with the Governour, gave over the Treaty, and return'd, the one to *Turin*, and the other to the Charter-houſe at *Pavia*: And the cold coming on, and the earth wholly covered with ſnow, the Governour reſolved to return to the State of *Millain*, having notwithſtanding fortified St. *Germano*, and left *Thomaſo Caracciolo* there with his Brigade, and diſtributed part of the Army into *Trino*, *Penteſtura*, and other Towns of *Montferrat*, not without the Duke of *Mantua*'s conſent, who being then come to *Caſalle* could not refuſe it: He moreover gave order to the Dutch at *Santia*, that they ſhould abandon that Town, and burn it, to the end that the Enemy might not poſſeſs himſelf of it. He returned afterwards about the beginning of Winter with the reſt of his Army into the State of *Millain*, and with his Horſe, which did not amount to 700, worthy to be commended rather for his good inclination to keep up the honour and grandezza of his King, than for any happy ſucceſs, which he himſelf marr'd by his ſo many irreſolutions; it being moſt certain, that not being able to behave himſelf as victorious, he afterwards allow'd the Duke field-room enough to treat with him as Conquerour: Being retreated he quarter'd the reſt of his Army in the Towns of *Lomellina*, and he himſelf went to *Vicenza*, near the *Poe*, where re-aſſuming his warlike mind, when it was now no longer time to do it, he thought the Spring was too long a coming on, which he much deſired, that he might once more (as he publickly profeſſed) re-aſſault *Piedmont* more vigorouſly, and with greater reſolution: But he forbore not this mean while to ſtreighten *Vercelli*, hoping that by the falling thereof into his hands this Winter, it might open the way unto him the next Spring to greater and more important Enterprizes which he had deſigned. The Prince of *Maſſerano* was Maſter of a ſmall State beyond the *Seſia*, between *Vercelli* and *Gattinara*, even almoſt in the Duke of *Savoys* mouth; and as the neighbourhood of greater Princes is always, if not troubleſome, at leaſt ſuſpected by thoſe who are leſſer; the Prince of *Maſſerano* out of both theſe reſpects was not well ſatisfied with the Duke: Being therefore to free himſelf from the Dukes continual moleſtations, and to keep from worſe, he treated with the Governour to put himſelf into the King of *Spains* protection, and upon certain conditions to receive a Spaniſh Garriſon; which conditions, together with the deſired protection, being eaſily granted him, by reaſon of the great opportunity which

which was thereby had of approaching nearer, and of ſtreightening *Vercelli* more; therefore the agreement being made, the Prince was preſently required to receive in the Garriſon: But he proceeding cautiouſly, would not admit of them till ſuch time as the King of *Spain* had allowed the conditions; and whilſt expedition from *Spain* was foreſlowed, the Duke got a hint of the buſineſs; ſo thinking prevention to be the only remedy againſt ſo eminent a danger, he ſent Prince *Victorio* in the *Chriſtmas* holy-days with 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, to ſecure himſelf of the Principality. The Town of *Meſſerano* yielded preſently to the Prince *Victorio*; for the Princeſs of the place, her husband being abſent, fearing leſt the Town might be burnt, and ſhe and her ſeven children ſlain, ſurrendered the Town upon certain conditions. He went then to *Gattinara*, and having plaid upon it with his Artillery in vain, he was forced to quit the Enterprize, either out of ſickneſs which befell himſelf, or for that he heard the Governour was gone from *Valenza* to *Romagnano* intending to relieve it. Being returned to *Meſſerano*, and forced to tarry there a while by reaſon of his ſickneſs, he ſent a French Captain with a great many both Horſe and Foot to attempt *Creppacuore*, a place of the ſame Principality; whither the Princeſs was fled, and had received in a Spaniſh Garriſon of 1000 Foot under the Sergeant *Franciſca Bernardine Vertua*; from whence the French being after a ſleight aſſault beaten back, they retreated to certain Cottages not far off; where whilſt they thought themſelves ſecure, they were unexpectedly ſurpriſed by Don *Alphonſo Pimontello*; who falling upon them courageouſly with ſome Foot and Horſe in thoſe Cottages, routed them, and ſlew 200 of them, and took 200 more priſoners, together with their Captain: The Prince being recovered reſolved to make the ſame attempt of *Creppacuore* with a greater force and with more men ſent unto him by his Father; the taking whereof (it being inviroued with ſteep Clifts and high Rocks) proved very difficult by reaſon of the inconvenience of bringing Cannon thither; and yet he went with 8000 Foot, and 400 Horſe, and taking the places round about it, and particularly ſuch from whence it might be relieved, he began to ſkirmiſh with them that were within from a Hill, which being very near and very high, commanded the Town; and the Cannon coming the next day he began the Battery; and having made a ſufficient breach he fell to an aſſault, which he did with ſuch violence, as thoſe within abandoned the Town without making much reſiſtance, and retreated to the Caſtle; which being preſently plaid upon by four pieces of Cannon came to compoſition: But ſome differences ariſing touching the performance of Articles, the Battery was again begun more furiouſly then before, and from a more fitting place; Prince *Victorio* being not a little incens'd, who thought himſelf mocked by the Captains cavelling; the Battery continuing ſome days ſtill more bitterly, the defendants not truſting to their forces, yielded up the Caſtle on condition the Princeſs and her childrens lives ſhould be ſaved, and that the Garriſon ſhould be permitted to march out only with their Arms, but without bullet, powder or match; which whilſt all was faithfully performed, two Barrels of powder fell unfortunately on fire, and burnt many of thoſe that had ſurrendered, and many who

for fear threw themselves over the wall; could not escape their fates; the rest who escaped the misfortune, went to the State of *Millain*, being convoyed by four Troops of Horse, according to the Articles of surrender; where *Verrua* being condemn'd to dye, suffer'd for having defended the Town no better.

The Governour knowing by experience that his men might long make good the Town, had sent Don *Sanchio di Luna* with succour to *Creppacuore*, who finding the passes well fortified, and not being able to come to *Creppacuore*, the surrender whereof he heard not of, without worsting them, he began to intrench himself within Musket shot of Prince *Victorio*'s Fortifications; and whilest he was discovering the Sconces there happened a sleight Skirmish, which afterwards increased by the coming in of men of both parties, wherein, whilest Don *Sanchio* fought valiantly, advancing with a Pike in his hand, he was shot with two Musket bullets, and fell down dead immediately; and *Carlo di Sanguine*, Camp-Master to a Brigado of Neapolitans, was taken Prisoner, together with a Nephew of his, one Captain being slain, and another taken prisoner, the Kings men retreated to within the Rampiers, and afterwards hearing the Town was surrendred, retreated to the rest of his men: But the Marshal *Degnieres* being at last come to *Piedmont*, with about 8000, (what Foot, what Horse,) amongst which were many of the *Gens d' Armes des Ordonnances* of the Kingdom, who carried the Kings own Enfigns; the Duke increasing in power and reputation, since it appeared that the King of *France* adhered unto him with display'd Banners, was not idle; being become superiour in Horse, he over-ran the Country, and, without meeting with any opposition, was Master of the Field; hearing of the taking of *Messarano* and *Creppacuore*, he being desirous to do somewhat remarkable, fell into the lower *Montferrat*, where there was no opposition save what was made by *Martara* in the Langhe, who had hardly men enough to Garrison the places he had taken: The Duke therefore commanded Count *Guido* to go with all his men from *Asti* to *San Damiano*, where he, and the two Princes, *Victorio* and *Thomas*, and the Marshal *Degnieres* met, with a great train of Horse, Foot, and Artillery; and having presently possess'd themselves of the hills, and placed 24 Bombards in several convenient places, they began a furious battery on four sides of the Town, wherein there were no Souldiers, save such as were of the common people of *Montferrat*, under Captain *Andrea Prando*, who was slain by the fall of a house which was beaten down: The Souldiers being left without a Commander, whilest they ran with more courage than order to defend the place which was assaulted, left the rest of the Town unprovided of defence; which disorder the Captains of the French Horse perceiving, they commanded their men to light immediately off horse back, and to mount the walls where they were left unguarded, wherein succeeding, with little labour and less loss they took the Town, which they afterwards miserably plundered, and used cruelty upon the Defendents, who, a little before the Enemy entered, had either agreed, or were ready to agree upon surrender of the Town on Articles to Count *Guido*, who assaulted the Town on the other side; *San Damiano* being taken, the Duke gave order that the Walls should

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be sleighted, to the end that if they should come to restitution, the State should be bereft of that Fort, which was as a thorn in his eyes.

The Governours of *Montferrat* and *Alessandria* were this mean while come to *Alba* with 8000 Foot and 700 Horse, intending to relieve *San Damiano*; but hearing that it was surrendred, and apprehending that the Duke might fall upon *Alba* next (which being weakly walled, and but badly furnish'd with Ammunition and Victuals, they thought it was not tenable, and therefore went from it;) and leaving *Ferrante Rho* there with his Brigade, and 500 Montferrians, those of *Alessandria* returned home, and the others to *Casale*: and not long after they were gone, *Ferrante Rho*, by order from the Duke of *Milan*, who was loath to hazzard the Kings Forces and honour in the defence of that Town, went with his men to *Felizzano*, having dismantled the Castle of *Neviglie* in his passage, to the end the Enemy might not take it: in whose place 400 Dutch of *Zuiz* his Regiment were sent thither, and 500 Foot from *Casale*, much too small a Garrison for the circuit of the Walls. The Duke seeing it abandoned had his eye presently upon it, thinking to take it; and making himself first master of many places in that Country, drew neer it: Count *Alerame St. Georgio*, Governour of *Alba*, was very diligent in repairing the Walls of that City, where they were weakest, and in most danger, and in making all necessary provisions for defence; and finding afterwards, that the Duke being gone with some Forces from *Barbaresco*, to discover the situation of that City, and the new Works which he had made; he sent some Souldiers to possess themselves of a certain high past, which stood upon the way whereby the Duke was to go; which they did, and as soon as they saw the Dukes men come to discover, they skirmished stoutly with them; and the skirmish lasted a long while, with variety of fortune and prejudice on both sides; after which the Duke returned to *Barbaresco*, and sent Count *Guido* to take in *Alba*, with the French Foot, and *Cavagliere Guirini* with those of *Piedmont*, each of them having with them eight pieces of Artillery, and 800 Horse, who coming before the Town, raised Batteries on two sides, and began to play upon the Walls: those who were within were not wanting in making defence, they diligently repaired the Walls wheresoever they were beaten down; and made out many bold sallies, not without some advantage; and assaulted the Enemies Works: but at last, their Powder being wasted, many of their best Souldiers being slain in skirmishing, and in defending the Walls, they began also to want Victuals; and seeing no hopes of succour (for Don *Pietro* being inferiour to the Duke in Horse would not only not expose his men to the danger of being lost, but had long before sent for them back that did defend it) they were forced to surrender, leaving the City upon honourable conditions in Count *Guido*'s hands, who received it in the Dukes name, the twelfth day after the Siege: at the same time *Mortara*, not thinking himself able to resist the Dukes Forces; having first barbarously burnt *Canelli*, abandoned all the other Castles which he had taken in the *Langhe*, where he had committed infinite extortions.

The Governour thinking it too unworthy a thing to suffer the Duke to over-run the Country thus victoriously, and that he should so plainly

ly abandon it, and should suffer the chief Towns of *Montferrat* to be taken, and plundered, which State he had so often profest to protect, and for the occasion whereof he had been so much troubled, and had chiefly begun the war; he indeavoured to provide against it by some means or other: he assembled all the men he could in *Alessandria*, which amounting to about 14000 fighting men, he sent them to *Felizzano*; and the Duke fearing *Asti* entred thereinto with his men: but finding that the Governour had soon distributed his men in *Alessandrino* and *Tortonese*, he with his Souldiers, and with the French Horse, suddenly assaulted *Montiglio*, a great Town in *Montferrat*; and having made way enough for an assault with his Artillery, the Towns-men finding themselves not able to resist him, and fearing the Town might be plundered, they surrendred it upon Articles. But the French having heard a certain whisper at their entring into the Town (as the Dukes Captains pleaded in their excuse) the Town, contrary to Articles, was miserably plundered, and put to the sword. Thus *Montferrat* was exposed to troubles occasioned by her friends, who without defending her laid her waste; and was likewise exposed to be injured by the Enemy, who without any compassion ruined her: in which vicissitude of affairs, it was no little wonder to consider that the French who fought not many years before in the behalf of *Mantua*, against the Duke of *Savoy*, should now under the King of *France* his Colours, and with the *Gens d'ordonnance* of that Kingdom, joyn'd to those of *Savoy*, take the Duke of *Mantua*'s Territories, who was a Friend and Cousen to their King, without any preceding injury done; and on the contrary, that the Spaniards formerly so much suspected to bear ill will to the same Duke of *Mantua*, had not only made his State be readily restored unto him; but to the end that he might the more securely injoy it, had with so much expence put the world into a hurly burly, and against a Prince so neerly allied to their King. Thus doth fortune often alter the State of affairs, and humane interests and affections often more then she: but as for the King of *France*, though he, and all that Nation which had profest to maintain the Duke of *Mantua* against the Duke of *Savoy*, yea even against the King of *Spain*, when by the sinister means of his State-ministers, who joyn'd with the Duke of *Savoy*, they were ill satisfied with the Duke of *Mantua*, because he would not give way to the Kings demands, in pardoning the Rebels; and because valuing their friendship and authority less he had so wholly betaken himself to the protection of the Crown of *Spain*: yet the Kingdom being for the most part govern'd according to the will and pleasure of the Queen Mother, near allied to the Duke of *Mantua*, and who held intelligence with the Court of *Spain*; and consequently was more inclined to favour him, then careful of the other Dukes affairs, or of the observing the Treaty: the King therefore, who by reason of his years, depended wholly upon her will, did not only patiently bear with the Duke of *Mantua*'s stubbornness, and that he should accommodate himself according to the condition of times, and his own affairs; but to favour him, and not to oppose his Father in Laws intentions at the same time in *Italy*, had expressly forbidden the Marshal to go into *Italy*; and being gone, recalled him upon severe Edicts: and finding him afterwards

terwards contumacious, and hearing the Spaniſh Agents, and thoſe of *Mantua* make grievous complaints, he ſent to put him out of the Government of *Dolpheny*: and as for the Marſhal, though he pleaded for his ſo great diſobedience, his being bound by the Articles of *Aſti* to aſſiſt *Piedmont* without any orders to that purpoſe; alſo his zeal to the Kings honour, which he ſaid the Governour indeavoured to prejudice, by altering the Treaty of Peace; yet the common opinion was, that the Dukes fair ſpeeches, and extraordinary favours, he being naturally apt to win the love of all men, the Venetian Gold, Military Courage which was yet very powerful with him, and the deſire of abating the ſpaniſh honour in *Italy*, were of power to work upon him; and therefore being come he ſtuck not to favour the Duke, yea though againſt *Monferrat*; either for that not knowing whither to turn himſelf better, his coming might not be thought to have been altogether vain; or for the aforeſaid reſpects, to ſhew ſome reſentment againſt the Duke of *Mantua*: ſo as he made himſelf be felt, and kept the Spaniſh Forces ſhort and low whilſt he was in *Italy*: yet *Thomaſo Caracciola*, Captain of the Garriſon of St. *Germano*, did at this time ſomewhat ſuſtain the reputation of the Spaniſh Forces; for the Duke being deſirous to get that place, ſent the Princes *Victorio* and *Thomaſo* thither, who reſolving not to fall upon that place, becauſe they ſaw it was provided with a good Garriſon, and with an excellent Commander, and well fortified with Trenches, took up their quarters in the neighbouring ruines of *Santia*, whereby keeping back ſuccour and proviſions, and by diſturbing the way, they indeavoured to beſiege the Town, as it were, at a large diſtance, expecting ſome fit occaſion to effect their deſires: but this enterpriſe turned much to the Dukes prejudice; for *Caracciola* being well prepared for defence, made many ſallies out of the Town, and did ſo moleſt the Enemy, as by little and little he brought moſt of them to their end: moreover, he ſtreightned *Vercellis* yet more, by taking ſometimes the Victuals which were ſent thither. True it is, that *Clauſio* did ſometimes cry quittance with him; for he being ready upon warning, and having learnt that a Convoy of Victuals and Ammunition went with a Guard of 150 Foot, and 50 Horſe commanded by *Gerardo Gambacorta*, Captain of *Caracciola's* Brigade, from *Tricerto* to St. *Germano*; he ſent 1000 Foot and 400 Horſe from *Vercelli* under Colonel *Meziers*, who lighting upon them in the mid-way at *Monteil*, fought them, and *Clauſio's* Horſe chaſed thoſe of the Convoy: though *Gambacorta* diſpoſing of the Carriages in manner of Trenches, reſiſted for two hours ſpace: yet being over-powered by number, moſt of his men were cut in pieces, *Gambacorta's* ſelf ſorely wounded, and taken priſoner, and the Convoy remained abſolutely in *Clauſio's* hands.

Thus the war in *Piedmont* varied, from the beginning of *September*, till the beginning of the next Spring, in the year 1617. before which time the Marſhal fearing to loſe his Government of *Dolpheny*, and apprehending much more the anger of the Court, returned to *France*, and freed the Governour from the fear of the Forces of that Nation, which was ſo main a help to the Dukes affairs; which though they ſuffer'd not a little by the King of *France* his preciſe and punctual command; yet new, and unexpected accidents hapned ſoon in *Paris*, which made

made the Duke hope for greater favour. The King of *France* was much molested by troubles and sedition raised in his Kingdom by Princes, who being distasted at *Conde's* imprisonment, and displeased with the Authority and Government of the Queen Mother, went from the Court; wherefore upon his own inclination (for increasing in years, he now began to the condition of the State, and of his own affairs) or instigated, as it was more commonly held, by Monsieur *de Luines* who was native of *Avignone*, and a great favourite of his, caused *Concino* the Florentine, Marquess *d' Ancre*, to be suddenly slain, he who being got into great authority by the Queens extream favours, made her become so odious to all the Princes, and afterwards he removed the Queen from him; and sending her to *Bloys*, had recalled all the Princes and Officers of the Kingdom, who being herewith very well satisfied went speedily to Court, and were very ready to obey him: the Mother being removed from her Son, she being much inclined to the Spaniards, and the Princes who were friends to the Duke being taken to the Court instead of her, the Duke had much reason to hope for better things, both from the King, and from the Forces of the Kingdom; wherefore he began to care the less for the Governour, who having gotten new men, and disposed of them in several places, threatned to enter *Piedmont* the next Spring. But the Venetians were not idle this mean while in *Friuli*: when the Austrian Army had abandoned *Lucinizo*, and was gone from thence to *Lizonzo*; they were masters of the Field, from *Lucinizo* downward, and had taken all the Archdukes Towns, save *Gradisca*: which being the harder to be taken by reason of the new Fortifications, the Venetian Army gave over the thought of taking it by force, and betook themselves to the Country which lies above *Lucinizo*, to the end that succeeding therein, they might draw neer *Goritia*; and because the Enemies Army might be an impediment to this, which lay beyond the River, over against *Lucinizo*, and sent Forces often to scoure the Country on this side, and to carry away much prey; as did likewise the Garrison of *Gradisca*; they therefore did all they could to prevent this mischief by building Forts, and making Trenches on their side the bank; they then applied themselves to St. *Martino* in *Crusca*, a strong Town amongst the Mountains, somewhat distant from *Lizonzo*: to which purpose *Pompeo Justiniano* went to *Vipulciano* which stands upon the road to St. *Martino*, and took it: but afterwards, better considering how hard it would be to take St. *Martino*, which might be as well succoured from *Goritia*, as *Gradisca*, by the old Stone-bridge which was not far off, changing their minds, and deferring it till another time, they resolved to make themselves first masters of the Bridge, that they might not only cut off relief from St. *Martino*, but open the way thereby to *Goritia*, as *Alviano* formerly had done. The Bridge was defended by a great Tower, at the head thereof, but after the ancient manner, and flank'd with new Fortifications: which the Venetians being desirous, as it was necessary, to take, they resolved to build a Fort on some elevated place on this side the River, from whence they might play upon the Tower, and the Bridge: and *Justiniano* being gone with some other Captains into those parts, to discover the rises thereabouts, carried with him a good

strength

ſtrength of men; between whom and the Archdukes men, who were come to defend the Bridge, a skirmiſh began on both ſides of the banks; which though it were to little purpoſe, yet the Venetians were prejudiced thereby, who left their Camp-maſter *Fuſtiniano* there, being ſhot through the reins with a Muſket-bullet, and was carryed to *Luciniſo* where within a few hours he died. Count *Martinengo* ſucceeded in his place, but not being able to diſcharge it by reaſon of his great age, Don *Fabio de Medici*, Baſtard Son to *Coſmo* the firſt, great Duke of *Tuſcany*, was choſen with the Title of Governour General; he was an old Commander, and had diſcharged places of chiefeſt imployment in the wars of *Flanders* and *Hungary*, wherefore his Authority was great.

The Venetians forbore not, though *Fuſtiniano* was dead, to proſecute the building of the Fort, as they had intended; wherefore they ſent *Martinengo* with ſome forces to get footing in a little Hill which *Fuſtiniano* had made choice of to build the Fort upon; which the enemy being aware of they ſent Captain *Fur*, a French man, to prepoſſeſs it; between whom and *Martinengo* there happened a fierce Skirmiſh; to the which freſh ſuccour coming in from the other ſide, the Venetians were forced to give back, and to leave the Hill in the Auſtrians poſſeſſion; who preſently built a Fort upon it, which from the multitude of Cheſnut Trees that were there they called *the Fort of the wood*, or *of Cheſnuts*: And the Venetians built another Fort on a higher Hill, from whence, with two Cannons and a Culvering they broke down the Bridge; wherefore the Auſtrians, that they might not loſe the conveniency of the River, threw another Bridge over a little higher upon an Angle of the River, which was ſheltered from the Venetians Fort. The ſickneſs began now to rage again in the Venetian Camp, whereof *Martinengo* falling deſperately ſick, and the new Governour *Medici* not being yet come to the Camp, the war grew worſe with the Venetians; and the Auſtrians aſſuming courage from *Fuſtiniano*'s death, *Martinengo*'s ſickneſs, and *Medici*'s abſence, footed over the River oftner then before, and came even to underneath *Mariano*, prejudicing the Venetians very much: Count *d'Ampier* went out of *Gradiſca* with two Troops of Horſe, and fell by night upon *Garuggio*, a Town within two miles of *Palma*, where he utterly routed a company of Curaſſiers who were quartered there: And Don *Baldaſſar Marradas*, in emulation of him, went out alſo by night out of the ſame Town and aſſaulted the quarters of *Chiopris*, and did much prejudice them; and not many days after the Garriſon of *Gradiſca*, led on by *Straſoldo* Governour of the Town, came by night to *Ceruiggiano*, a River not far from *Palma*, took and fired ſome neighbouring Towns, and eſpecially the chiefeſt, which takes its name from the River, and is called *Ceruiggiano*; which if it had been fortified by the Auſtrians, as it was by them abandoned, *Palma* would have been excluded from maritime commerce with *Venice*: Wherefore the Venetians, finding the danger, fell immediately to fortifie it, and put therein a gallant Garriſon. At laſt General *Medici* came to the Camp, who preſently fell to order ſuch things as he found out of order: And afterwards being very deſirous to do ſome thing which might be worthy of his name, and of the expectation which

was had of him, was much vex'd to find that things were not prepared for his designs. He found out daily more and more the corruption of Military discipline, which was fomented by the avarice of some of the Venetian Captains and Gentlemen, Officers of the Common-wealth, who being more intent to inrich themselves then to fight, gave too much license to the Souldiers, contrary to military rules: He was yet more distasted, for that being by the Common-wealths Letters Patents to be superiour over all except the Commissary General, he found at first the execution thereof in the Camp difficult: Amidst which difficulties the enemy sent Monsieur *de la Foglia*, a French Captain, with a Troop of Horse beyond the River against some light-Horse which guarded a certain Trench upon the Bank of *Lisonzo*; and both sides being succour'd, the Skirmish grew almost to be a Battel; wherein *Trautmistorfs* passing over the River, and *Trivigiano* coming with many men from *Lucinizza*, the business was manfully disputed; but the Venetians light-Horse not being able to resist the solid order of the Dutch Horse, whilst they would have retreated did so confound themselves with their Curassiers which were on their backs, the one and the other of them were charged and chased quite thorow their own Foot which were come in to their succour; who were therefore wholly disordered by their own Horse, and slain by those of the enemy. In this scuffle many Corsicks were slain, and Sergeant Major *Raffaele*, Son to the dead *Fustiniano*, was taken prisoner; and *Giovan Dominico da Ornano*, a very valiant Corsick Commander: Nor was this the worst; for the Venetians who retreated, not thinking themselves safe in the Trenches of *Lucinizza*, were minded to get into the Castle which was above, had not some Commanders stoutly withstood them, who keeping their own men several ways from running, and particularly by shutting the Gates upon them, hindered their flight, incouraged them, and making them stand, preserved those Quarters and *Lucinizza*, which otherwise had been abandoned, and left in the power of the enemy; who fearing the Artillery of *Lucinizza*, repast back over the River, and went to their wonted quarters, having lost but few of their men, though their General and Matradas were sleightly wounded; and *Foglia*, who advanced too far, slain: Though *Trivigiano* shew'd great courage upon this occasion, yet did he deserve to be reprehended by the Commissary and by *Medici*, for having ingaged himself and so many others in that action of his own will, and without their knowledge. The sickness still increased in the Camp, which made the Souldiers still run faster away, and especially those of the Country; and the best Souldiery were yet more consumed by Skirmishes: Wherefore the scarcity of men increasing, the Commissary and *Medici* indeavoured, by all the means they could, to perswade the Switzers and Grisons that were in the Camp to fight against the Archduke; which they, being prohibited to do by the League which they have with the House of *Austria*, had not as yet done; having only served as Garrisons to defend such Towns as were possess'd by the Common-wealth: which having at last obtained, it increased their numbers for a while, they being 1500 in number; but it made their scarcity of men greater soon after; for the Grisons Country being for this respect prohibited more

strictly

ſtrictly from having any commerce with the State of *Millain*; the chief Rulers amongſt the Griſons, that they might have that Decree revoked, recalled all thoſe of their Nation home who were in ſervice for the Common-wealth; and forbad paſſage through their State to all Forreigners who went to ſerve the Venetians: By this increaſe *Medici* hoped to ſurpriſe St. *Martino* in *Cruſca*, eſpecially knowing how few there were there in Garriſon: He therefore departed about midnight in very good order from *Vipulciano*, where he had muſtered thoſe who he intended for that enterpriſe, and got before day near the Caſtle; but a certain whiſper ariſing amongſt his men, and a ſmall light being diſcovered in the Caſtle, the Souldiers fell into ſo horrible dread and confuſion as they immediately ran away ſhamefully without being purſued; which *Medici*, lighting off horſeback, ſeeking to obviate even by expoſal of his own perſon, he was thrice thrown down, and almoſt trod under foot: At this time *Antonio Lando* came to the Camp, who ſucceeded *Priuli* in the place of Commiſſary-general; who ſeeing that the whole ſucceſs of the war conſiſted in taking *Goritia*, and that this was not to be done without paſſing over *Lizonſo*; he firſt built ſome Forts, and made ſome Trenches about *Gradiſca*, to hinder excurſions, and then bethought himſelf how he might paſs over the River: And both he and *Medici* holding it impoſſible to paſs over between *Goritia* and *Gradiſca*, by reaſon of the enemies oppoſition; they learned that there was a certain Bridge over the Channel of *Ronzina* which was but weakly guarded; and though it were very hard to get thither, they being to paſs through the enemies Country, and yet harder to fall down by the *Ronzina* into *Goritia*; yet thinking they ſhould have done much if they ſhould paſs the River, they would put it to a trial: Which that they might the better effect, they reſolved to aſſault the enemy in ſix other places, to the end that being aſſaulted in ſo many other places at once, they might not be able to keep them from paſſing over the Bridge at *Ronzina*; which deſigne though it were very well laid, and for the moſt part well executed, yet had they not good ſucceſs therein, except at St *Floriano*, which was taken by Count *Nicholo Gualdo* by a Petard; and which being upon their backs, and not far from the Fort of the wood, whereat the Common-wealths Commanders aimed, it was preſently fortified and furniſhed with a ſtrong Garriſon. *Lando* and *Medici* being beaten from this enterpriſe, and deſpairing to be able to work their end, which was to paſs over the River, they hoped to effect it by another un-thought of way: The paſſage over the River was not interdicted underneath *Gradiſca*; for the Territories of *Monfalcone* lying on this ſide the Bank, the Venetians were maſters of it as well by antient right as having newly won it by the Sword; but the paſſage though it was eaſie in this part, was to little purpoſe; for he who will paſs from the County of *Monfalcone* to *Goritia* muſt paſs over the Mountains antiently called *Giapedi*, and now *del Carſo*, which beginning from *Liſonzo* more below *Luciniſo*, and running in a continual Line even to the Sea, do wholly divide theſe two Counties: Mountains which are horridly rough and craggy, and not eſteemed paſſable by an Army; at the bottom whereof, towards *Goritia*, runs the *Vipao*, a River which falls into the *Liſonzo*, over againſt the River *Para*; which though it be

leſſer then *Liſonzo*; yet though *del Carſo* ſhould be paſt over, they muſt meet with the ſame difficulties, and be oppoſed by the enemy who were incamped not far from thence; ſo as theſe difficulties being thought not to be overcome, it was always held deſperate to attempt *Goritia* by this way; But it being found by ſome conjectures at this time, that the Mountains were not ſo rough and craggy as they were imagined, Marqueſs *Oratio del Monte* was ſent to make the diſcovery; who having made all neceſſary diligence brought word back that there were ſome places by which they might bring their Artillery, and avoid the other difficulties. The Commiſſary and *Medici* being overjoy'd at ſo good news, out of hopes of good ſucceſs, reſolved by all means to paſs over the River beneath *Gradiſca*, and paſſing from thence over the *Carſo* to go to the beſieging of *Goritia*: But neceſſary preparations for the effecting it were not anſwerable to their hopes and deſires; the ſcarcity of Souldiers ſtill increaſed, partly by death, partly by running away, and particularly thoſe of the Country, who were never in the Camp but upon the pay-days; many of the Griſons, hearing the command of their Superiors, were already gone, and many were caſhiered for having been too inſolent, and having cauſed ſedition in the Camp: The Hollanders delaied their coming ſtill, and a Regiment of 4000 French which the Duke *de Mayne* ſhould have brought to *Friuli* at the Common-wealths coſt, were kept back either by reaſon of the new troubles in *France*, or by the Griſons Decrees: To this was added, that being to go beyond the River to attempt an uncertain enterprize, (which the newer it was, was the more difficult and dangerous) they could not abandon the Country on this ſide the River which had coſt them ſo much pains to get, and ſo much money to fortifie: So as to divide thoſe few that were in the Camp, was to hazzard the loſs of what was certain, to go, with much danger to themſelves, to get what was uncertain: The hopes of new ſupplies were but few, by reaſon of the times, which brought the Common-wealth into great ſtreights: for the Duke of *Savoys* Rout at the Abby of *Lucedio* happened but a little before, which made them not only diſburſe good ſtore of money to recruit him, but alſo to provide experienced Souldiers and Commanders upon their Confines towards the State of *Millain*, leſt they might be probably aſſaulted on that ſide: So as the Venetian Army was fain to delay the enterpriſe of *Carſo*, and to expect the coming of the Hollanders, which was thought could not be long: This new enterprize met alſo with much difficulty by the coming of new ſupplies from *Germany* into *Friuli*, whereby the Auſtrian Camp was increaſed, and there was a ſpeech of others that would ſhortly come: The Common-wealths troubles were alſo infinitely multiplied by the new-taken reſolution of *Pietro di Girona*, Duke of *Oſſuna*, and Vice-roy of *Naples*; who, either ſeconding the Kings intention, had declared himſelf to ſide with the Archduke; or out of his particular hatred to the Venetians, had rigg'd up Gallies and Galliconns in the Haven at *Naples*, giving out that he would ſend them into the Adriatick Sea, not only to aſſiſt the Archduke by diverſion, but to hinder the Common-wealth in the poſſeſſion which they pretend unto of the ſaid Sea, and to trouble their Maritime Traffick: And though the ſame courage

of

of mind appeared to be amongst those Conscript Fathers amidst so many troubles and adversities, wherewith persisting in their first generous resolution of maintaining the publick honour, and of freeing the Gulf from Pyrats, they prepared to resist this new tempest; and therefore forbare not to provide abundantly for all necessaries in all requisite parts; yet naturally considering the little good they were likely to get by the war, and the prejudice which might thereby result both to the Commonwealth, and to private men; and moreover foreseeing the eminent dangers threatned to their Common-wealth by the State of *Millain*, and by the Kingdom of *Naples*; they grew somewhat less obdurate, and desired that the formerly broken Treaty of agreement might be reassumed: But it was no less hard for them to find the means how, then to compass their end with satisfaction; for all the Princes being weary with the last Negotiations, by reason of the Common-wealths backwardness to restore what had been taken, not any of them cared to intermeddle therein: And they could get nothing from the Pope (who they thought would not be inwardly displeased here at) but words and generallities; nor could they confide much in the King of *France*, by reason of the vast troubles of that Kingdom: They therefore thought it the less evil to have recourse to the Court of *Spain*, which they had formerly so much suspected; and which by the Declaration made by the King in the behalf of the Archduke, and by the men who were paid by him in this war against the Venetians, was little less then their declared enemy; But by reason of many things formerly done by the Common-wealth, which were ill taken by the King and Court of *Spain*, and which made them desirous to lessen the Common-wealths good opinion of her self; they oftentimes refused the pressures made by *Pietro Gritti*, Resident in that Court for the Common-wealth, who desired in the Common-wealths name that some composition might be come unto. But the King and Duke of *Lerma* having been always against having war in *Italy*, and more particularly now out of many respects: the Duke, imbracing the present occasion, began to close with the proposals made by *Gritti* in the Common-wealths behalf, and very affectionately desired the effecting of them: But the Duke of *Ossuna* forbore not for all this to pursue his enterprise; for he abominated the Venetians more then any other Spaniard did; and had therefore put seven Gallioons in good order for fight, and furnish'd them with all warlike Ammunition; which (to begin the war which he intended against the Venetians) he sent into the Gulf, under the Command of *Francisco Riviera*, native of *Granada*, who from a private condition had by his own worth, and by the Viceroys favour, raised himself to no small greatness. The Common-wealth forthwith armed out two Galliasses, and seven Gallioons, and gave the charge thereof to *Lorenzo Veniero*, and to these they added 18 lesser Gallies, which they were wont to keep to guard the Gulf and the Seas of the Levant: They set *Justo Antonio Bolegno*, Commissary over the Gulf, to be chief over all these; who whilst he was on his way towards *Ragusa*, where he understood the Neapolitan Gallies were, *Riviera* advanced with five of his Vessels within sight of the Ile of *Lissena*; and drawing near the City began to play upon the Fort with some of his Cannon,

and

and upon some Houses which were not far from it: and not seeing any one appear he retreated upon the coming on of night toward *Calamotta* and *Sabioncella*, Towns of *Ragusa*; where joining with the other Vessels, he took a Ship which went from *Ragusa* to *Venice*: He staid some days thereabouts; and hearing that *Bellegno* was coming on with very advantageous forces, he steered unpursued towards *Puglia*, and came safe from thence to *Brindisi*: It was the common opinion of all men, that *Bellegno* might have fought him if he had pleased; and that upon sleight pretences, tarrying sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, he had delayed time, and permitted him to return; It is not known, notwithstanding, whether he did this of himself, or by his limited instructions; for though the Common-wealth seemed to be very much displeased with his proceedings, and therefore removing him from that charge, placed *Veniero*, Captain of the Galleoons, in his room; who in Consultations had appeared to be more forward and couragious; yet because they gave him other imployments and dignities not long after; it was thought that this resentment was one of the Venetians wonted pieces of cunning; who laying the weakness of their Commissions to the fault of their Officers, do at the same time, without hazzarding their own forces, cover the publick diffidence, and maintain the reputation of their Militia; nor do their Officers hold themselves thereby injured, who being contented with the tacite applause of the wisest Citizens, and with the tacite praise which is given them for having discreetly carried on the publick fortune, do so love their Country, as they care not for having the fault laid upon them which otherwise would redound to the publick bad success; being sure that when the wonder is over they shall be largely rewarded with other honours and dignities.

The Crabates growing bold upon the nearness of the Neapolitan Galleoons, and by the free commerce which was allowed them in the Kingdom of *Naples*, flock from home in great numbers; and scouring the Gulf with much terrour, took much pillage, and took many Vessels even upon the City shoars; and afterwards carrying their prey into *Puglia* and *L'Abruzzi*, sold them safely, and whither they safely fled when chased by the Venetian Vessels; In so much as the greater Traffick of Galleoons, and the lesser commerce was in a short space brought to a bad condition in *Venice*. *Veniero* being afterwards gone with two Gallealles and seven Galleoons to *Brindisi*, he indeavoured to draw out *Riviera*, who lay there with his Gallies, to Battel; who not having rowing Vessels, and the wind being contrary to his coming out, did not refuse *Veniero's* Challenge, but put it off till a fitter time: whereupon *Veniero* went to *Corfu*, and afterwards getting into the Gulf entered the Channel of *Corsola*, and from thence to *Liesina*; and being content with this generous offer, appeared no more upon those shoars: The Fleets afterwards increased; for the Viceroy providing new Galleoons, both in *Naples* and in *Sicily*; and assembling the Kings Gallies together, prepared others at his own cost, that he might send them altogether to prejudice the Venetians, and growing daily more angry and more incens'd, he threatned to assault the very Town of *Venice* with his whole Fleet; and adding all possible demonstrations to

his

his ſpeeches, he gave out that he would go himſelf in perſon to *Brindiſi*, the more to encourage and haſten ſuch preparations: Wherefore the Common-wealth growing fearful, armed more Galleoons, and put more Gallies and Galleaſſes to Sea; and ordered alſo that all the Gallies which ſail upon thoſe Seas, and upon the Levant Seas, ſhould join in oppoſing the Spaniſh Fleet: But the Common-wealth which abounded in Ships, in Galleaſſes, and in all other warlike preparations, was in a great want both of men for their Oars and for fighting; for thoſe people, and thoſe parts who were formerly trained up in the Militia, and therefore good at Sea affairs, from whence the Venetian greatneſs had its riſe and increaſe; being now accuſtomed to Domeſtick imployments, and not having ſeen an enemy for many years, were grown imbaſed by idleneſs: nor were they better provided of Commanders; for the Gentry being given to ſuch Arts as peace produceth, had not of late years valued the Militia, except what was Maritime.

The Common-wealth being therefore upon theſe terms, and fearing the Viceroy's threats and preparations, whoſe Fleet they knew did much exceed theirs both in ſtout Souldiers and experienced Commanders, had much ado to provide for neceſſary defence, whether they were to coin much money, and to be at exceſſive expence: Wherefore falling immediately to raiſe monies by many Taxes and Impoſitions, and alſo aſſembling all the Tradeſmen of the City, who were pick'd out by lot according to publick Orders, a certain number of them were commanded to ſerve either for themſelves or for others in the Fleet. Thus having furniſh'd a good many Rowers out of the dregs of the people, and Clowns of the neighbouring Villages, they furniſh'd the Fleet alſo with many Troops of the Land-Militia, who being found to be unfit for Land-Service, little good could be expected from them in Sea affairs: And becauſe the Senate were afraid of *Veniero* the Governour of the Fleet's animoſity, they left him his firſt charge over the Galleoons, but made *Zuan Jacomo Zane*, a grave and diſcreet perſon, chief of all the maritime affairs, with title of Commiſſary, but with authority of Captain General; who putting to Sea many days after with thoſe Veſſels which were in a readineſs at *Venice*, went to *Liſina*, where the general rendezvouz was for all thoſe Veſſels which were to ſerve in that Fleet; to the end that from thence, as from the Centre of the Gulf, he might diſcover what ways the Enemy ſteered, and oppoſe them and their deſigns; part whereof appeared upon that very Iſland before he got thither: This part of the Viceroys Fleet was led on by *Don Pietro di Leva* under the Viceroys Enſigns, conſiſting of 12 Galleoons and 23 Gallies; and being come near the Haven, he ſent two of them to challenge the Venetian Fleet to fight, which lay there under the command of the ſame *Bellegno*, to whom the Senates Orders and Commiſſions were not yet come: And though he came not ſhort of the Enemy in veſſels, the Galleaſſes eſpecially being conſidered, yet durſt not *Bellegno* come out of the Haven and encounter them; but fortifying himſelf there, and placing the Galleaſſes in the mouth of the Haven, which being ſhut up by a great Rock is very narrow, he ſuffer'd them to be ſhot at by the Spaniſh Veſſels, which

aſſaulted

assaulted them even almost underneath the Fort; and after many shot on both sides, the Spanish Commanders seeing their danger, if they should proceed on any further, and dispute the business upon so many disadvantages, and that they could by no means draw the Enemy out into the open Sea, they retreated without any harm safe to *Brindisi*; where a new supply of Ships and excellently well-armed Gallies being come, new and more urgent Commissions came also from the Viceroy; who being angry that they had not fought, sent express Orders for the setting up of the Standards Royal, and that they should re-enter the Gulf; and that assaulting and fighting the Enemies Fleet in any whatsoever manner, they should proceed on against the very City of *Venice*: which when it was known did much trouble the whole City; those Fathers therefore, according to their accustomed wisdom, being desirous to provide for dangers afar off, as if they were at hand; not confiding in their own Fleet, nor in their preparations by Sea, not in the impenetrable situation of those Washes; but as if those natural defences were weak obstacles for the doubtful condition of the Commonwealth, they used all such diligence, as greater they could not have used if the Enemy had been at hand: they fortified their out shores with Banks and Trenches, built Bulwarks upon the mouths of the Washes, and all this appearing to come short of the danger, they put Weapons into the peoples hands, made *Corps de guarde* in every Parish, and raised Troops of Souldiers in every one of them, placing two Citizens over each of them, one of the Gentry, another of the Commonalty, and that these provisions against forreign disorders might occasion no disorder at home, a Magistracy of three of the gravest and most eminent Gentlemen was chosen, to keep them all within their duties; whom they indued with all supream power, and trusted them with the care of providing that the Commonwealth in the middest of all these Ruptures might be preserved from receiving any damage; and not satisfied with so many provisions within the City and without, they forbare not to have recourse to the Turks for aide: for having bribed (as it was said) the chief Officers of that Court, and the most favoured *Sultana's* of the *Seraglio*, they obtain'd a command from the Grand Signeior, directed to the General of the Sea, that he should go into the Gulf, and be serviceable to the Commonwealths General upon all occasions: though detained afterwards by the *odium* that would have been conceived against them for that action, or by the danger of bringing the Fleet of so formidable an Empire into the Gulf, they made it come to *Navarino*, and made use of it only to the end that the Viceroy, fearing the Kingdom of *Naples*, might recall the Fleet from offending others to defend himself.

This mean while Don *Pietro di Leva*, being recruited with more Forces, went with the Standard Royal from *Brindisi*, carrying with him 33 Galleys and 19 Galleoons, well armed with old Souldiers, and moreover took along with him from the Coast of *Puglia* about 4000 fighting men; he drew neer *Liesina* with a resolution to fight, if he should find the Enemies Fleet there: he found all joyn'd together under *Zane*, the new Commissary, who coming out of the Haven, at the appearing of the Enemy with all his Vessels, which were 40 Gal-

leys,

lyes, 40 Long-boats, six Galleasses and 15 Galleoons, all which, especially the Galleasses and Galleoons were very well munited with Artillery; especially the Galleoon *Balbi* otherwise called St. *Marco*; a Vessel vastly great, which for the multitude of Guns which she carried was fit, as those who were skilful in that Profession said, to stand the assault of a whole Fleet. The Venetian Gallyes were very well provided of Rowers, yet but badly furnish'd with fighting-men; for of 22000 persons which were in the Fleet, there were hardly 3000 who were fit to manage Arms; being come within sight one of the other, and the Kings Fleet having given sign of Battel by shooting of a Cannon, and having loosened the Cables wherewith the Galleoons were fastned to the Gallyes, the winde, which till then had been good for them, changed immediately; and turning exceeding fair for the Venetian Fleet began to blow with a strong gale against the Spaniards; and the Galleoons being fallen off from the Gallyes, sailing some here, some there, were immediately dispers'd; whereupon the Spanish Commanders, and all the Souldiery, though by the same wind they might have tack'd about, and have escaped so great a danger, yet courage prevailing over fear, they still kept their Fore-Castle towards the Venetian Fleet: yet being astonish'd at this their enemies so great advantage, they were much troubled, and almost brought to despair of safety: fearing to be suffocated with the smoak of their own, and of the Enemies Cannon; and to be drown'd and stifled, without being able to fight, at the very first shock: but the neerer they came the more they saw themselves free from that danger; for *Zane* after a while withdrew into the Haven, and lost the opportunity of an assured and full Victory; to *Ventero's* great vexation, who being fallen a little off with his Galleoons, that he might with a better wind fall upon the Enemy, expected that *Zane* should advance, or give the sign of Battel; to which purpose he had sent a Long-Boat to him: but seeing him withdraw into the Haven he followed the General, and put into the same Haven with his Galleoons, leaving a great Tartana behind him, which fell into the Enemies hands. The Spanish Fleet being driven by the wind went upwards towards *Zara*, and staid that night not far from *Liesina*: the next day being forc'd by the wind to coast a long beyond *Dalmatia*, it light by chance upon ten Gallyes, and two great Venetian Barques; whereof two, which are called *Maone*, and the two Barques were fraught with very rich Merchandize: the Spaniards presently pursued them, for at first sight of the Enemy they fled; seven of the yarest of them, by the advantage of night, recovered *Zara* from whence they were come; the two which were loaded with Merchandize, and the Barques, and another Vessel fell into *Leva's* power, but no men in them, for they had all escaped to land, but the Vessels were loaded with Merchandize, and Moneys, to the worth of above a Million of Ducates. Captain *Antonio Chirano* was greatly to blame in this, who not valuing the Enemy, and trusting more then became him to do in the Commonwealths Fleet, was not only negligent, as if he had sailed in secure peace, but thinking himself derided by a Fisher-man, who told him how neer the Enemy was, caused him to be put in prison; and not long after some Barques were taken, loaded with Merchandize,

dize, and Victuals for the Army, which being retreated to *Liesna*, and not daring to stir from thence suffer'd the Enemy to rove freely over all those Seas.

It was commonly said that Commissary *Zane*, when Consultation was held by the Captains and Officers, whether or no they should make use of the present occasion, and taking the advantage of the wind, fall upon the Enemy; that after he had by his Authority and Reasons contradicted their opinion, he at last drew an express command out of his bosom from the Senate, whereby he was absolutely forbidden to give Battel, no not upon any whatsoever advantage; and truly the Commonwealth having so powerful an Enemy so neer at hand, who publickly threatned to assault the City; and the loss being beyond comparison greater which they should have received, if they had been beaten, then any advantage that could have redounded to them by Victory; and that being able of herself to maintain the Empire of the Sea against that Enemy, who they knew could not trouble them long; it suited well with their wisdom, to prefer wholsome and safe resolutions before such as they were not certain should prove glorious; and that it became them not to hazzard that Fleet upon the uncertainty of Battel, which being the only defence of that City, ready to be assaulted, and which being the greatest strength that they could then put together, was thought the only foundation of the Venetian Honour and Empire: which could not probably waver so long as that Navy was safe; so if that should be lost, would infallibly draw after it great mischief, and little less then the utmost danger of the Commonwealths safety: and the danger appeared so much the more probable, for that, doubtless, as if they should fight at a distance, the Venetian Fleet by the advantage of their Guns would have much vexed that of *Spain*; so if they should come to close fight, the Venetians being badly provided of defendants, would have been easily worsted by the Spaniards: the want of Order and Military Discipline in the Venetian Fleet was also to be considered; for never a one of the Masters knew what their place was, nor what upon such an occasion he was to do; there was no distinction of Wings, nor Squadrons; but the whole Fleet was one great body, mis-shapen and confused; and therefore unable to move, and more troublesome to its self, then formidable to the Enemy: but it was no less considerable, that when contrary to the aforelaid probable Reasons of the Venetians being worsted, they should have had the upper hand, the victory must needs have been got by much loss, and effusion of blood: in which case, if the Turkish Fleet should have come, and have found the Venetian Fleet weakned, and the Spanish beaten, might it not have come up even unto *Venice*; and without any contestation, or opposition, have done what the Spaniards threatned? it was therefore in this respect thought that it became not the Commonwealth, to expose her safety to the certain danger wherewith she was threatned, upon whatsoever event, especially since not only the Venetian Commonwealth, but whole Christendom would have been much indangered by this conflict; for of the two Fleets, which being both joyn'd toge her make but a proportionable Bulwark of Christendom, against the Maritime Forces of the *Ottoman* Empire, when one

one of them ſhould have been diſcomfited, and the other weakened; Chriſtendom would not have had Forces ſufficient to withſtand the *Ottomans* Fleet, if it ſhould have come againſt it: and therefore many ſtrengthning their Reaſon, and fixing their Thoughts higher, attributed that ſudden and unexpected change of wind to a great miracle, and acknowledged it to proceed from Gods Divine goodneſs; yet they proceeded in *Venice* (according to their uſual cuſtom) againſt Commiſſary *Zane*, as they had done againſt *Bellegno*, ſending for him back to *Venice*, taking his place from him, and proceeding hotly by Proceſs againſt him: and yet after ſome moneths he was acquitted by a great numbe of Votes in a full Council of the *Pregati*. But the ſucceſs of the Fleet, and the loſs of the Mahouns, cauſed great commotions in *Venice*; the rather for that falſe news being brought ſome few days before, of the conflict, and of the victory gotten by the Venetian Fleet, great Feaſts and Triumphs were made by the Nobility, who believing that report could not contain themſelves in rejoycing, and congratulations; and the Common People following the example of the Nobiliry fell into exceſſes, even ſuch as were ſcandalous: they ran tumultuouſly in great numbers to the Spaniſh Embaſſadours Palace; and mingling opprobrious ſpeeches with their ſhouts and out-cries, they had almoſt fallen to injurious actions: and elſewhere they hung up the Portraicture of the Viceroy by the feet, and after many ſcornful and abuſive ſpeeches, ſet it on fire: but the truth being afterwards known, the Commonwealth was much afflicted, both in private, for the loſs of the Mahouns, of ſo great value, and for the continual damage ſuffer'd by the Croates; and was much aſtoniſhed and confuſed in the Publick, for the loſs of their ancient Reputation, and for fear leſt the Spaniſh Fleet, according to the Viceroys threats and commands, might draw neer their Waſhes, and aſſault their City. They knew not what courſes to take, which might ſuffice to remove the imminent danger; but finding them all to be ſhort, and unproportionable, they complain'd of the King of *Spain*; who being choſen by them to be a pacifier of the differences between them and the Archduke, inſtead of making peace, had proved ſo bitter an Enemy; ſuffering them to be under hand ſo injuriouſly dealt with by his Miniſter, without any reſpect had to the friendſhip which was publickly profeſt between them; and yet the King, who did not deſire that the Treaty of Peace which was by him reaſſumed ſhould be diſturbed; preferring kindneſs before revenge (for they had injured him, by aſſiſting the Duke of *Savoy*) and peace before whatſoever victory; as ſoon as he had given way to the Commonwealths deſire, of interpoſing himſelf in the preſent differences; commanded the Viceroy (being much preſs'd to to do by the Commonwealth) to ſend for the Fleet back from the Gulf; and that his command might be the better obſerved, he ſent Orders to Don *Pietro di Lieva*, to retreat immediately with his Fleet without injuring the Commonwealth into the Tuſcan Sea; and as good luck would have it for the Commonwealth, the Kings Orders came to Don *Pietro* when he was not far from the Venetian Waſhes, and when the Venetians, as finding themſelves in greateſt danger, did exclaim moſt againſt the King; wherefore Don *Pietro* (having had ſome inkling of

the Turkish Fleet) that he might not be incloſed between two Fleets retreated; and leaving the Galleoons at *Brindiſi* came, according to the Kings command, into the Tuſcan Sea; not without much grief to the Viceroy, who not having yet vented his anger would, contrary to the Kings command, continue the War which was begun.

Thus was *Venice*, when ſhe leaſt thought of it, freed from the very neer danger of being aſſaulted; but ſhe fared no better in the Wars of *Friuli*; for the Captains of the Army, that they might not lye idle whilſt the Hollanders delayed their coming, attempted the Caſtle of *Ceſſalto*, and a Town which was a great one, and near it, upon the banks of *Liſonzo*; hoping that when they ſhould have taken thoſe two places they might eaſily take the Tower upon the ſtone Bridge, and paſs from thence to the expugning of *Goritia*; which when they ſhould have got, the Enemies Army would neither have been able to have kept the Field, nor to defend *Gradiſca*, nor to hold the reſt of the Archdukes Country; ſo as whole *Friuli* falling into the Commonwealths hands, the Alps had been the bounderure of the Dutch Empire; a thing which peradventure ſhe concealedly aimed at: General *Medici* parting therefore from *Lucinſo* with many Souldiers ſent part of them to take in the Fort, and coming with the reſt to *Piuma*, he eaſily took it; and leaving people with ſufficient proviſions, and Orders to defend it, he returned to *Lucinſo*: The others being gotten neer the Fort began to ſtreighten it on two ſides, hoping verily to take it; for there being only eighty Foot in it, badly provided either with Victuals or wherewithal to fight, they by ſigns gave notice of their neceſſity to thoſe of their ſide, wherein they could hardly be provided by the Auſtrians; for beſides that the Venetians were numerous, and in *Piuma*, and about the Fort, and were able to increaſe their numbers, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of thoſe who were in *Lucinſo*, and in St *Florini*, *Liſonzo* being ſwoln by continual rains, had broke the Bridge which the Auſtrians had built upon long-boats, and had carried the long-boats along with it; and the rain continuing, it was impoſſible to paſs over *Liſonzo*; it was therefore hard and dangerous to relieve that Fort, but more hard and dangerous to abandon it: yet at the laſt, the Auſtrian Commanders, of two evils chuſing the leſs, reſolved to adventure a few men, for the ſafety and preſervation of all: they therefore planted two Batteries on their ſhore ſide againſt *Piuma*, to keep the Enemy from fortifying, and choſe out 800 of the beſt Horſe and Foot; who being commanded by the Baron *Hermiſtene*, and by Captain *Henrico Paradiſo Navarro*, and Captain *Ferdinando Caratti*, might paſs over the River in a certain place, where they were ſheltered from the ſight of the Enemy, and from being offended by them; and to this purpoſe having no Long-boats, they took from the ſtanding Pools and Rivers that were neer at hand certain little Shallops made out of the whole timber which the Country-people call *Zucchi*, whereinto the Souldiers got; and holding by a long-rope which was thrown over the River, did by a few at a time get over to the other ſhore. The buſineſs being undaunredly begun by Captain *Caratti* ſucceeded no leſs happily; except that the rope being broke by the ſwiftneſs of the River, two *Zucchi*, with the Souldiers that were in them, were drowned: at which diſaſter

their

their companions being not at all dismaid, tied certain bundles together, and throwing them over the River, did by resting on them get without any prejudice to the other side: 200 of them went to relieve the Fort, and the rest to recover *Pisma*; the former, though assisted by the besieged, who sallied out of the Fort, could not advance; but the others, when they came neer *Pisma*, infused such terrour into the Venetians, as abandoning the Town without making any resistance, they betook themselves to their heels, and fled without stopping, till they came to *Lucinizo*: whose example was immediately followed by those who were about the Fort, who seeing *Pisma* abandoned, forsook their Trenches also, and unpursued ran shamefully away: and though at first the Commanders, and afterwards *Medici*, who was come then from *Lucinizo*, got them to return to their first stations, yet afterwards better considering the confusion, the Souldiers dismaiedness, and the undauntedness of the Enemy (who despising death, and presenting themselves fiercely before them after they had waded the River, which they had so courageously past over, only to relieve the Fort, and who therefore were likely not to refuse any danger, so they might relieve it) they chose to shun the incounter, and to forgo the enterprise, with some loss of reputation, lest they might be driven away with loss and shame: the Souldiers retreated therefore in good order to *Lucinizo*, and the Fort was freed by the Austrians singular valour: at last, the Hollanders appeared, 4300 in number, in two Regiments; led on by Count *John Ernestus* of *Nassau*, Nephew to Count *Maurice*: 300 whereof were at her own charge sent by the Princess of *Orange*, under the same Count, and 1000 brought at his own expence by Colonel *Georgio Sergi Wassenofen*, who was nobly rewarded by the Venetians for so generous an action: these Souldiers were very well armed and clad, commanded by many Gentlemen of very good quality, and were therefore of great help to the Venetian Camp. *Wassenofen*, who was the first that came to *Venice*, was sent by Land to *Friuli*, and the Count coming soon after went by Sea to *Montfalcone*, and from thence to the Camp: as soon as Commissary *Lando* and General *Medici* saw the Hollanders, they immediately betook themselves to pass over the *Carso*: leaving the care of the Camp, and of all things on this side, to Commissary *Nicolo Contareno*, who succeeded *Forscarini*, with sufficient Forces to Guard the Country, and with excellent Orders to be put in execution in due time. They caused a Bridge to be privately cast over *Caßoiano*, four miles below *Gradisca*, by which *Lando*, *Medici*, and *Erizzo* past over into the Country of *Montfalcone*, with 5000 Foot, and about 800 Horse, which being joyn'd to *Nassau*'s Hollanders, and to other Souldiers who were muster'd there, were divided into four Squadrons, according to the ways by which they were to march: Commissary *Lando*, though he desired, and was resolved to be present at this passage, was notwithstanding perswaded by *Medici* and the rest, who to shun adventuring the publick dignity in his person, forc'd him to tarry in *Montfalcone*, where he might be more serviceable in taking order, and in making provisions for the Enterprise: *Erizzo* was to be ready with a flying Squadron, to come in and assist where any need, or sudden accident should require: *Cosime di Marchesi del Monte*,

he

he who first discovered *Carso*, went by the first way, neerest the Sea, and furthest from *Lisonzo*, with 800 Foot; and being come to *Dobredo*, he presently took it, and for more security, began to fortifie it: *Otatio Balioni* went by the next way with 1500 Foot, four small pieces, good store of Pioneers, and Ammunition for War, Count *Ferdinando Scotto* going before him with some Horse-Troops to scoure the Country, and to make discovery: he took St. *Michele*, which afterwards when *Baglione* came thither was diligently fortified: By the third way went Count *Nassaw* with the Hollanders, waited on by some Troops of Horse, and some pieces of Artillery, who coming to the Town called St. *Martino* in *Carso*, took it; then going to the Fort which is called *delle Donne*, at the third shot, he took it upon Articles; not long after he did the like to the Fort Imperial, a little lower, and neerer *Lisonzo*, which commands the River, and was therefore of great concern, in keeping succours from *Gradisca*. Only *Giovan Martinengo*, who led on the fourth Squadron, and to whose share it fell to bring on the Artillery, and to advance by the way which lay neerest the River, met with a rub; for being to take the Fort *Stella*, which was upon the way over against *Gradisca* and being come so neer it; as he began to make Trenches for Battery, two companies of Swissers and Grisons, being afraid without any occasion, began to Mutiny; which Mutiny passing into those of other Nations, they began all to wheel about, and to run, *Martinengo* not being by any means able to stay them; and Commissary *Erizzo* coming in, he had much ado to perswade them to turn back, and carry off the Artillery which they had abandoned, and which, had they made the least delay, had fallen into the hands of those of the Fort. *Martinengo* retreated to *Sagra*, and sending the Artillery from thence to St. *Michele*, he fortified himself at St. *Nichola Medici*, not being bound to keep any one place, discharged the Office of a General, and ran sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, incouraging, providing for, and ordering all things which appertained to the March: the same night, to the end that the Austrians being assaulted in several places might have the less conveniency to oppose the passage of *Carso*; some of the Commonwealths Galleys drew neer *Dulcigno*, a great Town belonging to the Archduke in the Gulf of *Triesti*, and playing upon it with their Artillery did it much harm: and on the other side of *Lisonzo*, *Trivigiano* coming from *Lucinisso*, according to *Medici* his Orders, at mid-night with a great many Horse, came to *Lisonzo*; and seeming as if he would pass over it, kept the Enemy busie that was lodged on the other side; and a little lower, neer *Fora*, *Francisco* and *Carlo Strasoldi*, who had the same Orders, being come to the River side, and not seeing any appear against them, but finding by counter-signs that the Venetians had luckily overcome the Mountain, they boldly entred the River, which was somewhat more swollen then usual; and coming to shear on the other side, they were presently followed by many Horse, and particularly by two choice Troops, the one led on by *Udine*, the other by *Cividal*, the former belonging to Commissary *Contareno*'s self, and the other to *Giovan Bassadone*, Lieutenant-general of *Friuli*, both of them ancient Senators; who notwithstanding having foorded over the River, possess'd themselves of the further-

most

moſt bank and ways, making themſelves maſters of them and of the enemies Rampiers: The Auſtrians were ſufficiently aſtoniſhed at this ſtrange and unexpected paſſage, as well over the Mountains as over the River; and forgetting their former Generoſity grew into great confuſion; and doubtleſſy, if the Venetian Commanders had proceeded on with the ſame fervour, they would freely without any oppoſition have gotten to the Walls of *Goritia*, being only three miles diſtant from the bottom of *Carſo*; whereof, by reaſon of the great terror they were in, they might without much ado have made themſelves maſters.

Horatio Baglione was aware of this ſo rare occaſion; who with many reaſons and reiterated perſwaſions exhorted *Medici* not to let it ſlip; but *Medici* being very cautious and circumſpect would not be adviſed by him: And whilſt he fore ſlowed the buſineſs upon the deſcent of *Carſo*, to diſcover the Country, and to pry into the enemies proceedings; whilſt buſying himſelf in making of Trenches and Fortifications for the ſafety of his Quarters, he plaid the part rather of a Cunctator then of a Dictator, he let ſlip the occaſion; for the Auſtrians arguing by this the enemies delay that they had but little mind to advance, reaſſumed their former courage, and reſolved to ſtand upon their defence; which reſolution was fomented by Count *d' Ampiere*, who was at this time come from *Germany*; and who by his natural vivacity, by his Authority, and by the aſſured ſuccour which he told them was ready in *Germany*, and aſſured them would be very quickly in *Italy*, incouraged the Captains to reſiſt, and manfully to oppoſe the enemy. Between the *Carſo* and *Vipao*, a River which (as hath been ſaid) runs at the bottom of the Mountain towards *Goritia*, is a Palace in form of a Caſtle, with a Wood walled about, (called *il Pallagio*, è *Barco di Rubbia*) ſituated juſt where *Vipao* falls into *Liſonzo*, and is therefore flank'd on two ſides by the ſame Rivers. *Baglione*, ſeeing it abandoned, would have made himſelf maſter of it; for the doing ſo made much for the main buſineſs; but being forbidden by *Medici*, Colonel *Standato* entered it with 1000 Foot, and not long after *Morades* with more men; and they fell forthwith to fortifie it, and to ſurround it with platforms: Here ended the ſucceſs of that paſſage; for the Auſtrians having fortified *il Pallagio*, flank'd *il Barco* with Ravelines, and munited the Banks of *Vipao* with new Works; the Venetians found another *Gradiſca* to beſiege, and another *Liſonzo* to overcome, on the other ſide of *Carſo*; about which they entertained themſelves to little purpoſe till the Peace was concluded. Many Batteries, many Attempts, many Skirmiſhes, were made by both parties, with variety of Fortune; which ſince they made nothing for the main of the war, will be ſuperfluous to relate, and peradventure irkſome to read: The end of the buſineſs was, that the Venetians could never drive the Auſtrians thence, who had always the better, not only in defending *il Barco* and the River, but alſo in relieving *Gradiſca*, which the Venetians could not, by any means they could uſe, obviate. General *Trautmiſtorft* dyed in the defence of *il Barco*, being ſhot, whilſt too courageouſly, and contrary to the opinion of his own men, he ſtood upon a Raveline which he himſelf had given order for; He was a Gentleman well born, of great courage, not daunted with any danger, very vigilant in all things belonging

longing to war; but of a Genius more given to Skirmishes and petty actions, then to the main enterprises; and therefore deserved rather to be esteemed a good Souldier then an excellent Commander; for being always provided of excellent Souldiers, and having to do with a weak and undisciplined Army; and which was moreover continually macerated with sickness, he could never totally overthrow them; so though he was always assailant, and had always more the better in private actions, yet he seemed to be always more for defence then offence: And the Venetians, who were continually losers, seemed in general to be victors; having always carried the war into the enemies Country, without losing any thing they had gotten, and always advancing somewhat towards new Acquisitions: Many laid the fault of this, not upon the Commander, but upon the scarcity of his men, and of necessary provisions for war; others imputed it to his being too prodigal of his own life, and sparing of his Souldiers lives; others laid it to the secret orders of the Emperours chief Officers, corrupted by the Venetian Gold: But howsoever, he being well esteemed of for his great valour both by the Emperour and Archduke, his death did very much trouble them.

On the Venetians side *Baglione* was slain, whilst he with 500 Foot oppose'd a great squadron of horse upon the *Carso*, as they were carrying relief to Fort *Stella*, that so they might put it into *Gradisca*; with him there dyed *Virginio Orsino di Lamentana*, and 500 Foot, who were almost all of them put to the Sword by the Austrians: There also dyed, but upon other occasions, *Danielle Antonini*, and *Mark Antonio Mazzano*, (both of them of *Udine*) Count *Leonardo Gualdo*, *Francisco Maria Albertaccio*, all of them being prime Commanders in the Venetian Army; to boot with many others of lesser note, Count *Nassaw* dyed there also, but of sickness; and his Brother Count *Ernestus* succeeded him: It is thought that in this war, what by the Sword, what by sickness, there dyed of the Venetians above 30000; and not full cu 4000 Austrians. *Trautmistorfs* was succeeded in his charge by *Jovan Prainero*, a gallant Commander, bred up in the Hungarian wars, who was lucky in the defence of *il Barco*, and in the relief of *Gradisca*; and *Pietro Barbarigo*, Procurator of St *Mark*, succeeded Commissary *Lando*, he who at the beginning of the war exercised the same place, though under the bare title of Commissary; and *Lorenzo Justiniano* succeeded Commissary *Erizzo*.

The Venetians were much prejudiced in their proceedings by the continual rain, which fell contrary to the season of the year; for the Venetians had passed over *Carso* in the beginning of *June*. These rains caused much sickness amongst the Souldiers; and *Lisonzo* being extraordinarily swoln broke the Venetians Bridge at *Cassotano*; wherefore those of the Commonwealth could not conveniently communicate together, the Bridge being broken; nor could those of *Carso* be victualled by those of *Friuli*: They were likewise much prejudiced by the mutinying of the Hollanders, who were displeased with their Captains for keeping back a good part of their pay, which had been readily disburst by the Venetians; but certainly the fallings out between *Medici* and *Nassaw* did most harm, who strove for superiority, and who

should

ſhould command, and who obey; *Medici*, by his Patents from the Commonwealth, being to command over all ſave the Commiſſary-general; and *Naſſau* being by his Letters Patents not to obey any ſave the Commiſſary-general; and the Commiſſaries not being able to compoſe the difference, jealouſies, grudges, and diſtaſtes grew amongſt them, whereby the cauſe of the Commonwealth was much prejudiced; the Commonwealth not being only not well ſatisfied with *Medici* his ſervice, but his loyalty and truth being ſuſpected; if not publickly by the Senate, at leaſt by the Nobles, who beginning to diſtruſt him, did publickly, and generally detract from his reputation; as if by private intelligence held with the Archduke, whoſe Siſter was Wife to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, Nephew to *Medici*, he had not only let ſlip the opportunity of going to *Goritia*, by proceeding ſo ſlowly upon *Carſo*; but as if having neglected the Commonwealths ſervice in ſeveral things, he had ſuffer'd the Enemy to bring ſuccour to *Gradiſca* when it was in greateſt neceſſity. The Governours of the Commonwealth do often fall upon ſuch Rocks, eſpecially when affairs go not well with them; and it is clear enough, that if the War had laſted, that he being weary of the Venetians jealouſies would either have left their ſervice, or they for their own greater ſatisfaction would have tried firſt the others fortune; and this was whiſper'd to be privately treated on by the Senate, but that they did not proceed therein, by reaſon they ſaw the War was neer at an end, and by reaſon of *Medici* his condition and alliance. *Marco Antonio Canale* was alſo given for a ſucceſſour to *Trivigiano*, though *Trivigiano* had always ſhewed himſelf indefatigable in labour, ready for danger, and would have won much glory in that War, had he not through the immortal malice he bore to the Spaniards, obſcured it by a piece of cruelty committed by him upon a Spaniſh Knight, who being brought priſoner before him, while the Priſoner ſubmiſſively bowed unto him he thruſt a Dagger into his breaſt, and ſlew him. The affairs of the Commonwealth proceeded but ſlowly in *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*; nothing of memorable ſucceeding therein, ſave that *Zimino*, a place of ſome concern, was taken by General *Antonio Barbaro*, in which action he loſt 200 Souldiers, and ſome Captains: for the reſt, they ſpun it out till the concluſion of the peace, which was made not long after with much advantage to the Venetians, according to the cuſtom of that Commonwealth; which though ſhe be good at Counſel, comes ſhort of other Princes in matter of the Militia; and therefore ſince ſhe is not fortunate in War, makes peace upon more honourable terms, by Negotiation; but becauſe the Siege and taking of *Vercelles* preceded that peace, it will be neceſſary, that returning to the affairs of *Piedmont*, we firſt relate the progreſs of that War, in the beginning of the Summer 1617.

The End of the fifth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book VI.

The Contents.

The Governour of Millain *goes with his Army to before* Vercelles, *and besieging it on all sides, and the Town not being able to be relieved, after a long Siege he takes it upon Articles. The Capitulations of Peace, as well for what concern'd* Piedmont *as* Friuli, *are treated of in the Court of* Spain, *and are concluded in the Court of* France; *as also at* Madrid. *The Duke of* Savoy *being assisted by the French, who came into* Piedmont *after the surrender of* Vercelles, *takes some Towns in* Montferra: *and in* Alleſſandria: *And at last, in pursuance of the Capitulations stipulated in the Courts of* France *and* Spain, *the Peace is concluded in* Pavia *between the Governour of* Millain *and the French Embassadour. The Viceroy of* Naples *sends some Galleoons into the Gulf in defiance of the Ragusiens, who were vex'd by the Venetian Fleet; which Galleoons get the better, in fight, of the Venetians. A Conspiracy is discovered in* Venice, *and some rumours are spred abroad upon the Confines of* Venice *toward* Millain, *between the Spanish Souldiers and those of the Commonwealth; which being appeased, a period is put to the War, and* Italy *is restored to her former Peace.*

THe Governour being recruited with new Forces, and being kindled with new desires of re-entring *Piedmont* with his Army, aimed to give on there where it might be to most purpose, and most mortal to the Enemy. There were of new arrived in the State of *Millain* 4 Companies of Light-Horse, 16 of *Gens d'Armes*, commanded by *Camillo Caracciola* Prince of *Aveline*, and 600 Curaſſiers under *Don Antonio Caraffa* Duke of *Matalona*, in all 1800 Horse, which

which were ſent him by the Duke of *Oſſuna*; who being no leſs deſirous to maintain the grandezza and honour of the King againſt the Venetians, then anxious for the affairs in *Lombardy*, had ſpared neither for coſt, trouble, nor diligence, to keep up the Glory of the Spaniard, and the Kings Authority, in its ancient ſplendour. Beſides theſe there were expected 1000 Curaſſiers and 6000 Walloon Foot from *Flanders*, who came quickly: The command of the Horſe was given to *Jovan Jeronimo Doria*; the Foot were divided into two Brigades, the one was commanded by *Gulielmo Verdugo*, the other by *Gulielmo di Quen*. The Lombard, Neapolitan, and Dutch Brigades, being recruited with new men, were almoſt gotten to their former number; ſo as thoſe that were there already being computed with thoſe who were ſhortly to come, the Army conſiſted of about 25000 Foot, and of 5500 Horſe; a gallant Army, and fit for whatſoever Enterprize. A Council of the chief Commanders being therefore called, he ask'd their opinion touching the whole buſineſs, and touching carrying on the War againſt the Duke: The opinions were three; the firſt, that the Towns of *Montferrat* ſhould be recovered, ſince the defence of that State was the principal end of the preſent War; and for that when they ſhould be recovered, the Army, in caſe the Peace ſhould not be concluded, which was cloſely negotiated, might eaſily go to the expugning of *Turin*; or if peace ſhould be concluded, it would redound the more to the Kings honour; for that the poſſeſſion of what was taken being got by War, the Duke ſhould not have the honour of reſtoring them: The ſecond, whereof *Mortara* was Authour, was, that *Aſti* ſhould again be attempted: The third, that they ſhould go to the taking in of *Verrua* and *Creſcentino*, with intention to keep ſuccour from *Vercelles*, and to open a commodious way for entrance into *Piedmont*. The laſt not appearing ſo difficult as the taking of *Aſti*, and more honourable then to keep ſo great an Army about the recovery of a few inconſiderable Caſtles, was approved of by the greateſt part of the Council, and ſo reſolved on. *Don Jeronimo Caraffa*, Marqueſs of *Montenegro*, a man of great power, long vers'd in the Wars of *Flanders*, was thought to be the Authour of this opinion; who being ſent from *Spain* the Winter before to be aſſiſtant to *Don Piedro di Toledo* in Council, ſucceeded the Prince of *Aſcoli*, who was ſent for back to Court, and he commanded the whole Army by title of Camp-maſter General, though under the name of the Governour: So as it being noiſed that they went to *Creſcentino*, the Souldiers and Captains were wholly bent thereupon; but the Governour who had reſolved otherwiſe in private with *Montenegro*, feigning to go from *Ponteſtura*, where the Army then was, to *Creſcentino*, and changing the Garriſon of S. *Germano* in his paſſage, faced about, and ſat down before *Vercelles* ſo unexpectedly, as four Troops of Horſe which were gone out of *Vercelles* to diſcover the Enemies Proceedings, falling upon the body of the Army, were kept from re-entring into *Vercelles*, by a flying Squadron which were advanced by another way; ſo they returned routed and diſpers'd to the Duke; and ſome other which could not ſave themſelves by running were ſome of them ſlain, ſome taken Priſoners. Marqueſs *Clauſio* was Governour of this place, which was ſufficiently well victuall'd, yet but ill provi-

ded of Souldiers, and worse of warlike Ammunition; for they had been much wasted in the business of *Messerano* and *Creppacuore*; wherefore the Governour knowing these their wants, thought the business would be short and easie, if by drawing suddenly and unexpectedly before it he could keep it from being relieved: To this end having resolved to place *Iovan Feralimo Doria* with the Cavalry which was come from *Flanders*, which consisted wholly of choice and Veteran Souldiers, to guard the ways by which relief might be brought from *Piedmont*; he had sent to *Millain*, before he went from *Pontestura*, for provision of Arms; and calculating the time so as that these Horse might come to *Millain* at the same instant as the Army should approach *Vercelles*, he failed in his account, by reason of some delay made by some Officer of *Millain* in the delivery out of the Arms: So as the Duke, who at the first news of the Armies being gone to *Vercelles* was gone with all his Forces to the Ruines of *Santia*; had opportunity of sending 1500 Foot, and some Companies of Horse, into the Town; who finding the ways open got safe without any opposition into *Vercelles*: This succour came very opportunely; for together with them there entered also many Commanders and Captains; and amongst the rest Monsieur *di Saufrone*, the Dukes Engineer, who did singular service in all this Siege.

This place was beguirt on that side which looks towards *Piedmont*, where the greatest danger of assault lay, with a Wall which was platformed with a Ditch: It was impossible it should be infested on that side which lies toward *Millain*, there being but a very little space between the Wall and the neighbouring River *Sesia*, full of Roots and snags of Trees: When the Army was come within sight of the Town, finding that the Flemish Horse did still delay coming, and fearing that more succours would be brought in, he thought it requisite to streighten it the more; He commanded therefore that a long Trench should be begun; which beginning from *Sesia*, a good way above *Vercelles*, and taking a compass towards *Piedmont*, might not only encompass the whole Town with a greater circuit, but might also inclose all that space of ground wherin the Army was quarter'd, and should terminate in *Sesia*, a good way below the City; to the end that the Army might lye safe within that Trench, and be sheltered from the Dukes assaults, and might securely attend the siege; a work which by reason of the large compass, and continual rains, could not be perfected without much delay of time: The Horse which were in the Camp were most of them quartered beyond the *Sesia*, to the end that they might keep succour also from being brought by that side. The Town being thus beleagured on all sides, and the Artillery and other provisions being also come, they began their Trenches, and began their Batteries against the Walls and Fortifications thereupon erected, on the lower side of the Trenches; about which there was continual Skirmishing; for those within being increased in numbers, to boot with their shooting of Cannon and Musquets from the Walls, Ravelines, and other fortified places, sallied often out to assault the enemy, and to skirmish with him; though for the most part somewhat to their loss: And those without advancing still with their approaches and assaults, indeavoured to get underneath

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the defences; but being often beaten back, sometimes from one, sometimes from another Fortification, suddenly erected by *Sanfrone*, they were kept, as it were, at bay, and forc'd to return back, and quit the Stations which they had taken: So as the Siege, which otherwise would not have lasted long, was necessarily prolonged, and would have been so longer if those within had been better provided of Ammunition, or if the Duke had been so lucky in succouring the Town with Ammunition, as he had been with men; yet he was very diligent in indeavouring it; but the Governour took such good orders after the first relief was conveyed in, as that thereby, and by a strange accident that happened, he could not effect it: For the Duke chose out 500 of his best Horse, and amongst them 400 Curatliers, and sent them towards the besieged Town, with each of them a sack of Powder; to which he added 12 Load of the same Ammunition: These men thinking to force their passage on a sudden, and to get safely into *Vercelles*, failed in their design; for the Governour had already placed *Feramino Ro* with 800 Horse, and 2000 Foot, to guard that passage, who lighting upon this Convoy, the Dukes 500 Horse found the encounter harder then they had imagined; and yet they repuls'd the first 200 Horse that came against them; but *Ro* coming in afterwards, and the Baron *Batteville*, with many more men, a furious volley of Musquet shot was let fly from the Trenches; and fire taking unfortunately at the same time in the Ammunition, it blew up with such violence, as the whole Troop were miserably dissipated; many of them blown up into the Air, and many to shun the fire, threw themselves into the *Sessa*, where they were either drown'd or shot, only 25 got safe into *Vercelles*; many being shrewdly scorch'd were taken prisoners, amongst which M^r *di Limogione*, the Prince *Thomaso's* Lieutenant; 450 Horse were slain in this disaster; hardly 50 escaped; other sixscore were also ill dealt withal a little after, in a bickering which happened in the midway which leads from St. *Germano* to *Santia*; for a Troop of Horse being sent from St *Germano*, commanded by Captain *Palestra* a Millanese, to disturb the Fortifications which were begun by the Dukes men, they met with another of the Dukes Troops which came from *Santia*; and at the first beginning of the Skirmish the Dukes men fled to underneath the Treaches of *Santia*; and those few who could recover the Treaches, being secured by the Musqueteers who kept the enemy off, got free from danger; but the greatest part of them were either slain in the encounter or in the retreat, or carried Prisoners into St. *Germano* by *Palestra*: the Siege drawing on in length, the Duke sent 100 Sacks of Powder wrapt up in beasts Hides, to keep them from firing, with 100 Horse, by the way of *Gattinara*; but this, which was the third indeavoured succour, had no better success; for being discovered by the Marques of *Este*, who guarded that Pass with the *Gens d' Armes*, most of them were slain, and many of them made Prisoners. The Army was not this mean while idle in besieging the City; against which they continued the Batteries, and laboured very much to beat down the outward Fortifications; which besides the multiplicity and variety of them, were so artificially ordered, as when they were gotten with much effusion of blood, they were either easily recovered, or not hardly abandoned; and sometimes,

times, there being a Mine underneath them, they were fired, and so the Works were blown up with those that were on them into the Air; oftentimes when one Cavalier was taken, another was the same night erected by the enemy, which rendered the taking of the former the preceding day of no use to the possessors: Thus the defendants not being wanting to themselves as long as their Ammunition lasted, they did several ways with much vigilancy and industry annoy the enemies Army, shewing themselves in great order, and with much courage, very ready for all necessary actions, in defence of the Town against so stout and so fierce an oppugnation; nor in this their defence were the Heavens less propitious to them, sending down rain in great abundance for the first forty days, which were not only great impediments to their approaches and military actions, but did cause the neighbouring Rivers and Torrents to swell so high, as the Trentinians who were quartered very low, were forced for fear of the waters which overflowed the Banks, to draw backwards; and many disorders which happened in the Camp were causes of prolonging the enterprise, which was of it self so hard and difficult: But at last all difficulties being overcome by the pertinacity, valour and courage of the assailants, who removing all impediments were so advanced in their approaches, as they had made way for an Assault; it was resolved to give one on the twelfth of *July*, by the whole power of the Camp; which coming in good order to the enemies Rampiers, and fighting valiantly; the assailants advanced so far on three sides as they had sometimes hope to get the victory; but those within being no less valiant, the assault continued for the space of three hours, the assailants not being able to make any progress; many whereof were slain, not so much of the ordinary Souldiers, as of the Captains and of the better sort; of which Monsieur *de Quen*, the Walloon Camp-master, and Captain *Stampa*, and Don *Alphonso Piemontello*, succeeding *Quen* in his place, who was General of the Horse, whilst he fought valiantly with his Sword in his hand, and taught the Walloons by his own example to advance, was shot by a Musquet in the Arm, whereof he dyed within a few days, to the great grief and sorrow of the whole Camp; he not being only very valiant, but extraordinarily civil and courteous: *Johanni Bravo* was also sorely hurt by a Barrel of Powder which fell on fire not far from the place where he was valiantly fighting: Night coming on, though they gave over the assault, they forbore not working with their Pick-axes and Gabbioons, to get near the Wall, and to remove all impediments which yet remained from without, that they might come to a second assault, wherein they placed much hope of victory, and of ending the enterprise gloriously; For those within being reduced even to the bottom of their Ammunition, and therefore making more use of stones then of Musquets, it was impossible for them to resist any longer; but for all this, did neither they nor the Duke forego their hopes; for 400 of them sallied out at mid-day, under four French Captains, to assault the Trenches, and clog the Artillery, who being discovered were repuls'd with much loss by two Companies of Musquetiers; and the Duke, making his utmost attempt to furnish the Town with what it wanted by a greater power then formerly, came with all his men within six miles of the Camp;

Camp; and dividing 3000 men into three Squadrons, who were commanded by Monsieur *d'Orse*, he sent them with a good quantity of Powder towards the City.

This succour being conveyed privately between Fort *Sandoval*, and a little Bulwark near the *Sesia*, was brought very near the City: but the Enemies Horse falling upon the Van, it was presently defeated; the middle Squadron throwing away their Ammunition foorded over the *Sesia*, and got to underneath the Walls of the City, whereof many being pursued even to the Ditch, were many of them slain: the third Squadron got safe back to the Duke: In this action 120 were taken prisoners, of which *Orse* his Serjeant Major, *Orse's* self having escaped luckily by flight. On the Governours party, Don *Luigi di Leva* was slain, and Don *Ottavio Gonzaga*, the Baron *Bateville* and *Ludovico Gusco* were wounded: the first was found sorely wounded lying amongst the expiring bodies, and died not long after; the other two (though sorely wounded also) escaped death: many of the middle Squadron got into the City, but without their Ammunition; so as the Town was not at all relieved by this attempt. So as a second assault being suddenly given on several sides, and which the defendants not being able to resist, the assailants appearing already with their Banners upon the Walls, the assaulted helped themselves by a false rumour, crying give fire unto the Mine: which being heard and believed by the assailants, who had been oft times strangely deluded, they immediatel turn'd their backs, and abandoning what they had taken, fled away headlong: which they did not without much loss; for being pursued by the Enemy by Musket shot, whereof not any mist, and with stones, by such as wanted powder, they were smitten sorely; and doubtlessly, if they had given less belief to the Enemies words, or had kept longer upon the station which they had taken, the business would have been this day done; for many of the defendants wanting powder, they were forced to use their Pikes and Swords; and two of the Spanish Foot, who had undauntedly advanced, got as far in as to St. *Andrews* Church, where one of them fell, and the other being sorely wounded, escaped death, by Marquess *Caluso* his generosity, who admiring so much valour in an Enemy, commanded he should be no more molested. But in fine, many of the defendants being wounded in those assaults, amongst which Monsieur *di Blez*, a French Commander, their Ammunition being all spent, and despairing either to be relieved, or able to resist any longer, they resolved to come to composition; which the French were occasion why *Caluso*, and all the Dukes Captains, except it were *Sanfrone*, consented unto: for they finding that the Town could not hold out much longer, thought they had done sufficiently enough in point of honour, and in obligation to the Duke, in whose service they thought themselves not bound obstinately to lose their lives, he not being their natural Prince, nor they fighting for their Country: so *Evangelista Tosti*, a Perugian Captain, going out with the Governour and two Companies of Horse to Parley, he demanded four days Truce; which being positively denied, the agreement was finally made upon these conditions:

That all the Ravelines, Half-Moons, Stations and Fortifications which were

were without the Wall should be delivered up the next day; that the next day after all the Souldiers should march both out of the City, and Citadel, with Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, Bullet in mouth, Match lighted, Colours flying, with all their Baggage, two pieces of Cannon, Mills, Cattel, Victuals, and with every thing else that belonged unto them: That they should have sufficient carriages allowed them to carry away their goods, their wounded men, and all their Implements; besides many other Articles very favourable to those of Vercelles: *upon which conditions Hostages being given on both sides, all things were performed with great fidelity, and satisfaction; there march'd out 4100 Souldiers, part on foot, part on horse-back, whereof 600 wounded, who were carried in Carts, and 300 staid in* Vercelles, *not being able to be removed; they marched through the Enemies ranks, being praised by all for their valour. The Marquess of* Caluſio *and the Engineer* Sanfrone *were met by Don* Piedro, *and the chief of the Army, and honourably received by them, and were accompanied by them to the Rendezvouz of Armes, where they took their leaves; the Governour having in a grave and civil manner shew'd* Caluſio *the great mischief of war, and the good which would redound by peace; and therefore to offer the Duke the restitution of* Vercelles, *if he would be quiet upon reasonable conditions; which that they might the better be concluded, he said he would be ready to speak by word of mouth with the Duke, in any place of safety.*

There died in this Siege, beſides thoſe that have been already named, *Serbellone* the Camp-maſter, the Count of *Monte Caſtello*, Brother to the Marqueſs of *Soncino*, Don *Garzia Gomes* General of the Artillery, *Feronyme Motmillo*, a Neapolitan, and Lieutenant to *Montenegro*. The Governour himſelf, as he was viſiting the Trenches, was ſhot in a place where he wore a certain relique about his arm, but received no harm: *Montenegro* received a ſhot upon a Button of gold which he had on his Doublet, but was not hurt: the Siege continued from the 24th of *May*, till the 26th of *July* following. The Duke was not ſuccoured by the French, as he hoped, and as it was commonly held he would have been; the Marſhal *Dignieres*, though he had often promis'd it, nor any other of that Nation, appeared in *Piedmont*; whether they were ſtrairly commanded the contrary by the King (whoſe commands they had formerly but little valued) or whether corrupted by Spaniſh Gold, it is not known: it was known, that for the one or the other reſpect, there was paid at this time from the Court of *Spain*, to the Duke of *Montelion*, Embaſſadour for *Spain*, at *Paris*, 200000 Ducates; and alſo becauſe the peace being hotly Negotiated at this time (whereof the French were ambitious to be the Arbitrators; who, it may be, thought the King of *Spain* would be hardly brought to conſent thereunto, whilſt he had not the better of the War;) they intended to gratifie him, by not oppoſing him in this enterpriſe; not ſo much in reſpect that the parity of agreement between the King and Duke would be a diſhonourable example to all great Kings; as for that the King ſeeming to have the better by the taking of *Vercelles*, and therefore ſatisfied in point of reputation, he might the more confidently, and with more reputation conclude it by their Kings means; and it was generally held, that if the Duke had been aſſiſted but a little by the French, *Vercelles* had not been ſo eaſily taken; for the Duke coming one night with thoſe few men

men he had, put the Spaniſh Camp into much fear and confuſion, leſt by aſſaulting ſome one place he might make his way through the Enemy to the City: nor was the fear vain, nor danger ſmall; for the beſiegers being imploi'd in defending ſo many places in the ſo long circuit of the Trench, and buſied no ſo much in keeping the beſieged in, as in keeping ſuccour out, they might not peradventure have been able to reſiſt the Duke, if he had furiouſly aſſaulted ſome one place with all his Forces cloſe joyn'd together; and ſo much the rather for that the Camp having ſuffered much hardſhip, they had loſt not only many of their common Souldiers, but alſo many Officers: and half their Horſe were dead for want of Fodder, and many horſes were ſick, ſo as they were reduced to ſo ſmall a number, as oftentimes, of a whole company, not above ſix or eight entred the Guard; and it often hapned that the Officers themſelves were fain to ſerve for Guard, and to ſtand Sentinel all day long, having none to ſupply the place: the continual skirmiſhing about the Enemies Out-Works conſumed alſo many Foot; and the extream hot weather, which came ſoon after, might eaſily have made the Enemy remove, had the Town held out a little longer: ſo as if any the leaſt ſuccour had come from *France*, the place might likely enough have been preſerved. The Duke therefore being grieved for the loſs thereof, made the Governour *Caluſia* and *Toſti* be preſently impriſoned; the firſt, for having been negligent in making neceſſary proviſions for the defence of the Town; and the other out of jealouſie of ſome colluſion with the Governour of *Millain*: but afterwards, when his anger was over, and that he found them faultleſs, he cauſed them to be ſet at liberty, and received them into former favour.

Vercelles being taken, the Army being weary with hard duty, and much leſſened by the running away, and by the death of many, was diſtributed into many places of the State of *Millain*, and of *Montferrat*; a good part thereof was ſent with the Neapolitan Horſe into the State *Cremona*, and *Lodigiano*: not ſo much for that the reſt of the Country being much waſted and ruined, they might refreſh themſelves in that part which had been yet untouched, as to make the Venetians the more jealous, who were then troubled with the neerneſs of the Fleet at Sea, and with the War of *Friuli*; and very much fearing their Confines upon the State of *Millain*, which were but weakly munited, now that *Vercelles* was loſt; They having received many bruſhes in thoſe parts by the Kings Souldiers (as ſhall be ſaid in its due place) and would have received greater, had not the general peace, which was then very hotly Negotiated in the Court of *Spain*, been ſpeedily concluded; for the Emperour and the Archduke having (at the preſſures of the Venetian Embaſſadour, reſiding in that Court) ſent *Chriſtofero Chefnelier*, Count of *Franchenberg*, thither, as their Embaſſadour, with ſufficient Commiſſion to Negotiate, and to conclude peace; and the Duke of *Savoy*, who after his acts of hoſtility againſt that Crown, had no Embaſſadour there, had made the ſame Venetian Embaſſadour his Agent there; after many debates, and diſcuſſions, the Articles of Peace were pronounced by the King in form as followeth:

That the Archduke, who was then newly choſen King of Bohemia, *ſhould*

put a Dutch Garrison into Segna; *and that some of the Towns of* Istria *neerest to* Segna, *such as should be chosen by the Emperour, and Archduke, should be restored to the Archduke, that then two Commissaries should be chosen by the Emperour, and two by the Commonwealth of* Venice, *according to whose award all the adventitious and stipendiated Croates, who were wont to rove about before the beginning of this present war, should be dismist, but not those who had committed Piracy only in the time of war; nor those who lived quietly at home; that such as were baniſh'd by the Commonwealth should be driven out of the Archdukes Dominions, and that the Pyrates Vessels should be burnt: which being done, that the Commonwealth should restore all the Towns which they had taken, as well in* Friuli, *as in* Istria, *and in other places: that all Fortifications and hostile acts should cease on both sides, for the space of two moneths, to commence from the beginning of the execution of the agreement: in which time that which should be agreed upon should be performed: which when it should be done, all Forces, as well by Sea as Land, should be withdrawn, and Traffick should be restored to the same condition it was before the war began: that Prisoners on all sides should be set at liberty, and that all those who had served the Archduke should generally be pardoned: that the Emperour, and Archduke, should promise for themselves, and for the King of* Spain, *that the Crabates or Croates who should be driven out, should not be re-admitted again, and that the said Princes should not suffer the Seas to be infested for the time to come, according to the Articles of* Vienna, *in the year* 1612. *the tenor whereof was set down word for word in the said Capitulation: that the Venetian Embassadour should declare, that the Commonwealths pretentions herein were only for what concern'd the expelling of the adventitious and stipendiary Crabates; and of the* Banditi, *who rove about the Seas, and commit Piracy; so as for the future Traffick might be safe, and free from Pirates; but not concerning those who live quietly with their Wives and Children; and for what concern'd the liberty of Navigation, it was left according to the custom of former times.*

These Articles were very honourable and advantagious for the Venetians, who thereby got the principal point of their pretences, and of their differences with the Archduke, which consisted chiefly not only in freeing the Gulf from being molested by the Crabates Piracy, but that the performance thereof should precede the restitution of the places which they had taken, they being for the greater honour of the Emperour, and the Archduke, first to restore only one Town in *Istria* to them: which favour was the more freely granted them in the Court of *Spain*, for that the King supposing that he was to determine these Differences, as being chosen Arbitrator by the Commonwealth of *Venice*, and accepted as such by the Emperour and the Archduke having (that he might be the more modest in his Arbitrement) been more careful in satisfying the Commonwealth; thinking that by her freely remitting the differences to be decided by him, she had abundantly satisfied the offences done by her to the Emperour and Archduke: but the Venetian Embassadour denied openly that he had ever treated that the King should be Arbitrator, but only Mediator of the differences; and that he had no Authority to Negotiate otherwise: so as constantly refusing to accept thereof, he said he would send the Articles of agreement to the Commonwealth, to the end that she if she did like them might ap-

prove

prove thereof: the truth of this buſineſs is hard to be known, it having paſſed between the Venetian Embaſſadour and the Duke of *Lerma*: many believed that the Embaſſadour had not thus inlarged himſelf in words, without Commiſſion from the Commonwealth, for his ſo doing; to the end, that the King by intending to be Arbitrator of the differences, ſhould not only incline to favour the Commonwealth in his ſentence, but ſhould alſo free the Commonwealth, and the Gulf, from being troubled by the Duke of *Oſſuna*; it ſeeming to be improper, that he ſhould compoſe differences as Arbitrator; and as an enemy make war upon thoſe who had freely put the differences, and occaſions of the war to his Arbitrement. On the other ſide, the Embaſſadour never having ſhewed any ſpecial command from his Prince, for the abſolute remitting it to the King, nor no ſuch thing being ever demanded of him, it made much for the contrary: but howſoever it was, the Duke of *Lerma* being much offended with the Embaſſadour who perſiſted ſtill in the negative, and being much concern'd, that ſo advantagious Articles for the houſe of *Auſtria* (if they ſhould not be received, and accepted, as pronounced by the King, as by common Arbitrator) ſhould be taken out of the Kings power, without precedent ſubmiſſion of the Commonwealth; ſent for the Embaſſadour to a meeting where all the Embaſſadours of other Princes, reſident in that Court were, and did bitterly reprove him, maintaining the contrary to what he affirmed to his face; and the King being alſo very much offended, proteſt he would trouble himſelf no more with it, but remitted the whole Negotiation freely over to the Pope; who when he received the Kings Letters, ſhewed them to Abbot *Aleſſandro Scaglia*, brother to Marqueſs *Caluſio* Embaſſadour Reſident for the Duke at *Rome*; exhorting him to write unto his Prince, that the buſineſs might be brought to a concluſion. The Duke not confiding in the Pope, for that he found him much inclined to ſatisfie *Spain*, and for that he had permitted paſſage to the Horſe which came from *Naples* to *Lombardy*, and for other things which he had done in favour of that Crown, made the buſineſs known to the Embaſſadours of his Confederate Friends and Princes; and then ſent to *Rome* to have the peace concluded, with expreſs Commiſſion to his Embaſſadour, not to conſent to any accommodation, except the Articles of *Aſti* were obſerved, and unleſs the Venetians were ſecured, as had been formerly indeavoured. The Pope finding the Duke had not referr'd the buſineſs to his free diſpoſal, as the King had done, was ſcandalized, and would not meddle with it; ſo as it remained unperfected: but the ſame Capitulations of *Madrid* being preſented to the Senate at *Venice*, by the Popes Nuntio, and by the French Embaſſadour, juſt at that time when that City quaked for apprehenſion of the neerneſs of the Navy at Sea, which having taken the Mahouns, was feared would draw neer their Waſhes; and when *Vercelles* was loſt, they ſtood not much in approving of the ſame; not as the award of the King, who was authorized by them to judge thereof; but as propounded by him, as a friend, and as a mediator, in the common differences; and the Venetians did the more willingly accept of them, becauſe they ſeemed not only advantagious for them in all things which they could have deſired, ſave in the reſtitution

of the *Mahouns*; but also for that they seemed like a propitious star, which in so great a fluctuation, promised to establish peace and tranquillity in the Commonwealth: they therefore forthwith dispatch'd away their commands to *Ottaviano Buoni*, and to *Vincenzo Guzzoni*, their Embassadours in ordinary, and in extraordinary, at *Paris*, to stipulate and confirm the same Articles with the King: they also impowered the said Embassadours to communicate the same to their Embassadour *Gritti* in *Spain*, that he might consent to the same Articles in that Court; the Commonwealth having chosen to prefer the King of *France* his Authority before that of the King of *Spain*, were it either in respect of the differences which had past between her and the Ministers of that Crown, or that by giving the honour to the King of *France*, and taking it from the King of *Spain*, they thought they did not only deny the King of *Spain* the Arbitrement of the affairs of *Italy*, which he pretended unto, but that they did compound the business with more freedom and reputation, as if they thereby had made known to the world, that they had never been brought to receive the Laws of peace from the King of *Spain*, as that King had pretended; he by his great interests with the Archduke, by succouring whom, and by his servant the Duke of *Osuna*'s Hostility, seeming in effect to be a party, and an enemy: this Commission being come to *Paris*, the State-Ministers of that King were no less desirous to have the business concluded, then were the Venetian Embassadours, in ambition that their King might seem to be the Arbitrator of differences in *Italy*; and the King alledging for his justification that he knew the King of *Spains* good will, as also the danger which might insue by the breaking out of new and greater differences and difficulties, if the agreement should be deferred; in the name of all the parties that were absent, for all which he ingaged his word, confirmed and ratified the same Articles as they had been pronounced by the Catholick King; the Kings and Dukes Embassadours consented thereunto, who were not in any sort acquainted with this peace before it was concluded, though the Duke, who to divert the war from the Territories of the Commonwealth had drawn it upon himself, would never, though never so much oppress'd, come to any agreement, unless the Commonwealth were therein comprehended, or secured from the Spanish Forces. The little respect which was shewen to the Catholick King increased the envy of this action, who being chosen Arbitrator by the Commonwealth, or according to themselves, Mediator; and having furthered the Capitulations with so much satisfaction to her, though against so great Princes, and so neerly allied to him, and who were assaulted by the Commonwealth; she afterwards, not content to deny that Arbitrement which she seemed so freely to have granted him, or at least had signified her intention of granting it, had by applying her self to the King of *France*, made him the chief Author and Moderator of that peace, which she was to acknowledge howsoever, from the moderation and goodness of the King of *Spain*.

But the peace seemed to be stipulated no less to the prejudice of the Commonwealth; for that the restitution of the *Mahouns* was not therein comprehended, which since there was no breach between them

and

and the King of *Spain*, ought, as was pretended, to be reſtored, as not taken in fair War. The Spaniards, on the other ſide, pretending that the Kings Declaration to aſſiſt the Archduke was a permiſſive hoſtility, denied reſtitution; and the King refuſing to decide this point, the Embaſſadours were pacified with the Kings promiſe that he would make them be reſtored, and ſo the Articles of peace went forward. But the Commonwealth, partly that they might ſtand upon the advantage of reputation, partly to ſhun the hatred and envy which ſhe purchaſed by that peace, and alſo for the King of *Spain*'s and Duke of *Savoy*'s ſatisfaction, without whoſe knowledge the peace was concluded, ſeigned to be very ill ſatisfied therewith, and, according to her accuſtomed cunning, laid the fault wholly upon the Embaſſadours, as if they had done it of their own heads without the Commonwealths knowledge: They therefore choſe Seignieur *Contarini* in their place, and ſent for them preſently back to *Venice*, that they might give a ſevere account of that Action, pretending that they had exceeded their ſecret Orders and particular Inſtructions: They alſo complained hereof to all the Princes that were their Friends, proteſting that they would not ſtand to the Articles agreed upon in *France*. But whatſoever their ſecret Commiſſions were, firſt it is to be ſuppoſed, ſuch prime Officers of the Commonwealth would not have tranſgreſſed ſo; and moreover it is moſt certain, that their publick Orders and Inſtructions were general, and were ſent after that the Senate had a Copy of the Articles publiſhed in the Court of *Spain*, after they had been debated in *Venice*, and after the *Mahuns* were loſt: So as the Commonwealth could not only not acquit her ſelf by theſe her exclamations, but did the more aggravate her fault, and made her cauſe the more odious; as if not content with the ſmall reſpect ſhe had ſhewn to the King of *Spain*, it had been lawful for her to treat the King of *France* ſo likewiſe; who not having medled herein, ſave only at the Commonwealths requeſt, and that he might do what would be very acceptable to her, ſhe when ſhe had got her deſire and advantage thereby, would lay the fault upon the King which was her own: But this exceſs paſt not unreſented; for the King ſtomaching this refuſal gave order that the new Embaſſadour *Contarini* ſhould be detained in *Lyons*, and not ſuffered to go from thence till the peace ſhould be accepted of in *Venice*, and till the other Embaſſadours ſhould be freed from all imputation, and ſhould be fully reſtored to the enjoyment of all their dignities and places in the Commonwealth: And yet the Venetians perſiſting in this their pretention, a diſcourſe in writing came forth not long after from *Venice*, by which the ſame Embaſſadours ſaid, that they were forced by the King to ſtipulate that peace; for (as they alledged in that manuſcript) the King of *Spain* having referred the ſole power of arbitrement of the differences in *Italy* to the King of *France*, the King of *France* deſired to make uſe of and to exerciſe that power; and that having notice, that the Duke of *Savoy* and the French paſſing into *Piedmont* after the ſurrender of *Vercelles* had committed violence in *Aleſſandria*, where they had taken ſome of the King of *Spains* Towns; the King of *France* began to doubt, that the King of *Spain*, when this ſhould be known, ſhould alter his mind, and by reaſon of theſe innovations ſhould revoke the power of arbitrement

which

which he had already granted: Spas out of a desire to end these differences before this News should come to the Court of *Spain*, he threatned to abandon the Affairs of the Commonwealth and of the Duke, in case the peace should not be speedily concluded; and that he would joyn with the King of *Spain*, to the prejudice both of the Venetians and Duke of *Savoy*; and that he did so far persist in this, as he would not permit them time to send an Express to *Venice*: So as, thinking it the lesser evil, they chose to comply with the Kings desires. Which Justifications, having neither substance nor solidity in them, did make the fault more apparent, and did much weaken the Commonwealths plea; for if the King of *Spain* had referred the arbitrement of peace to the King of *France*, why was not the Spanish Embassadour called to this action? why was not this expressed in the ingrossing of that peace, in the Preface whereof the King of *France* used as little forceable arguments as he could to honest the prevention, that he might justifie it to be his own action as much as might be; and what more fair and honourable Justification could he produce for himself then this? how could the King of *Spain* transfer the arbitrement of the affairs of *Dalmatia*, *Friuli*, and *Istria*, to the King of *France*, since they belong'd directly to the Emperour and to the Archduke? which falling principally in the terminat on of that peace, there was no reason why they should not only not be decided, but even not referred, without the knowledge of those Princes, and without the intervening of their Embassadours; and the alledged violences as little to be believed, if you either consider the Kings Person; (it being too contrary to the Laws of all Nations, and wherein the Common-wealths Embassadours would hardly have met with the same measure at the Divano in *Constantinople*:) Or if you mind the rigorous discipline of the Venetian Common-wealth, which is a severe exacter of observancy of publick Orders and Commissions from their Embassadours; it not being likely that the Senators of that Commonwealth should so easily be threatened into so great a transgression; For who could fear that that King, without any fault of the Dukes or Common-wealths, (who were then absent, and knew not his Princely pleasure; and which is of more moment, contrary to his own interest,) should so threaten the Embassadours only for a little refractorines; every one being probably to believe that the King would have highly commended their wisdom and constancy in refusing to adhere unto him: As for the fear that the King of *Spain* should revoke the power of Arbitrement by reason of the new Commotions in *Italy*, the vanity of the Paper doth therein more appear; since it is most certain, that the new Rumours and Insultations against the Towns in *Alexandria* began on the third, and ended on the ninth of *September*; and that the peace was concluded in *Paris* on the sixth day of the same Month; How could the King of *France* in so short a time have notice of that Commotion? How could he so soon resolve what to do, not to lose the power of arbitrement granted him? how could he negotiate with the Embassadours, and afford them time to consult upon, deliberate, and stipulate the Peace? adde to this the large Authority and Power which the Commonwealth gives unto her Embassadours, which they being to confer, as they did, were they not permitted to make

peace?

peace? And that if the peace agreed upon in *Spain* should not please the Common-wealth, that it should be stipulated in *France*. We may therefore probably conclude by that Paper, Writing, or Discourse, that the Common-wealths Embassadours were moved to that action rather out of any other respect then of that which was alledged: But let us return to our Story; The same Capitulations which were stipulated in *France* (as hath been said) were twenty days after accepted in *Spain*, and agreed unto by the Emperours and Archdukes Embassadours in the names of their Princes; by the Duke of *Lerma* in the King of *Spains* name, and by the Embassadour *Gristi* in the name of the Commonwealth; for the Court and King of *Spain* finding that the King of *France* had medled in that peace, and that since he had made it he was ingaged to see it observed and put in execution, they did not think good by distasting that action to adde rumour to rumour, nor to make that war flame higher which they desired by all means to quench: To this may be added, that the Capitulations being dictated by the King of *Spains* self, and consequently approved of by him as just and honourable, he could not now disapprove them.

Thus the Common-wealth kept the Spanish Armyes far from her Dominions by favour of the Duke of *Savoys* Forces, and got also that advantage in the Agreement by their cunning handling it, which was impossible for them to have done by their own Forces. The precise observancy of the Articles of *Asti* were likewise agreed upon at the Court at *Madrid*, between the Duke of *Lerma*, in the King of *Spains* name, and Embassadour *Gristi*, as Procutor for the Duke of *Savoy*; together with a promise to release all prisoners, and to restore all places taken as well before as after the Treaty; and the disputes between the Duke of *Savoy* and Duke of *Mantua* were also reciprocally suspended, the Duke of *Lerma* ingaging himself in the Kings Name for the Duke of *Mantua*; and the same Venetian Embassadour for the Duke of *Savoy*; The negotiation of this Treaty, and form of composing the troubles of *Piedmont*, were therefore first particularly disgusted between the King of *Spain* and the Marquesses *d'Inviso* and *de Grave sin*, extraordinary and ordinary Embassadours in that Court for the King of *France*, in manner as followeth.

That the King should give order to the Governour of Millain, *that when he should be warned by writing from the King of* France, *by Embassadour* Bethune, *that the Duke of* Savoy *had promised and would perform the Articles of* Asti *in three Points: In laying down Arms; In passing his word that he would not injure the Duke of* Mantua: *And that he would refer his differences so to be judged according to the Civil Law by the Emperour, the Governour should immediately desist from all Acts of Hostility, as was contained in the Articles of* Asti: *But for that affairs were altered since those Articles were made, the manner of withdrawing forces should be thus performed; That the Duke should withdraw* 1000 *Foot from* Santia, *or from any other place where his Army should be; That then the Governour should retreat as far backwards with his Army as* Croce Bianca *is distant from* Asti; *That then the Duke should retreat with all his men from the said Station; and the Governour should retreat with all his Army into the State of* Millain: *Which being done, that the Duke should effectually lay down Arms*

within

within one Moneths space, as was agreed upon before Asti: *That when that Moneth should be out, the Duke should restore not only the Towns of* Monterrat, *but all places that were held in fee-Farm, either of the Church, Emperour, or any other particular Land-Lord; and were taken as well before as since the Peace of* Asti; *And should set all Prisoners at liberty; which being done, the Governour should do the like; Who as soon as he should be assured by the King of* France *that the Duke had punctually observed all Articles, he should dispose of the Kings Forces as was contained in the Articles of* Asti; *and should do whatsoever else remained for him to do; That he should pass his word to the King of* France *not to offend the Duke of* Savoy, *nor trouble his Dominions for any thing that had happened; all which Articles, as they were agreed upon in the presence, and at the intervening of Monsieur* Antonio Caietano, *the Popes Nuntio in that Court; so it was ordered they should be performed in* Italy, *in the presence of Cardinal* Lodovisio *the Popes Nuntio in* Piedmont: *And to boot with these things, to the end that nothing agreed upon in* Spain *should be added unto or altered, as had been done in the Peace made at* Asti; *it was also covenanted, That the King of* France *should give order to his Embassadour in* Italy; *That he should not press the Governour to promise any thing, either by word of mouth, or in writing, which was not contained in that Agreement: And on the other side, the French Embassadour ingaging his Kings word to the King of* Spain *for the Dukes performance of all things promised: He also promised, That in case the Duke should dissent from what was agreed upon between them, or should put any difficulty in accepting or in performing them, his King should join his Forces with those of the King of* Spain *against the Duke, and force him to perform what was agreed upon.* A Copy of this Agreement was signed by the King and by the French Embassadours, and given to the same Embassadours to be sent into *France*; And it was also Covenanted, *That the King should also give another Copy of the same under his hand to the Duke* di Montelion, *the Spanish Embassadour in* Paris, *to be by him sent into* Italy *to the Governour of* Millain, *that he might be the more cautious and efficacious in performing what was agreed upon.*

And whilst Agreements have happily negotiated and concluded in *France* and *Spain*, the same, but not with the same success, was done in *Piedmont* and in the State of *Millain*; For Don *Pedro di Tolledo* being puft up with the getting of *Vercelles*, though in the discourses which past between him and the Marquess *Caluso*, the Cardinal Nuntio, and the Embassadour of *France*, who spake with him in *Vercelles*, he seemed very desirous of peace, even so far as he offered to restore that City; and desired nothing of the Duke but that he would lay down Arms, and do what was agreed upon at *Asti*: The Duke, who held himself to be baffled by him before the beginning of this last war, touching the observance of the Treaty of Peace, professing to distrust him much, desired that the rite might be had by the surrender of *Vercelles*; saying, *That till then he would not disarm, nor observe the rest of the Articles of* Asti, *lest by Sophistical interpretations he might again be cavil'd out of the restitution of so important a place; and so, though much to his disadvantage and greater charge, embroil* Piedmont *again.* Having therefore refused to speak with the Governour, he kept still in Arms, being resolved not to lay them down till *Vercelles* were restored: After the surrender

whereof,

whereof, the Count of *Oneria*, General of the Horſe in *France*; the Duke of *Roan*, Marſhal *Dignieres*, Monſieur *de Termes*, Count *Candalle*, Count *Scomberge*, with many other Lords, were come to *Piedmont* with great ſtore of Horſe and Foot: And the Marquels of *Baden*, with the Prince of *Hannault*, were likewiſe come thither from *Germany*, accompanied with many Souldiers: And thoſe of *Berne*, in recompence of the general renouncing made by the Duke of certain Towns pretended to by him, and poſſeſſed by them upon the Confines of *Savoy*; had at their own charge ſent him 3000 Foot.

The Duke finding himſelf to have, with theſe Recruits and with thoſe that were come out of *Vercelles*, about 20000 Foot, and between 3 and 4000 Horſe, was once more become Maſter of the Field. And on the contrary, the Governour having conſumed many men, firſt in the beſieging, and then in the Garriſoning of *Vercelles*, and having quartered the reſt of his Army, which was much leſſened, in ſeveral places far from the Confines of *Piedmont*, he was once more expoſed to the Dukes injuries; who after *Vercelles* was loſt, was become more powerful then he; and who, being deſirous to re gain, if not *Vercelles*, at leaſt his Reputation for the loſs thereof; and to revenge himſelf for the loſſes and affronts which he had received; had now opportunity to do it, not only by the increaſe of his own Forces, and by the Governours negligence, but he had alſo many about him who incited him thereunto, though he needed no inciters; For the Commanders who were come from *France* being deſirous of Novelties to allay the reputation of the Spaniſh forces, and to make the Duke an amends for the loſſes he had ſuffered by their following delay; approved of his diſtruſt as juſt and reaſonable; and ſaid *They would never go out of* Italy *till they ſhould ſee the Duke repoſſeſſ'd of* Vercelles: The Popes Nuntio, and the French Embaſſadour going to *Alleſſandria* to treat with the Governour, deſired him that he would either reſtore *Vercelles*, or depoſite it into the Popes hands, or into thoſe of the King of *France*, or into the hands of ſome other Prince that he might confide in, whilſt the Duke ſhould really diſarm, and ſhould obſerve the whole remainder of the Treaty of Peace: But the Governours diſtruſt was no leſs; who thinking that the Duke had not the firſt time proceeded ſincerely in point of diſarming, thought he might juſtly doubt he would much leſs do it when *Vercelles* ſhould be reſtored: So as he would not depend therein upon the wills of others; nor thought he that it ſuited with his own reputation, nor with the dignity of the Kings Forces, not to reap any good by the ſo much labour and ſo much monies ſpent in the taking of that City; and he likewiſe was loth to hazzard it, leſt when the Duke ſhould have regained *Vercelles*, and being ſo well provided of Forces, he might aſpire after greater things; but then conſidering how ſtrong the Duke was grown by his new Recruits, and that other Souldiers were marching to ſide with him on this ſide the Mountains, he did not openly refuſe to conſent to the propounded propoſitions; but pretending ſometimes to adviſe with his Councel; ſometimes that ſince there was queſtion touching the alteration of the Articles of *Aſti*, by which diſarming was to precede reſtitution, the Nuntio nor Embaſſadour had no power from their Princes to alter them; he was ambigu-

ous in his answers, that he might delay the conclusion as much as he might; thinking by this ambiguity and irresolution to make the Duke suspend his intentions, as well as his Forces, which being collectitious and made up of many Nations, it was probable they would crumble away, especially since the Duke had not monies any ways sufficient to pay them: Whereas, on the contrary, his men being refreshed, and lately increased in numbers, he hoped to have the better. Wherefore seeing the Duke so strong, he had already given order for making new Levies of men in several parts, and sent for a great part of his Army into *Alessandria* and the parts thereabouts.

But the Duke, and the French more then he, finding by these tergiversations and windings about but small inclination in the Governour to part with *Vercelles*, they did distrust him the more; and therefore being unwilling to be led with vain hopes, or to wait till the Governours Forces being augmented, he might treat of agreement upon advantage, and as having the upper hand might prescribe them Laws in the making of peace; being moreover desirous not to return to *France* without leaving some memory of their actions in *Italy* they instigated and encouraged the Duke, who was desirous of revenge, and to revenge himself for what he had lost, to assault some Towns in the State of *Millain*: Which opinion (as many thought) wrought upon the French Embassadour, upon whose Authority the Forces of that Nation and their Actions did depend; and this general opinion was grounded not only upon the eager inclination of so many Commanders of his Nation, who were continually by him, for leave to assault some of the King of *Spains* Towns, but also upon his not being satisfied with the Proceedings he met with in *Alessandria* concerning composure of differences. Count *Guido* his re-admittance, which was constantly denied by the Duke of *Mantua*, was also no little hinderance to the businesses of *Italy*: The Duke being therefore resolved to make use of the present occasion, went from *Asti* upon the coming on of night with his two Sons, *Victorio* and *Thomaso*, upon pretence that the Governour by his recalling of his men from *Alessandria* threatned to assault that Town; and he carried along with him about 10000 Foot and 2000 Horse; the Marshal led on the Van, with whom was Monsieur *di Termes*; and upon break of day they came to *Villezano*, a great Town belonging to the King, but open and without walls, where about 1500 Trentinians were quartered; who refusing upon any whatsoever condition to surrender the Town, Prince *Victorio* and Prince *Thomaso* came up with the main body of the Battle, and gave an assault, wherein it was bravely fought on both sides; the Assailants were thrice repulsed; but at last those within having no way to defend themselves but by setting their Carts and Carriages cross the way, they were overcome at the fourth assault, and all of them put to the Sword, together with many of the Town of all sexes and ages, some few whereof were taken Prisoners; and the Town, together with nine Colours of the Trentinians, and two Colours of the Townsmen, fell into the Dukes power. *Refrancore* was surrendered to Count *Guido* by the Garrison, which were 100 Swissers, who, as being Confederates with the Duke, were sent home unprejudiced: *Ribaldone* also, and some other Towns beyond the *Tanaro*,

naro, being terrified at what had befallen *Filizzano*, surrendered; whereby *Nizza*, *Acqui*, and *Biſtagno*, together with all the *Langa*, even to the Sea, being in a manner cut off from *Aleſſandrino*, were much endangered, leſt the Duke ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of them, to hinder the paſſage of thoſe who were expected to come to the State of *Millain* from beyond Sea, and particularly 500 Spaniſh Foot, who were at that very time landed at *Savona*. But the Duke and the French, it is not known for what reaſon, leaving that Enterprize of greater conſequence, advanced to *Quattordici*, where there were two Companies of Trentinians, who having leave to march out with a Cane in their hands, yielded the Town unto the Duke, who marched farther on to take *Solleri* and *Corniento* in the County of *Aleßandrino*, not above ſix miles diſtant from the City. The Governour, who (as hath been ſaid) was there, ſent *Lodovico Guaſco*, though he were not yet well cured of his wounds received before *Vercelles*, with 200 Horſe to diſcover the Enemy, and, if it were poſſible, to withſtand his violence; as alſo to back the Countrey people who retreated into the City; who coming near the Enemy had ſome ſleight Skirmiſhes with them; but being aſſaulted by a body of Horſe he was forced to flye, being charged to even underneath the Walls of the Town. This put the City into much terrour and confuſion, ſeeing the Enemy advance ſo couragiouſly; whilſt many of *Caſtellazzo*, *Boſco*, and of all the parts thereabouts, not thinking themſelves ſafe in that City, ſent their Wives and Goods into the Towns of *Genoa*: And the Aleſſandrians putting themſelves in arms ſtood to defend the Walls, hourly looking to be aſſaulted by the Enemy; and truly, there not being in that City above 6000 Foot, and ſome Horſe Companies, there being alſo but little victuals therein, nor in the parts thereabouts; and the honour of the Spaniſh Forces leſſening through ill Government, as alſo the peoples inclination to them, who were weary of ſo troubleſome a War, the State of *Millain* was much endangered. All the Forces of *Monſerrat* were therefore ſent for to defend that City, and were quartered thereabouts: Wherefore *Giovan Jeronimo Doria*, their Commander, having immediately given order that they ſhould all meet in *Cuccaro*, except thoſe who were to guard the Towns of *Montferrat*, march'd out himſelf with 2500 Foot, and 400 Horſe, and not tarrying for others who were coming to him, reſolved to put himſelf into *Aleßandria*: But the Duke and the Marſhal having notice thereof endeavoured to meet him upon the way, and to fall upon him with all their Forces, and defeat him. As they were in purſuit of him they underſtood he was paſt on; ſo leaving their Foot behind them, they advanced with their Horſe, and about evening got up unto him.

Doria was not affrighted when he ſaw himſelf aſſaulted at a diſtance, nor loſt he either courage or counſel; but fortifying himſelf upon a plain, neer a little hill, which was fenced on the front by a great ditch, and by ſome leſſer ditches on the ſides, he placed the Foot there, and left the Horſe without, that they might firſt receive the encounter, which if they could not ſuſtain, that then they might withdraw themſelves into the plain: The Horſe reſiſted gallantly; but not being able to hold out againſt ſo great a number, they retreated in good order to the Foot,

wherein to whilest the Duke and Marshal endeavoured to penetrate, they were so fiercely saluted by volleys of Musket-shot, which were so opportunely discharged, as though wheeling about on all sides, they strove to break in upon them, they could never do it; but after the death of many of the assailants, and the imprisonment of some, amongst which Monsieur *di St Andres de Vius*, a Gentleman of *Provence*, was one, the night coming on already apace, they retreated; and *Doria* came the same night to *Lu*, and from thence, by the way of *St Salvadore*, to *Alessandria*, where he was received by the Governour with much honour and applause. The Governour was then, by reason of the diversity of his Officers opinions, very much confused, and unresolved what to do; some would have him go out with those men which he already had, and with others who were coming, and to encounter the Enemy in the field; others, that he should keep within the Walls, and defend the City; *Doria* was for his keeping in the City, telling him, that the French could not keep the field long, nor do any thing against any of the chief Towns, for that they were well munited; and that the Enemy not being able to keep together long for want of moneys, would quickly moulder away, and being reduced to a smaller number, would be assaulted upon better advantage, and overcome with less danger; and because they feared *Valenza* upon the *Poe*, it not being very well Garrisonn'd, *Doria* took upon him the defence thereof, and entred thereinto with about a thousand Horse. The Duke despairing to do any good upon the City, whereinto many men were entred, and did still enter, set fire on *Felizzano*, and the places thereabouts, and went against *Annone*, a strong place, and which was guarded with about 2000 Foot, but ill provided of powder or ammunition: Those within came out against him, but were soon made to retreat back into the Town by *Termes*: The Cannon being afterwards mounted, they came to battery, and from thence to assault, which being luckily made on three sides, the defendants not being able to resist long for want of Ammunition, retreated tumultuously into the Castle; which not being better provided of Ammunition than was the Town, and much worse with victuals for so great a multitude; and being little, and incapable of so many men; whereas with a proportionable Garrison it might have defended it self, it became undefendible through the multitude of defendants, and was forced to treat of surrender the sooner, as not having wherewith to feed so many people; it was therefore agreed, *That they should march forth with their Arms; and that they should be conveyed to the Kings Territories*; which Agreement being afterwards too sophistically interpreted by the Duke, they were sent to the County of *Burgony*, which was then under the King of *Spain*, that they might serve no more in this present War: they then went speedily by the Bridge which was cast over the *Tanaro*, to *Arazzo*, which was immediately abandoned by the Garrison consisting of 1500 Foot, who seeing the Bridge thrown over, and the Dukes men march over it, retired into *Alessandria*; but being pursued by *Termes*, and Monsieur *della Barsa*, they were assaulted on the Rere, where were 300 Swissers, who after no long dispute basely yielded, their lives, but not their Arms, being saved; in which in crim the rest of the Garrison, who march'd

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on, without ever turning back upon the Enemy, or succouring their companions, had time to get safe into *Alessandria*: wherefore the Governour, who was ill counselled, and whose Forces were but weak, not thinking it safe to march out into the fields, and to expose his men, whereon the defence of the State of *Millain* did wholly and solely depend, to the uncertainty of Battle, stood looking on whilst his Country was burnt and destroyed, his Garrisons slain, and his Towns taken by that Enemy, whom (though once superiour to him in Forces) he could not overcome, because he knew not how to use the Victory. But perhaps the Dukes destiny is to be raised up when he is at the lowest, and to be oppresst when he is at the greatest height; to the end that never keeping in the same condition, he should be a singular example to the world both of good and bad fortune. The Governour complained, and protested under his hand to Cardinal *Lodovisio*, that he was assaulted by the Duke, and by the French with the Forces and Ensignes of the Kingdom under publick faith, for that the affairs of the war were already agreed between the two Kings, which had kept him from making provision of new men; and by Expresses sent speedily away to *Paris* he made the like complaints to the King of *France*, accusing his Ministers, that by assaulting the State of *Millain* with the Arms and Ensignes of *France*, they had broken the good understanding, and the Conventions of peace which were agreed upon between their Majesties of *France* and *Spain*: But on the other side, seeing so many French and Dutch in *Piedmont*, and fearing that they had higher aims, he did the more sollicite, that the new levies might be made which were already appointed: and, as if the safety of the whole State of *Millain* had been therein concern'd, he writ into *Spain* for speedy supplies of money; and demanded the succour from the Princes of *Italy*, which they were bound to send for the defence of the State of *Millain*, and to the Viceroy of *Naples*, that he would immediately send him the Souldiers which were in the Fleet, it being then returned from the Gulf; for it was not thought that the peace, though concluded, would be observed, by reason of the Dukes new resentments, wherein it was much doubted, that dissimulation might be used; though it was known, that the King of *France* had sent in all haste to the Court of *Spain* to excuse himself for what had happened, as being done contrary to his orders, and beyond all expectation, through the too great fervor and ardency of his Commanders, who were more inclin'd to novelty, then that their two Majesties should joyn together in Union: And if the Duke, when he was beaten and under hatches, was so little pliable to Treaties of peace, how much less was it likely that he would now consent thereunto when he was on the upper hand? How was it to be believed, that he and the other Commanders should abandon so rare an occasion in the present conjuncture of times, and accompanied with so great good success?

But the errours were already too much multiplied, which were committed either in undertaking, or in prosecuting the war: the taking up of Arms for a meer punctilio of honour had produced too bitter fruits: the King and Court of *Spain* having been interessed in this war, contrary to their own will, by their Ministers in *Italy*; minding now more the safety and quiet of *Italy*, then the honesting of an advantagi-

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cus peace, which was that for which the Italian Agents fought, did deteſt the continuance thereof beyond meaſure; and the King of *France*, not being able to minde the affairs of *Italy*, and not being deſirous to loſe the honour of having once again made peace in *Italy*, wiſh'd that it might be made by any whatſoever means; and therefore as the King of *Spain* accepting of the King of *France* his ſatisfactions had ſent very preciſe Orders into *Italy* for the execution of what was agreed upon; ſo the King of *France* having upon the complaints made by the Governour ſent a Meſſenger into *Italy* to reprehend the French Lords and Commanders ſharply for what they had done, and to wiſh them upon pain of grievous puniſhment to deſiſt, *Italy* was freed from the troubles of the late war, and from the fear and dread of that which was to inſue; which was likely to have been more cruel and bloody then the former. So as the Duke ſeeing himſelf, on the one ſide, as it were abandoned by the Venetians, and that the two Kings were deſirous he ſhould agree; and on the other ſide, that he had brought his affairs to ſuch a paſs, as that he might compound with ſatisfaction, gave way to what was eſtabliſh'd in *France*, and in *Spain*; the rather, for that he was fully ſecured by the King of *France*, that *Vercelles* ſhould be reſtored, and that his State ſhould be ſecured and defended. Thus then the here under-written Articles were made on the ninth of *October* in *Paris*, whither the Governour was gone, between the ſaid Governour and the French Embaſſadour, with the Cardinals aſſiſtance, and intervening.

That the Duke ſhould lay down Arms before the preſent moneth October *ſhould be ended, according to the peace of* Aſti: *of which diſarming the Embaſſadour promiſed the Governour ſhould have notice given him by the King of* France: *that he ſhould reſtore all places appertaining to the Duke of* Mantua, *to the Church, to the Empire, and to whatſoever particular perſon: this being done, that the Governour, to comply with the King of* France *his deſire, ſhould in the King his Maſters name, reſtore immediately whatſoever had been taken during the war: that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty on both ſides as ſoon as the Duke ſhould have reſtored: that this being done, the Governour ſhould diſpoſe of his Army according to the Articles of* Aſti: *upon theſe terms a period was put to the wars of* Lombardy *and* Piedmont: *and the Duke at laſt laid down Arms, rather for that he had leſs occaſion to uſe them, then that his deſire to uſe them was leſſened.*

Rumours ceaſed not for all this on the Venetians behalf; they were freed from fear of the Spaniſh Fleet, which was gone by the Kings command from the Gulf, and retreated into the *Tyrrhene* Sea; they perceived the weakneſs of the Spaniſh Counſels and Forces in *Lombardy*; that the Dukes Forces by the great recruits from *France* and *Germany* had got the upper hand: they argued by the diſſimulation uſed in the Court of *Spain*, and by the inſultings ſuffer'd in *Aleſſandria*, that the King and that Court were weary of war in *Italy*; and deſirous to make peace upon any terms. They therefore being confident that they ſhould meet with the ſame reſpect and the like uſage, notwithſtanding the peace already made, will continue the Siege of *Gradiſca*, which they ſaw was reduced to ſo great ſtreights as it could not long hold out: howſoever, were it either for the reputation of their Forces, or

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out of a desire of getting that Town, they could not think of coming empty-handed out of this war, wherein they had been at so much paine and expence: and doubtlesly, if they had effected their intention, all things would have been again in great disorder, so loth would they have been to part with that they had gotten: but their Counsel proved not at all fortunate; for Archduke *Leopold*, who had still an eye to the conduct of that war, upon the Confines of *Friuli*, and the Spanish Embassadour Resident in *Venice* knowing how impossible it was to be relieved, nor having any other means whereby to provide for the preservation of that place, writ to the Governour of *Millain*, letting him know in what danger it was of being lost, unless, as the last remedy, he would molest the Confines of the Commonwealth on his side. The Governour therefore made many of the Forces who were quartered upon those Confines pass into the Counties of *Bergamo* and *Crema*, who took from the Venetians the Castle of *Fara*; and went afterwards to *Romano*, where though they were repuls'd yet they overran the neighbouring Towns, plundering and carrying away great store of prey, to the very great prejudice of the people in those parts; for the Venetians were wholly unprovided there: wherefore fearing some worser thing if that commotion should increase, they sent for the Spanish Embassador into the Colledge; this Embassador was Don *Alphonso della Cueva*, Marquess of *Belmar*, who at the Kings request was afterwards made Cardinal: he having been always very attentive to the success of affairs in *Venice* had by his seasonable advice and instructions sent to *Naples*, *Millain* and *Germany*, been a good help to the carrying on of that war fort he advantage of the King and Archduke, and consequently, had been prejudicial to the Venetians; who being therefore ill looked upon by them, and hated, as one who pryed too narrowly into their intentions and actions, had not for many moneths of late negotiated with any one neither in private nor in publick: being upon this occasion sent for to the Colledge, after many complaints and alterations made by the Doge on the one side, for the Fleets having entred the Gulf in an hostile manner, and for the fresh assaults made by the Souldiers of *Millain*; and by the Embassadour on the other side, for the war made upon the house of *Austria*, for the continual helps and fomentations administer'd to the wars of *Piedmont*, and for the Siege continued before *Gradisca*, contrary to the Articles of peace already agreed upon, and accepted by them; the Venetians thought it good at last to be content, that if the Embassadour would promise that all hostile acts should cease in the parts towards *Millain*, they would suffer so much Victuals to be daily carried into *Gradisca* as should serve for their daily sustinance; and that this agreement should last, till such time as peace were put in execution: which though it were already done with reciprocal satisfaction on all sides by Land, yet were not the Venetians free from being injured and insulted over by Sea; for when the Spanish Fleet was gone from the Gulf, the Venetians began to fall foul upon the Ragusians, in resentment of their having given receptacle in their Havens to the Fleet which wronged the Subjects and Towns which were under the Commonwealth. The Ragusians had recourse to the Viceroy of *Naples*, who was commanded to pro-

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tect them by the King of *Spain*, since they live under his protection: their recourse was not in vain, nor was the Viceroy slow in their revenge; who forbore not to vex that Commonwealth once more, which he did prosecute with so vehement hatred; wherefore since he could not have the Gallies in a readiness for this new attempt, he sent *Rivera* into the *Adriatick* Sea with 18 Patacks and Galleoons, very well vers'd in what belong'd to warlike affairs, who coming on the 15th of *Novemb.* above *Ragugia*, kend the Venetian Fleet a far off, conducted by *Veniero*, which coming from forth the Haven of *San Croce*, within half a mile of *Ragugia*, came to assault him: The Venetian Fleet consisted of 19 Galleoons, 6 Galleasses, 32 small Gallies, and 15 large Albanese Vessels, which in all made up the number of 72 bottoms: a Fleet certainly advantagious for the greatness, or number of the Vessels, and for the store of Artillery, and much exceeding that of *Rivera*, but so bare of men, as the Souldiery came not to 2300, and the Mariners and Oar-men were not so many as were requisite: the Sea was that day very calm, and the air very still, so as the Viceroys Galleoons not being able to move, and the Venetians Fleet coming on leisurely, they came at last, about Sun-set, to within two Cannon-shot of one another: here they stood looking one upon another, not doing any thing: the Venetian Fleet having put themselves into the form of a Half-moon, began to discharge their great Guns, though at a distance, with intent, if not of offending, at least of scaring the Enemy, and of keeping him far off: this firing their Guns so far off, and at all adventures, wrought contrary effects to what the Commander imagined; for the Spaniard believing this to be a bravado of the Enemy, and that he detested coming to close fight, grew more confident, and placing his hopes of Victory in boarding indeavour'd when the Sun was up to fall on: but the wind proving scarce, he was forced to temporize till about noon, when the wind beginning to blow more briskly, he couragiously assaulted the Enemies Fleet; and having past and repast several times amidst them with his Admiral, which was of a large bulk, excellently well munited, and very yare; and having prejudiced them much with his great Guns, and slaine many of them with Musket-shot, he infused such terrour into the Venetians, as throwing themselves behind the Banks and Waste-cloaths, and retiring to the safest parts of their Vessels, they did almost give over all defence, minding e ch m n his own safety, and to preserve themselves from death. Gene al *Veniero* ran to and fro couragiously amongst t em, shewing much undauntedness, he incourag'd some, threatned others, and struck divers, to make them stand to their Arms and fight: but so little was Military discipline observed, so great their terrour and consternation of mind, as they gave no obedience to their Generals authority, entreaties or commands: The wind grew at last to a great storm, in the beginning whereof *Veniero* doubting that his lesser Gallies would not be ab'e to k ep at Sea, made the Souldiers that were in them pass into the Galle sses, and ordered the Gallies to retreat; indeavouring in vain to make the Captains of their Galleasses to fall upon the enemies Gall oons now that the defendants were doubled; and he himself getting into the Galleoon Balby, put his valour to its utmost trial, as also

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that of his Souldiers; but their courage and animosity not being answerable to his, and cowardise and fear of death reigning even there as well as elsewhere, his presence nor Authority was no more respected then it had been formerly: At last, the coming on of night, the tempestuousness of Seas and wind, parted the Fray: The Venetian Vessels, without order or any command, retreated in disorder into several parts of *Slavonia* and *Albania*, being scattered, some here, some there, torn and rent no less by the enemies Cannon, then by the Storm at Sea; two of the smaller Gallies, with all the men that were in them, sunk at high Sea; three others running upon shore were split, but their men saved: And the Vicetoys Galleoons, the enemies Fleet being fled, and they consequently being left Masters at Sea, not caring to pursue them, went to *Manfredonia* in *Puglia*, and from thence to *Brindisi*, having lost only 8 fighting men, and 30 wounded; but their Vessels were much rent by the Venetian Cannon, which was peradventure the cause why they did not pursue the enemy, and make themselves masters of the whole Fleet.

The Common-wealth was not a little afflicted at the success of this Battel; they were so scandalized and incensed with the Captains and many of the Officers, as they put many of them out of their places, and imprisoned many of the Masters and Masters-Mates, who had been most guilty of Cowardise; particularly, the Captains of the Galleasses, because scorning their Generals Command, they had not the courage to assault the enemy: And *Veniero*, for having shewed so much courage and valour upon this occasion, was made Procurator of St *Mark*, an eminent Dignity in that Common-wealth, and next to the Doge; but finding how little authority he had over his Captains, and that he was a more practical, experienced, and daring Commander, then became a wary Admiral of the Venetian Fleet to be; the Common-wealths intrinsical intentions being that by no means (no not upon evident hopes of victory) he should hazzard a Battel as he had done, they put another in his place; but fearing yet worse, other Ships and Vessels of war being come to them from *Holland* and *England*, with 3000 Dutch Foot, conducted by Count *Lewestein* at the Common-wealths charges; so as their Fleet was greater then before, wherein was 40 Gallies, 34 Galleoons, 6 Galleasses, and other smaller Vessels; they put the Souldiers that were come from *Holland*, and those that were come from before *Gradisca*, into them, and sent them out of their Walles commanded by *Pietro Barbarico*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, who upon this occasion was made General at Sea: There hath not been in our times any Fleet of the Common-wealths like unto this, so powerful and so well furnished with fighting men, which being for the most part Forreigners caused notwithstanding more fear then confidence in the Common-wealth, she being naturally cautious in all her actions, and extreamly diffident of forreign forces, unless they be justly counterpoised by her own Country men, therefore not trusting them with so great a Fleet, but apprehending much that the Fleet might be utterly lost by any unthought of accident, by the sudden sedition or mutiny of the Souldiers, or secret intelligence between the Captains, they by a new and unheard of advice, took order that neither Powder nor Shot

should be delivered out to the Souldiers: Thus did this Fleet scour over the Adriatick Sea, more out of pomp and ostentation, to shew that Maritime Empire which she could but ill make good against much inferiour enemies, then out of any present need; for the Viceroys Galleoons were already by orders from the King withdrawn into the Tyrhene Sea: The Common-wealth did notwithstanding apprehend that storm nee at hand, and even with the very City of *Venice*, which they so much feared would fall upon their Fleet; for some forreign Souldiers remaining yet in the City, the Senate had either notice, or were jealous, that they had secretly plotted to burn the Arsenal, to Plunder the Mint-house, the Custom-house, and publick-Treasury; and to do yet more if their design should prove fortunate.

The Duke of *Ossuna* was said to be the chief Authour of this Conspiracy; who having taken many Souldiers into his pay at *Naples*, and of several Nations, but the most of them French, had corrupted them by monies and large promises, and had sent them, by a few at a time, to *Venice*, where they were willingly entertained by the Common-wealth, by reason of their great scarcity of Souldiers: This was given out to be the carriage of this business, though the publick Transactions were very secretly suppresst by the Senator; and were it not for the punishment inflicted upon many, there appeared not any the least signe of such a Conspiracy, either before or after the execution of such wicked ones; nay, many circumstances were repugnant, if not to the truth, yet to the probable possibility of what was divulged: nay there were those who with rational arguments proved the vainness thereof. It was also observed that the Common-wealth, which was wont to exaggerate in all Princes Courts against the Spaniards, and to make their Agents to be conceived violent and insidious of what was other mens, said not a word upon this so great occasion, and past it over with miraculous silence, not only towards the Princes who were their friends, but rather to their resident Embassadours; unless it were that not being able to dissemble the business with the latter, who were present at so strange an accident, they acquainted them with a certain Plot, but in very general terms, which was accompanied with much ambiguity: They spoke not one word thereof to the Spanish Embassadour, though he was firmly believed to have a hand in it; and who came the next day into the Colledge boldly to demand, as he pretended, better provision for the safety of his person against the popular insultings; but in effect to witness his innocency to the world by that his confident appearance: And it is most certain that the people would have hardly been kept from committing some insolencies upon his person, if any thing of certain or of ambiguous had appeared against him: What ever the business was, many Forreigners, and particularly all the French Souldiers, were with much universal terror led to the common Gaol, and many of them hung up by the heels afterwards, and many drown'd; and upon the arrival of a Faluca sent from *Venice* to the Fleet, whilst it was upon the Island *Corfola*, by order from General *Barbarico*, one *Jacomo Pier*, a French man by Nation, was put into a Sack and cast into the Sea: This man being a Pyrate, and having gotten some fame, was first entertained by the Duke of *Ossuna* for the service of the Fleet; and

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passing afterwards, without leave, over to the Venetians; was received with great honour and extraordinary pay. Captain *Pettardiers*, his companion, had somewhat a differing end; he was first Strapado'd, and then hung by the foot upon the main-Mast; For the Duke of *Ossuna*'s part, it was manifest, that being fled from his service to serve the Venetians, he gave publick order for the disbursing of 4000 Ducats to them out of the Venetian Banks, as a gracious reward for their service, and for the remainder of pay which was due to them; and that he had been thus liberal to them, only for that it being known in *Venice*, they would be suspected by the Common-wealth. These accidents, were they either true or false, did notwithstanding no way prejudice the main business of the peace agreed upon: For the Venetians (as hath been said) had been very silent therein; being satisfied with the restitution of *Fara* in the County of *Bergamo*, they were content to attribute all the disorder which had happened there to military disobedience, and not to the Governours commands, as the Governour himself confess'd it was: For what remained, they promised reparation for any damage done by the Common-wealth in this Commotion; which notwithstanding was never given; and but very small satisfaction was given to the Merchants for their Vessels which were taken in the Gulf; though the King of *Spain* writ very punctually concerning it to the Viceroy.

The performance of the Peace of *Asti* was reserved for the last, and for the satisfaction of the Duke of *Savoy*, Count *Gualdo*'s Restauration, to the which none being obliged by the Articles of *Asti* but the King of *France*, who ingaged himself for it, it appeared impossible that the Duke of *Mantua* should ever be brought to consent thereunto; neither would, nor could the King of *Spain* in reason compel him thereunto; but as Protector of *Montferrat*, he was bound to defend it, as he had formerly promised to do, against all the delinquents of that State: Yet the King of *France* being much concerned in seeing the Duke of *Savoy* satisfied, by what he had undertaken by the Capitulations of *Asti*; and the Duke threatning new Commotions against *Montferrat*, which was not likely to have succeeded without the consent and assistance of the King of *France*, who was distasted at the Duke of *Mantua*'s so great obdurancy; both the Kings having therefore acquainted the Duke of *Mantua* with the new inconveniencies which were likely to insue, and also desired him by their Embassadours, that he would pardon Count *Guido*; the Duke preferring Peace and the publick good before his private revenge and anger, and being also moved by the example of both those Kings, who, as also their Fathers, (Princes of so great Authority) had pardoned more hainous Delinquents; resolved at last to pardon him, and to restore him to his former Estate and Honour; whereby the wished for end was put to the Wars of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*; which certainly would have put *Italy* into her former peaceful condition (for there was nothing more desired by the Court of *Spain* then this) had not the Statists in *Italy*, by new and unthought of accidents, ingaged her in new Wars against her Will and Genius.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book VII.

The Contents.

IN this seventh Book you have the condition of the affairs of Italy, *after the appeasement of the War of* Piedmont. *The death of two Popes, as also the death of the King of* Spain, *and of the Emperour. The Insurrections in the* Valtoline; *the occasions of new rumours which arose from hence, in* Italy, *of new jealousies, and of new Leagues made by many Princes against the Crown of* Spain. *The Forts of the* Valtoline *depositedinto the Popes hands. The Prince of* Wales *his Journey into* Spain. *The Prince of* Urbin's *death: and the approaching Escheate of that State: And lastly, the seeds of new troubles rising between the Genueſe, and the Duke of* Savoy, *by reason of their having purchased the Fee-farm of* Zuccarello, *wherein the Duke was displeased. Here are also touched, by way of passage, some accidents of War, which happened in* Germany, Flanders, *and in the East and West-Indies.*

THe present Peace of *Italy*, being procured by the unanimous consent of the two Kings, and by the Venetians so great cunning, was commonly thought would continue long; and that the affairs of this Province, agitated by so many, and so various perturbations, would now be in quiet; for the two Crowns being taught by the last Occurrences, began to know what prejudice their reciprocal fomenting of each others Rebels and Enemies was to their Authority; and that being now joyn'd in good intelligence, they should give the Law to all, and compel all lesser Potentates to reverence them, and to depend

depend upon their pleasure, and they seemed to be so cemented together by their mutual advantage and interest, as no fear was to be had of any future breach between them: wherefore though the Duke of *Savoy* was not fully satisfied with the Peace, yet having lost the leaning-stock of *France*, and the being fomented by the Venetians, his discontentment was not to be feared, chiefly since finding palpably by the peaces being concluded by the Venetians without his intervening or participation, that that Commonwealth had assisted him more for their own private ends, then for the good of the common cause, it had totally deprived him of placing any future hope in them; and if when he was joyn'd with them, and upheld by the French, he had got no other good by so many wars, by such labours and dangers, then the bare venting of his anger, and some satisfaction that he had been the first of all the Italian Potentates that had dared to withstand the Spanish Forces, which were formerly held so formidable by all *Italy*; and mortal to whosoever should provoke them; what could he hope for, or pretend unto without them? and yet the King of *Spain* fearing least the Dukes dissatisfaction might occasion new troubles in *Italy*, and that the unconformity of his humour with that of his, the Kings, Agents in *Italy*, might afford fuel for new fire; he sent for Don *Pietro di Tolledo* back to *Spain*, and made Don *Gomez Auarez di Figueroa* and *Cardova*, Duke of *Feria*, Governour of *Millain*, in his place: a Gentleman of a more benigne, and temperate spirit, not by inclination any way averse to the Dukes affairs; as Don *Pietro* had appeared to be, and the King did not only shew some dislikes of Don *Pietro's* comportments, but gave precise command to the new Governour to have a great care to keep peace in *Italy*, and to live neighbourly with her Potentates, and more particularly that he should study by all possible means, how to sweeten the Duke of *Savoy*, and to regain his good will, which was much alienated by the late accidents: and not herewithall satisfied, he for the same respects removed *Roderigo Orasco*, Marquess of *Mortara*, from the Government of *Alessandria*, and had like to have done so to by Don *John Vives*, both of them being thought to be well-wishers to Novelty, and the Dukes enemies, and for that the latter was not very acceptable to the Commonwealth of *Genoa*. But his long experience in the affairs of *Italy*, wherein he had been long versed, and his not having any occasion to meddle directly in the Dukes affairs, kept him in his former place. Satisfaction was likewise indeavoured to be given to the Venetians (so great a desire was there, not to cause any more troubles in *Italy*) wherefore the Marquess of *Bedmar*, Resident Embassadour in *Venice*, waved the earnest desire of that Commonwealth removed from thence, and sent to be Resident Embassadour in *Flanders*. The Vice-roy of *Naples* had also precise orders sent him, to restore the *Mahouns* and the Merchandize which was taken in the Gulf; and not long after, at the pressure of the Neapolitans, another was sent to succeed *Ossuna*: and a certain difference arising between the Officers in *Millain*, and those of the Commonwealth, by reason of the usual passage of Souldiers, who going from the Territories of *Millain* to those of *Cremona*, touched upon some part of a controverted Territory, the King caused the business to be decided, with satisfaction to

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the Venetians: and the new Governour *Feria*, who was very desirous to preserve peace, and to pluck up all occasions by the roots which might occasion new Ruptures between the Dukes of *Savoy*, and *Mantua*, listned first to the Duke of *Mantua*, who being impatient to be still subject to be molested by the Duke of *Savoy*, and being also desirous of revenge, for the losses and injuries which he had suffered, indeavoured to give the Duke of *Savoy* a more powerful neighbour then himself: wherefor coming to *Pavia*, where he spoke with the new Governour, he offer'd to yield up *Montferrat* to the King of *Spain*, upon the receiving of another State, by way of change, which might be equivalent to *Montferrat*: a business which could not be effected, as well by reason of the inequality of the bargain, as for that it was of an odious consequence, and badly resented not only by the Duke of *Savoy*, but by the Venetians, and by the French; and which consequently would have afforded occasions of new jealousies, and commotion, instead of taking them away; wherefore forgoing the further pursuit thereof, he fell upon a more pleasing Negotiation, to compose the differences of *Montferrat* so as both the Dukes might be contented, and that wound might for ever be cured which was likely yet to cause so great Commotions in the now peaceful condition of *Italy*: but this indeavour proved vain, by reason of the too great difference of the two Princes pretentions; so as though *Feria* treated thereof first with the Duke of *Mantua* in *Pavia*, and afterwards with *Philiberto*, Prince of *Savoy*, who was at this time come from *Sicily* to *Piedmont*, yet nothing was concluded: but those ends are seldom composed which are most earnestly indeavoured. This so great desire of peace, and satisfaction to the Princes of *Italy*, shewn by the King, and Spanish Agents, now when the edge of their weapons was taken off by the late accidents, produced effects clean contrary to their intentions; for the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Venetians, finding thereby that the Court of *Spain* did forgo much of their high an antient pretentions, when they had met with a constant courageous resistance, grew the prouder; and thinking that they were sure of the Kings good will, they laid aside all fear of future molestation, and much of their respect to the Authority, and Power of that Crown; and therefore holding back from what they saw the King did so intensively desire, they thought by their being prepared for action, to put a stand to the resolutions of that Court, and to make them do whatsoever they pleased, as if the King would grant any thing, and would not refuse any conditions which might be favourable to their pretentions; and this conceit was of such Force, as the Venetians, were it either in resentment of the injuries, and losses they had received, or out of new jealousies occasioned by the much provision for war brought by the Duke of *Ossuna* into *Manfredonia*, a Haven in *Puglia*, in the *Adriatick* Sea, were imboldned (as was conceived by the stout encounters which were there had) to cause that City to be entred in hostile manner by the Turkish Fleet, sack'd, and the Ammunition thereof, part taken away, part thrown away; nor did the other Princes of *Italy*, who for so many years before had been incumbred by the Spaniards too great authority, disapprove of these comportments; thinking that the lower the Spaniards were brought, they

should

ſhould be the more excuſed by the Miniſters of that Court, or at leaſt treat with leſs pride and ſurquedry: ſo as though they in outward appearance, perſevered in their wonted reſpect and obſequie, yet they were inwardly glad to ſee their condition better'd, at the coſt of others. But the French were much exalted in pride and pretentions; for having twice fomented the commotions in *Italy* by their Forces, and twice compoſed them by their Authority, ſo as they thought themſelves to be become now abſolute Arbitrators of the affairs of *Italy*, from which they had ſo many years before been excluded; therefore though they kept friendſhip, and good correſpondency, punctually, with the Crown of *Spain*, and ſhun'd all occaſions of falling out with them, yet being no leſs ſtudious then the Spaniards to increaſe their friendſhip with the Italian Princes, (which that they might continue, they indeavoured as much as they could to keep the Duke of *Savoy* and the Venetians united, nay to draw them to themſelves, and to ſeparate them totally from the Crown of *Spain*; the former having been the Bridge and Gate whereby their Forces entred *Italy*, and the latter a powerful Inſtrument to maintain their Authority: by whoſe means, and by their Authority in the Court of *Rome*, they hoped to turn and winde all things as they liſted, and to make a ſtrong counterpoiſe in the midſt of *Italy*, where they poſſeſs'd nothing, to the Spaniards who had ſo great poſſeſſions there:) to this purpoſe the King of *France* was pleaſed to give his eldeſt unmarried Siſter for Wife to the Prince of *Piedmont*; and choſe the Cardinal of *Piedmont*, who was gone to reſide at *Rome*, to be Protector of *France*, aſſigning over Annual Rents and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices to him, and turning all the Authority and Favour of the Crown upon him, to the end that he might live in the Court of *Rome* with no leſs ſplendor, then authority: which actions gave no little jealouſie to the Court of *Spain*; as if the King of *France* did by theſe ſo ſtrict conjunctions, and great favours, aſpire to lay ſurer foundations for his own affairs in *Italy*, and to out-do the Spaniards. The accidents and conjuncture of times did alſo much augment the pretentions of the French and the Venetians; for the Truce being expired between the King of *Spain* and the Hollanders which was contracted for twelve years, in the year 1609, the King of *Spain* made war upon them, hoping to reduce them to their antient obedience; and in *Germany*, the affairs of the Empire, and of the houſe of *Auſtria*, met with ſtout oppoſition, by reaſon of the great wars and troubles of that Province, begun in *Bohemia*; the Inhabitants whereof rebelling againſt Archduke *Ferdinando*, who was choſen to be their King ſome few years before, went to a new Election, and choſe the Prince Elector *Palatine* for their King. And therefore Archduke *Ferdinando*, who in the year 1619, ſucceeded *Mathias* in the Empire, declared the Bohemians, and the *Palatine*, to be Rebels, and made war upon them, to chaſtiſe the one's rebellion, and to allay the others Tyranny; and becauſe the Catholick Princes of *Germany*, and the Duke of *Saxony*, joyn'd in League, and adhered to the Emperour; and the Proteſtant Princes joyn'd alſo in a League, which they called the Union, and adhered to the *Palatine*, oppoſing the others; the King of *Spain* was neceſſitated to aſſiſt the Emperour with all his Forces; to the end that the Ceſarian and Auſtrian Authority beginning

to totter in *Germany*, it might not draw after it the ruine of the States in *Italy*, and *Flanders*, which were so neer conjoyn'd to the safety and Grandezza of the house of *Austria*, and Crown of *Spain*: so as these two wars being risen up like two devouring whirle-pools of men, and money, the King of *Spain* was the more obliged to indeavour peace in *Italy*, not to break with *France*, and to dissemble with the Italian Princes, who therefore (mans ambition being naturally vast) not being content with not being troubled, advanced the more in their ends and pretentions. Amidst this dispositon of humours, and accidents, the affairs of *Italy* were likely to be quiet: for neither were the Forces of her Potentates such as might incourage them to struggle with the Spaniard; and the Spaniards being far from desiring novelties, out of the afore aid respects, would have been quiet, and have avoided any occasion of disgusting the Princes of *Italy*. But *Italy* could not long continue in this condition; for either the heavenly influence not favourable to the quiet of *Italy*, or the anger of God, not yet pacified with her sins, the Duke of *Feria* had such occasions administred him of securing the King of *Spains* affairs, as they prevailing over whatsoever respect, or inclination to peace, he thought he should do much amiss not to embrace them: wherefore causing new jealousies and diffidences in the Italians, and affording matter of complaint and opposition to the rivals of that Crown, it seemed that instead of begetting good blood, and nourishing Confidence (the Mother of Peace) between that Crown and the Princes of *Italy*, as he was will'd to do by the King, he sowed fresh and fertile seeds of new wars, and of more important perturbations then those that were past.

A secret fire was hatch'd in a nook of *Italy*, which breaking forth afwards had like to have set all *Italy* on fire: just as what usually befalls great Cities, whole combustions begin sometimes not from Theatres, or Temples, but from poor Cottages. I will take my Narative a little backwards, to the end that what succeeded afterwards may be better understood. The Inhabitants of antient *Rætia*, who are now call'd *Grisons*, enjoy'd their antient liberty under the name of the three Unions, or Leagues, whereof the chiefest, and most numerous (from which the whole Country takes its name) is call'd *Grigia*, the other two, *Dirittura* and *Cadadina*, and a part of them did long ago rebell against the house of *Austria*, and are for the most part Heretickes, so they retain an implacable hatred against that house, and hating extreamly the name of Spaniard, have always held *France*, and their confederacy contracted with that Crown for above a hundred years ago, to be the chief foundation of their security, and liberty: and being defended and protected by that Crown, they were observed by their neighbours, at least not disturbed in their quiet, and peaceful possessions. Their Country which lies amongst *L'Alpi Retiche*, or *Rætian Alps*, extends it self a little into *Italy*; for descending down the Mountains it hath some Valleys at the banks thereof, amongst which lies the *Valtolina*, from whence, and by which the new wars, the great jealousies and commotions of *Italy* had their beginning. The *Valtolina* begins from the *Alps* which border upon *Trivolo*, just where the River *Adda* takes her commencement, and running along the same river it ends in the lake of *Como*:

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so as the end thereof confines upon *Tirvole*, which is under the house of *Austria*, to it joyns in the Basis upon the State of *Millain*; it is coasted along on the one side by the Rhetian Mountain, and on the other side by the Countreys of *Brissia* and *Bergamo*: this Valley of the Grisons, as it severs the State of *Millain* from *Germany* and *Austria*, and joyns the Venetians to the Grisons and Swissers, and by means thereof, to *France*, and all the Transalpine Countreys; (if by any accident it should fall under the Spanish Dominion, upon the access of *Germany* to the State of *Millain*) it would serve as a Gate or Bridge, whereby to bring as many men as the King of *Spain* should please from *Germany* to the State of *Millain*, with less expence and difficulty; and also, if occasion should be, to convey the like from *Italy* into *Germany*, in succour of the Empire, and house of *Austria*: which is very convenient and necessary for the safety of the Spaniards, and Austrians, in *Germany*; for *Germany* being the principal help to defend the State of *Millain*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*: upon Occurrences, the Spaniards have need to ask leave of the Swissers, for the passage of Germans into *Italy*, and do purchase it from them at great rates, and upon hard conditions (for they cannot possibly hope for it from the Grisons, by reason of their League with *France*, and their abhorring the name of a Spaniard) and the Swissers sometimes denying passage, they would much endanger the States, and Affairs of *Spain* in *Italy*; so the getting of the *Valtoline* would afford the Spaniards commodity of passing as many men, and other provisions, as they should have need of, by a shorter, safer, and less expensive way, through their own Countries of *Germany* into *Italy*. Moreover, the same *Valtoline*, whilst possess'd by the Grisons, was like a Gate thrown open to the Venetians, and to the other Princes of *Italy*, whereby to receive succour from the Transalpines in defence of their affairs, if (as it was continually doubted) they should be molested by the Spaniards; and being possess'd by the Spaniards, it would be a Bulwark, which blocking up that passage would exclude all other forreign succour; for the Austrian Territories inviroming all *Italy* on the out-side from *Rhetia* to *Dalmatia*, and the State of *Millain* coming to those by the *Valtoline*, (which State of *Millain* reaches almost *ad Mare Ligusticum*) and the King of *Spain* possessing the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Mediterranean, by means of a powerful Fleet; it will appear clearly that the State of *Venice*, and of all other Italians, except *Piedmont*, would be invironed by the King of *Spain*'s and Austrian Dominions, and little less then shut up, and imprisoned within their Forces: so as the possessing of this Valley was of great consequence and moment, by reason of the union or disunion which it occasioned of the States, to the security or prejudice of the Affairs of all of them: It was no wonder then, if, as the Græcians and Trojans strove so much for fair *Helena*, our Princes did the like for the *Valtoline*. The Venetians did very much desire a League with the Grisons for ten years, from the year 1603. and, after many disputes and contestations, did obtain it; to the end that by that confederacy the way might be open to them for Transalpine assistance as oft as they should have need thereof for their own defence; and when they had obtained it, they made publick Feasts and Rejoycings. But this con-

federacy did even then very much displease not only the King of *France*, the ancient Protector and Confederate of the Grisons, but also the Spanish Agents, and particularly Count *Fuentes*, then Governour of *Millain*: so as the Agents of both those Courts, by several means, and out of differing ends, indeavoured by all means to disturb it. The French having by the title of long confederacy, and protection gotten, great authority and preeminency to their King, amongst those people, (that they might govern them as they listed) abhor'd that the Venetians when they should have need of assistance either from the Grisons, or from any other Transalpine Nations, should be succoured by their King, he being Custos and Gardian of that Gate: so as in this respect the Grisons should be more necessitated to persevere in adherence and devotion to the French; and the Spaniards, who had long before aspired to draw this Nation to them by Leagues, and to joyn it by confederacy to the State of *Millain*, believed that their ends were totally interrupted by this new League; and not being well pleased with the grandezza of the Commonwealth of *Venice*, they liked not that it should be rendred more secure by this adherence, or that by having conveniency to bring forreigners into *Italy*, they might peradventure prove prejudicial afterwards to the Affairs of that Crown: Many therefore were the indeavours to disturb this new League and Union; by which the Grisons, who were divided within themselves in parties, and factions, never injoy'd any more that peace and concord which they had for many years formerly injoyed. Count *Fuentes*, to curb them, and to force them to forgo these new Conjunctions, and to joyn in League with the State of *Millain*, as they were desired to do, built a Fort royal just where the River *Adda* falls into the Lake, and named it by his own name Fort *Fuentes*: which standing upon the Confines, and almost in the jawes of the *Valtoline*, did not only keep that Valley in perpetual jealousie, knowing that by reason of the concern and consequence of its situation the Count aimed at it, but because being upon the Lake it might easily hinder that Nation from commerce with the State of *Millain*, and with *Italy*, by which so many Grison families live, and have their being. The Grisons, who were chiefly concern'd therein, did not only exclaim against the building of this Fort, but the Venetians also and the French; and King *Henry* the Fourth, who was then alive, was not a little offended at it, as well for the interest of his Colleagues, as for fear left the *Valtoline* being taken, the Spanish Authority should grow too great: but all this was in vain, for neither the Venetians nor other Italian Princes had any mind to fall out with the Crown of *Spain*, which was then at the height of her greatness and authority, so as they were necessitated to be quiet; and the King of *France*, were it either that he was not displeased that the Grisons should begin to taste the good of the Venetian League, or that he did not then much value it, would not break with *Spain* upon that occasion, which (as he was wont to say) did not principally belong to him; and the Swissers, who were the Grisons antient Confederates, although they mutter'd somewhat, yet being corrupted in their Diets, partly by their home dissentions, partly by Spanish gold, did only perswade the Grisons to accommodate themselves to the condi-

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tion of the times, and to provide civilly for their affairs; wherefore the Venetians, seeing themselves left all alone, and that Count *Fuentes* was ready with a great Army, when the Grisons, who upon their account had entred into these troubles, demanded aid of them, did at last declare, that they thought it not fit that the peace of *Italy* should be disturbed upon such an occasion. Thus the Fort *Fuentes* kept unprejudiced by the Forces or threats of so many Princes. But the year 1613 being, together with the time of Confederacy, expired, the Venetians bethought themselves not only of renewing the League, but of establishing it for ever; and, as being a thing necessary to the very being of their State and Liberty, they laid out great store of moneys in that Nation, whereby they purchased so many Partakers, and so numerous a Faction, and so many Votes adhering to their party, as prevailing over the French and Spanish Faction, both which were too weak to oppose them, they united themselves by means of the Agents of both the Crowns; and those Agents joyning in their endeavours and designs, which till then had been contrary to one another, labour'd to exclude the Venetian Confederacy: Wherefore the French Embassadours, who had formerly been held to be the chief Protectors of the Rhetian Liberty against the Spaniards, began to be much suspected; and this suspition grew to be so great, as being turned into hatred, and not being any longer to be concealed, Monsieur *Gueffier*, then Resident Embassadour for *France*, was publickly dismiss'd; who fearing the open hatred and fury of that Nation, and shunning the popular Tumults and Insurrections which he knew were incited against him (and chiefly by the Preachers) he withdrew almost in a flying posture to amongst the Swissers: Wherewith the Grisons having immediately sent away to acquaint the King of *France*, and withal to complain of the reason which drove them thereunto, the King being either displeased at it, or not making such account of the Embassadours which were sent unto him as he had wont, they thought themselves treated as Subjects; wherefore they inclined more then before to the renewing of their League with the Venetians.

The Grisons therefore chas'd away the Bishop of *Coira* (who being a Prince of the sacred Empire, holds the first place in the Dyets) and began to persecute the chief Fautors of both the Crowns with Imprisonments, Confiscations, Banishment, and with corporal punishments, as Enemies to the publick Liberty; nor therewithal content, differing in their opinions, they lean'd almost altogether in the Government of their affairs to their Preachers; who being Hereticks preached nothing but the necessity for preservation of their State and Liberties, of uniting the people in one Religion; and that therefore they must extirpate the Catholicks, and drive them totally out of their Houses and Countrey: Many therefore being forced by this persecution fled, some of them went to the State of *Millain*, some to the Swissers, endeavouring to recover their Countrey by force of Arms, out of which they were driven by rigour, by the injustice of the Judges, and by violent faction; Those that fled to the Swissers made the Embassadour *Gueffier* their Head-Commander, and the others the Duke of *Feria*, with whom *Gueffier* held secret Intelligence, that he might interest himself in their Cause, and help them with men and moneys (which were

things they wanted) to return into their Countries. *Feria* furnish'd them with moneys, wherewith they raised a body of men, and entring into *Coira* they made themselves Masters of it; but their Adversaries being stronger then they, they were soon driven out, and together with them the French Embassadour: Yet they nor the Duke of *Feria* not being any whit dismayed, they tryed their Fortunes once more with greater resolution and Forces; for *Feria* afforded them commodity of taking 500 Foot out of *Tyrvolo*, and moreover he assisted them by diversion, causing an Insurrection in the *Valtoline*; which being set on Foot between *Rodolfo Pianta*, Head of the Grisons that were of the French Faction, and Cavalier *Robustelli* the chief of the Valtoline Faction, was much fomented by *Feria*, but with so much secresie, as it was not known to any of the Princes Agents that were in *Millain*. This Insurrection of the Valtolinians began the year 1620. The pretence was, that they being anciently Confederates with the Grisons, the Grisons being the stronger had turn'd their Confederacy into Command, and exercised too great Tyranny over them, not only over their persons and fortunes, but over their Consciences; and would therefore introduce the poyson of Calvinism, and withdraw the people from their Fore-fathers Religion, which they had suck'd in with their milk: For after they had driven out those that sided with the French, the Grisons (as hath been said) made their Preachers Arbitratory of their affairs; who began to prohibite Indulgences in the *Valtoline*, and to preach Calvinism, to possess themselves of Churches and Monasteries, and to make Colledges thereof, for the breeding up of youth in their Sect, to the end that they might totally root out the Catholick Religion: And that this might the more easily be effected, they put some of the chiefest and most religious of that Valley to death. Having therefore by *Feria*'s assistance shaken off the servitude suffer'd by the Grisons, they put all the Heretical Officers and Preachers to death that they could lay hands on: Afterwards, the better to maintain the begun Insurrection, they possess'd themselves of the Passes whereby the Grisons might fall down upon them and vanquish them, and fell to munite them with men and Fortifications; wherein they were the more fortunate, for that Count *John Serbellone* having by Orders from *Feria* assembled about 2500 Foot without the beating up of Drum, was entred into the *Valtoline* to assist them. But the Grisons preventing these designs fell speedily down with a great many men into the Valley of *Chiavenna*, and from thence environing the upper part of the Lake, they wound about into the *Valtoline*; where having taken and fortified some convenient places to keep out relief from the State of *Millain*, they went to *Trosia*, a great Town in the *Valtoline*, and coming from thence to the Bridge called *Ganda*, upon the *Adda*, they fortified it, and made themselves Masters of *Sondrio*. By which successes the Valtolinians fearing the Grisons made more open recourse to the Duke of *Feria* for more powerful succour in this their so great danger: *Feria* was not deaf to their entreaties, nor backwards in subministring succour; for seeing the Proceedings of the Enemy, and fearing greater inconveniences, commanded *Gil de l'Arena* to endeavour the securing of the affairs of the *Valteline*, who had fortified himself in *Morbegno* with those.

those men who came in threeves into the *Valtoline*; which he having happily done, and recovered the bridge *Gandi*, with the death of the Garrison who opposed him; the Grisons forsook *Sondrio*, and retreated towards *Chiavenna*: But to the end that they might not enter another time by that way into the *Valtoline*, *Feria* ordered Don *Ferrante Pimentello* General of the Light-Horse of the State of *Milan*, (who by his directions was drawn neer the Confines of the *Valtoline* with some Companies of Horse and Foot) to possess himself of the Shore of *Chiavenna*, which being situated upon the Head of the Lake, lies in the mid-way by which people pass conveniently from *Chiavenna* into the *Valtoline*: This Shore or Bank was well fortified by some of the Grisons, who resenting the Spaniards attempts in the *Valtoline* were fallen down into the State of *Milan*, and had given upon some of the neerest Towns thereof, and carried away some Pillage. *Pimentello* sent about 500 Souldiers in Barques to assault that Garrison, which consisted of 300 Foot; who landing not far from the Garrison went towards the bank, intending to assault it: But the Garrison being affrighted at their coming, abandoned that Station, and not staying to be assaulted, fled into *Chiavenna*, so as the bank fell without any disputing into *Pimentello*'s hands, which he forthwith fortified.

By such like demonstrations as these the Duke of *Feria* had plainly declared, that he had sufficiently ingaged not only the King of *Spains* Forces, but his name in this Enterprise, being moved chiefly thereunto out of two reasons; The one, because he saw the Heretick Swissers and the Venetians had openly ingaged themselves in the Grisons cause, and in recovery of the *Valtoline*, that Senate having sent money into those parts to raise two Brigadoes, the one Swissers, the other Grisons, where with to go to the recovery of the *Valtoline*: The other, because the King of *France* his Agents, by order from their King, who was offended with the Grisons, did not only consent unto, but had a hand in the *Valtoline* insurrection, and desired *Feria* to protect them: All this was endeavoured from *Poitiers*, to the end that the Grisons being molested on that part might have the more reason to have recourse to their King, and their King by that means might govern them as he listed, and causing them to abandon the Venetian Confederacy, might recover his ancient Authority with that Nation; wherefore *Feria* taking courage from the consent and intercession of the French, and pretence from the Venetians intermission to meddle in that Affair, thought it might be likely to succeed well, whereby such conveniencies and safety would redound to his Kings Affairs: He notwithstanding cloaked his designs with the mantle of Religion, as if he would have it believed, that it was rather his zeal to the Catholick Faith, and to Gods service, than the conveniencies and interest of State, and of his King, which had made him embrace a business of that importance; professing himself therefore to be a better Catholick than Politician, he sent Priests of holy and devout life into those parts, to preach the Word of God, and to convert souls to the Catholick Religion: He aggravated the wicked and detestable actions of the Calvinists, committed against those of the *Valtoline*, to force them to receive *Calvin*'s Heretical Doctrines; and the danger of that disease being diffused abroad

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in the neighbouring parts of *Italy* and State of *Millain*, might infect all *Italy* with the contagion thereof: Nor hetewithal contens, he acquainted the Pope with the whole business, intreating him, and exhorting him by particular Letters, not only to approve of, but to concur in his actions, in so pious and Catholick a business: The pretence was very just, and the colours very lively and apparent to justifie so great an action; nor could there be a fitter occasion to effect it: but the slavery of *Italy*, which lay hidden under these religious pretences, spoil'd all the glory and good which adorned this action; and it being not probable that so many Princes, whose liberty was concern'd in this business, would ever suffer that the Duke of *Feria* should insnare their States and Liberties with such conceits as these, it might upon better grounds be supposed he would meet with very many difficulties in bringing them to perfection: so as peradventure it might have been a more opportune advice for the affairs of his King, and for the condition of the present times, not to have provoked the Italians with such and so great a novelty, who were already very much incens'd with the Spanish command, who being become more jolly by reason of the successes in the late wars, were ready to hold up their heads, and to hazard the wholly laying aside all respect to the King of *Spains* authority, and forgoing all fear of his Arms to turn the world upside down for the preservation of themselves and liberties, rather then to suffer themselves to be inslaved as they were likely to be by the novelties attempted, and so strongly indeavoured by *Feria*.

Neither was it likely that the French who did now incourage *Feria* to this enterprise, would ever be content that he should reap full satisfaction therein; for they having no other end, then by vexing the Grisons to force them to have recourse unto their King for help, it was more certain, that they would indeavour by all means, that that Valley might not remain possess'd by the Spaniards, lest the Spanish Grandezza might be the more increased, and the liberty of the Italian Princes might be by them oppress'd, and lest that passage might be block'd up from those of their Nation by the Spaniards; and besides that the precise Orders and Instructions of the Court of *Spain* did repugne such novelties, the example of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and of *Philip* the Second, might keep the Duke of *Feria* from such attempts: which Princes though they knew how fitting a thing it would be to be masters of the *Valtoline*, and would galdly have been so; yet thinking it to be a business which would be hard to compass, they were far from thinking of it; and the example of the commotions which happed in Count *Fuentes* time was more fresh, and of greater force, when by building only that Fort within the Confines of the State of *Millain*, he was likely to have caused such wars in *Italy*; the French, and Venetians having ingaged themselves meerly for the preservation of the *Valtoline*, when the Spanish Forces were at the height of their reputation; what could he then pretend, or hope for, upon this present occasion, when the intire usurping of the *Valtoline* was in question, by the preservation whereof the liberty of *Italy*, and by the loss whereof her slavery, did evidently result? and yet *Feria* preferring the great good which would be gotten by joyning *Italy* to *Germany*, before so

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many other respects, entred courageously upon the enterprise, and plunged himself daily more thereinto: thinking that the glory of this acquisition would be greater, by how much the respects were the greater which had kept the Emperour, and *Philip* the Second, from endeavouring it: he did not apprehend that any one could disturb him, or bereave him of what he should have gotten, when he should have joyned *Germany* to *Italy* by the *Valtoline*; for having once secured the passage of the Dutch, neither could the Italians have known how to resent it, being bereft of forreign aid, nor could forreigners have easily assaulted the State of *Millain*, when it should be back'd by the neighbouring German Forces: he was also the more incouraged(and his hopes were the more heightned by the troubles in *France*, the King being busied in besieging *Montalban* and *Rochel*, which were thought would prove a tedious business, and not to be effected: so as holding it for undoubted that neither the French, nor (without them) the Venetians, nor other Italian Princes would stir, he thought they would be content with it, as they had been with the building of Fort *Fuentes*; and that therefore he was not to abandon an occasion whereby he might signalize his Government beyond that of any of his Predecessours: who though they had always had their eye upon it, yet they never knew how to effect it. But the Grisons, who were not this mean while idle, having by the Venetians moneys assembled about 6000 Foot, tried once more to enter into the *Valtoline*, by the way of *Chiavenna*; and finding *la Riva* well fortified, they took a great compass along the Mountains, and fell down into the Country of *Bormio*, which lies in the utmost part of the *Valtoline*, where it joyns to *Tirvolo*: *Fovan di Medici*, Marquess of St. *Angelo*, was entred into this Town with 600 of those Italian Foot who came in Threves from the State of *Millain*, and had already begun a great Trench, by which he thought to have shut up the mouth of a Valley whereby they come from the uppermost part of the Grisons: but the Work not being yet finished, and consequently remaining subject to be offended by the Enemy, when coming upon their backs they should assault the defendants, being therefore set upon on that side which lay yet open, he forsook the Trench, and *Bormio*, and withdrew with his men into *Tirano*, a Town, which lies more inward, and almost in the midst of the Valley; and the Grisons entring *Bormio* without any resistance, sack'd it, unworthily profaning the Churches, and converting sacred things, and what was consecrated to divine worship, not only to prophane, but to sacrilegious, and scandalous uses: being incouraged by this good success they fell down upon *Tyrano* assuredly hoping to take it with as much ease, but they fared here otherwise; for the Duke of *Feria* hearing what had hapned at *Bormio*, gave order to *Fovan Jeronymo Pimontello*, that leaving a sufficient Garrison in *nella Riva*, he should go with all the men he could gather up in those parts, into the *Valtoline*: who taking as he marched some pieces of Artillery from Fort *Fuentes*, and having gotten 14 foot Companies in those parts, came in four days march into *Tyrano*, where there were already 2000 Foot and 500 Horse commanded by *Fovan Bravo*. The Grisons were not above four miles from *Tyrano*, when *Pimontello* came thither with his men; and being discovered,

vered, and withstood by some Troops of Horse they fought them and repuls'd them, who being pursued by greater numbers, retired into *Tyrano*: but the Grisons keeping behind them with the whole body of their men, *Pimontello* and *Bruno* resolved to go forth again into the Field with 1000 Foot, part Spaniards, part Italians, and with 400 Horse; and fencing themselves with some woful Walls, but breast high, which inviron the Gardens by which that whole Country is distinguished, they staid waiting the coming of the Enemy, who appeared upon the descent of a Hill, divided into three Squadrons; the first, which consisted of 1000 Bernese, and were led on by Colonel *Nicolo Muler*, a valiant and well experienced Commander, advancing more furiously then the rest, was so sorely plaid upon by Musket-shot when he drew neer the plain, as being openly exposed to the vollies of shot, he was but ill dealt with: being afterward come upon the plain he received more prejudice by the Horse which was commanded by *Ottavianno*, Governour of *Gullara*, who drawing neer him by a certain cover'd way, gave furiously on upon the Foot, and made great slaughter, insomuch as Colonel *Muler*, together with five other of the best Captains being slain, and their ranks broken, after a furious fight, which lasted for some hours, they were routed; those few that fled were part of them killed by the Country people, part throwing themselves into the *Adda* were drowned: as for the other two Squadrons, the Reer escaped safe away: the other which went to recover *Tyrano*, after having made some resistance, fled, with the loss of their Baggage, which remained in the Enemies hands: the Kings men returned victorious into *Tyrano*; and the vanquished finding they were not pursued, rallied together and went, (being in number about 4000) to assault the Town; but *Pimontello* having assembled the Foot together, and put them in order, made such resistance, as the Enemy being plaid upon by the Artillery, and indamaged by smaller shot, could do nothing of moment, nor durst come to an assault, though the Walls were in some places weak, and ruinous; but retreated towards the Mountains which confine upon the State of *Venice*, from whence going to *Bormio* they returned home. The conflict indured five hours, with great courage on both sides, above 2000 of the Grisons were slain, those being comprehended who were drowned in the *Adda*; and of the Spaniards not above 50, amongst which *Ottavianno* the Governour (who was one of the first that assaulted the first Squadron) and a Nephew of *Jovan Bruno*: the spoil was great, amongst which they found much of what was taken from *Bormio*, and 32000 Ducares, destined for the Souldiers pay: after the Victory, they went to *Bormio*, which being abandoned by the Garrison made no resistance; where they build a gallant Fort royal, and munited the Town with a great Trench; by which, and by three little Forts erected along the Valley, the one at *Tyrano*, another at *Morbegno*, and the third at *Sondrio*, the Kings men were masters of the *Valtoline*; and the new built Forts being kept by the peoples consent, for Guard of the Country, and the liberty thereof, they began to settle a form of Religion, and Politick Liberty, to the end that those of the *Valtoline* being governed by themselves, might under the protection of *Spain*, whereunto they were by a particular Decree received, injoy their Religion,

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and be secured in their liberty, which they had happily recovered. The Archduke *Leopold*, who keeping correspondency with the Duke of *Feria*, quited at the recovery of the Towns of the third League, which were anciently rebelled from the house of *Austria*, did at the same time build a Fort, which he called *Sua Maria*, in the Valley of *Mosera*, in the Grisons jurisdiction, to the end that remaining just where the *Valtoline* joyns to *Trivolo*, the Union on both sides might be the better secured. To these happy successes more happy Negotiations were added; for not long after, the Grisons being dejected, partly by the great blow which they received in the *Valtoline*, and partly confused for the repugnancy of opinions which was risen up amongst them, *la Griggia*, which is the chiefest of the three Leagues, sent Embassadours to *Millain*, and capitulated with *Feria* touching the restitution of the *Valtoline* to its former condition, upon very favourable terms, for the inhabitants Religion and Liberty, and obliged it self, in name of the other two Leagues, in a perpetual League with the State of *Millain*: and (what was much desired by the Spanish Agents) to grant free passage for the Kings men thorow their Towns: but this Capitulation took no effect, though many of the Commonalty of the second League concurred therein; for the third League contradicting it, and particularly those of low *Engadina*, the number of those who were against the Capitulation of *Millain* began to increase, and their faction grew stronger; the rather because they were much fomented by the Venetians, and French Embassadour, who adhered unto them. The Embassadour was the same *Gaffiere*, who having held intelligence with *Feria* but a little before, had procured, and had had a hand in the insurrection of the *Valtolini*; but not being able to see it now fall under the authority, and almost under the command of the Spaniard, and that he himself had been the means and worker thereof, he was pieced again with the Grisons, and with contrary indeavours favoured the oppression of the Valtolinians to drive the Spaniards from amongst the Grisons to the recovery of the Valley which they had lost: they were thereunto also incited by their Preachers, who detesting the Capitulation of *Millain*, called in their publick preachings, and in their private meeting, the Favourers thereof, Authors of bondage, Enemies to the publick liberty, and Traytors to their Country: so as there proceeded great altercations between those who were against it; and the Duke of *Feria* having taken five Companies of Swissers into pay, in favour of those that sided with the Capitulation, he sent them into *Rhetia*; whereat the Country rise up in Arms, and the very famous of the Capitulation not adhering much to their former opinion, the Swissers were forced to retreat: so as this party having gotten the upperhand, they began to implead the chief Authors of the *Millain* Capitulation, as having betrayed the publick liberty, by agreeing thereunto without the publick content or all. But new Orders being sent at this time from the Court of *Spain*, reduces the trouble to a more quiet Negotiation. The Princes of *Italy* were much moved at these proceedings of *Feria*, and relented them; and the Venetians, who (as hath been said) coveted both their own, and the common liberty, and by disbursing out moneys largely into the Grisons, had indeavoured that he might not compass his ends; had

alſo by their Embaſſadour made great complaint thereof to the Court of *Spain*; accuſing the Governour as a perturber of the publick peace, and as an inſnarer of the liberty of *Italy*; as did alſo the new Pope, *Gregory* the 15th, who ſucceeded *Paul* the 5th, who died in the beginning of the year 1621: this was Cardinal *Ludoviſio*, Archbiſhop of *Bullognia*: he was commonly held to be not well affected to the Spaniard, by reaſon of the diſtaſtes between him and Don *Piedro di Tolledo*, when being the Apoſtolick Nuntio in *Lombardy* and *Piedmont* he negotiated the compoſition of thoſe wars; and therefore as one that deteſted the Spaniards, and loved not to ſee them increaſe in greatneſs and authority; it was thought he would not omit ſuppreſſing thoſe ends upon this occaſion, which did ſo much vex him, ſo to make himſelf famous by reſtoring *Italy* to her former ſecurity, and thereby make the beginning of his Popedom more acceptable. *He wrot a Letter with his own hand to the King of* Spain, *complaining of, and much reſenting the Governours actions, as prejudicial to the common quiet, and ſatisfaction; and deſiring him that he would not deny him this favour which he very earneſtly deſired of him, in this the beginning of his Popedom: he did alſo ſeriouſly admoniſh him, that for the good of the common peace, and for the ſafety of* Italy, *and of thoſe States which he the King did therein poſſeſs, he would put the affairs of the* Valtoline *into ſo joyful a condition as might give ſatisfaction to all men.* The Letter either came not at all to the Kings hands, or if it did, it was at his very laſt time of life; for he died after *Paul* the Fifth, about the end of *March*, the year 1621. a King who was more remarkable for his goodneſs and innocence of life, then for any thing elſe; for forgoing almoſt all buſineſs, and medling but very little in the adminiſtration of affairs, he retain'd little of a King, more then the title and fortune: a thing which did much prejudice the authority and greatneſs of the Crown, which being govern'd by the intereſt of Favorites, for the ſpace of 22 years, wherein he reigned, and chiefly in his latter time, he left it much fain from that height of reputation wherein he had received it from his Father. He was ſucceeded by *Philip* the Fourth of that name, the eldeſt of three Sons that he left behind him, of about 16 years of age, who though he gave ſome greater ſhew of a Royal inclination; by which it was hoped that he would intereſt himſelf more in publick affairs then his Father had done, yet his young years, and the paſtimes of youth not permitting him to partake of the troubles of publick Government, the adminiſtration of affairs muſt neceſſarily fall into the former condition, which the Spaniard call *di Privanza*: or, of affairs being carried by Court Minions. The chief Miniſters of State were Don *Baltaſar di Zuniga*, and Don *Gaſpar di Guſman*, Count *d' Olivares*: but *Zuniga* who being long verſed in weightieſt affairs, as well within as out of the Kingdom, and who was highly eſteemed by all men, died not long after, to the general grief of all; ſo as the whole weight of Government leaned upon *Olivares* his Shoulders, who being made a Duke by the new King, and retaining ſtill his former Title of Count, would be called *Conde Duca*.

The *Valtoline* was that which the new King took firſt into his conſideration; wherein the Pope, the Princes of *Italy*, and the King of

France,

France, had used their indeavours: The new King would satisfie the joint desires of so many Princes, and give a taste, in this the beginning of his Reign, of his being content with what was his own, not desiring to usurp upon other mens states, or upon the Liberty of the Italian Princes: But because the interest of Religion was concern'd in this business; that he might shew himself to be a no less pious and religious, then wise and moderate King, he agreed upon certain Articles with the French Embassadour; the substance whereof was, *That the same Religion should be established in the* Valtoline *which was there used in the year* 1617; *And that the State should be restored to the same condition that it was in before the Rebellion: That the Forts should be demolished, and all Garisons removed from thence: That all the* Valtolinians *should be pardoned for their Rebellion: That the King of* France, Switzers, *and* Vallesani, *should become sureties to the* Grisons *for the observance of what was agreed upon*: These Articles came from *Madrid* into *Italy*, soon after the Capitulation of *Millain*; and as they came unexpected by any, (for even those who did most desire it, could not expect nor hope for such facile proceedings from that Court, in so weighty a business, and of such importance to that Court) so the Duke of *Feria*, and all those who out of a desire to advance the Spanish Grandezza had co-operated in this business, seeing their plots and designs wholly overthrown wherein they had taken so much pains, were totally astonished, not only for the prejudice which they thought would thereby redound to the State of *Millain*, and to the other affairs of the Crown of *Spain*; but for the loss of that ostentation, glory and merit, which *Feria* and the rest hoped to have reaped thereby: Yet not being able to withstand the Kings so precise Orders and Commands, they were forc'd to be content; and not knowing from whence this resolution should proceed, some laid the fault upon the new Kings weakness; others upon the Orders and Commands of the late King; who, upon receiving the Popes Letters a little before he died, charged his Son to desist from the enterprise of the *Valtoline*: Others argued, that the new King being too indulgently affectionate to his Wife, who was sollicited by the French Embassadour, was desirous to please her at her earnest desire, in not coming to a breach with her Brother, the King of *France*, upon account of the *Valtoline*: There were not some wanting who affirmed that Don *Piedro di Tolledo*, out of private emulation that his successor should so happily effect this business, which nor he nor so many others of his Predecessors could ever do, did oppose in the Supream Councel of State, to the end that *Feria*'s actions might not be approved but rejected, as the original and undoubted cause of great scandal and troubles: However it was, by the effects men may easily comprehend either a Repentance in their Court of the thing capitulated for; or according to others (for there never wants sinister Interpreters) an End rather to quiet the minds of the Italians and French, much moved and incensed by these Capitulations, then to put the thing capitulated for in execution.

Whilst this was negotiating in *Spain*, the Valtolinians faring well in *Italy* by reason of the Victory at *Tirano*, and the Capitulations of *Millain*; and *Feria* exclaiming sufficiently in the Court, that by this

resolution the King had lost so opportune and so important a purchase, the execution of the Articles was deferr'd; but the Valtolinians exclaimed more then *Peria*, as men who were sent thither on purpose by *Peria*: They mingled tears with their perswasions, and did infinitely desire the King, *That he would not abandon them, nor force them to return under the antient yoke of Tyrants; of Heretick Tyrants, who would rise up not only against their lives and fortunes, but even against their souls, crying down the Catholick Religion in the* Valtoline: They desired him *That he would inform himself fully what the condition of the* Valtoline *was formerly, and what it was now; as well in respect of their natural liberty as Religion; for by the perfect knowledge of these two Points the cheat would be discern'd, by which his Majesty was perswaded to condescend to those Articles: And as for the first Point, they shewed that the Valtolinians were naturally a free people, not Subjects nor Vassals to the Grisons, as his Majesty had been informed, but their Companions and Confederates, to whom neither they nor their fore-Fathers had never sworn fealty, nor done homage, or shewed any signe of subjection; though by reason of the diversity of Religions, their liberty, after having for many years governed the common Republick jointly, had been oppress'd and suffocated by their more powerful Confederates: And the Tyranny was the more cruelly exercised against them, for that the Catholick Religion was constantly profest by the Valtolinians, and Calvins abhorred: Wherefore, said they, the Commotions of the* Valtoline *were not, nor could not, be esteemed Rebellion, but the defence and maintaining of the Catholick Religion, and the recovery of their natural Liberty, which was not only allowed of, but favoured and assisted by all Laws both humane and divine: That this was the reason why no Prince, how great or powerful soever, having neither jurisdiction nor command over them, could, without using violence, bring them under the command of others, and much less under the unjust Tyranny of the usurpers of their Liberty; from which by singular divine goodness, and by the so great hazard of their lives and fortunes, they had once withdrawn themselves: Nay, that all lawful and just Princes, the more great and powerful they were, were the more obliged by the Laws of Nations, and by Gods Laws, to favour and take into their protection, the Liberties of oppress people, and to turn all the forces of their Kingdoms to the destruction and beating down of Tyrants, who were abhor'd and persecuted by all Laws both divine and humane: And if the defence of the Valtolinians liberty was to be expected from any of the Princes of the present Age, it did undoubtedly belong more to his Majesty then to any other; who having taken the Valtolinians Religion and liberty into his protection before the Capitulation stipulated with the King of* France, *he could not without breach of his Royal Word, abandon them, nor make them to do an action so contrary to the protection his Majesty had taken of them, by forcing them to return to their former slavish condition; But that this did belong to him alone, much more by reason of the hereditary profession of the House of* Austria, *of always being the safe shield and constant defence of the Catholick Religion, which was so annexed to the liberty of the* Valtoline, *as the ruine of the latter did necessarily draw after it the ruine of the other; for who would doubt but if the* Valtoline *should return again to underneath the slavery of the* Grisons, *the Catholick Religion would be there trodden under foot: Nor did that Article of the Convention, whereby it was agreed that*

Religion

Religion should be returned to the same condition as it was in the year 1617. *make any thing for the preservation thereof; for his Majesty was abused in that Point as well as in the other of Religion, being falsly given to understand that the Roman Religion was that year unblemished and undefaced there; and that this consonage was so much the greater, as the inconveniences and encombrances which did thereby result were the greater, and that therefore the better provision was to be had for it: Saying that the demolitions and profanations of Churches, the usurpation of Church-goods, the Martyrdomes and banishment of religious people, the Schools and Seminaries for the breeding up of youth in Calvinisme, the abolition of Images, prohibition of Indulgences, and many other impious and enormious abominations, were introduced in the* Valtoline *long before the year* 1617. *And on the contrary, that obedience to the Pope, the Introduction of the holy Office, the accepting of Bishops and Statutes of the holy Church, the accepting of the Council of Trent, and of the Gregorian Kalander, the publication of Indulgencies, the establishing of Heretical Schools and Seminaries, the Restitution of demolished Churches, of the goods and persons of Church-men, and finally the extirpation of Heretick and Her sies, were the fruits and products of Liberty, restored the year* 1620. *Who seeth not then* (said they) *that if that Article being to be put in execution, and that Religion be reduced to the state it was in the year* 1617. *That your Majesty being highly abused, doth command that all those abominations which were abolished in the year* 1620. *shall return in the* Valtoline; *and that, on the contrary, that all of Holy and Catholical, which was blessedly introduced there, together with liberty, be abolished. We cannot* (said they) *without blushing and confusion represent unto your Majesty, that which your most Catholick mind cannot without horror hear, and know to be true: not only all sacred Canons and most holy Councils of the Catholick Church, do not only reprove such Conventions, but do punish the Authors, Fautors, and Introducers of all these abominable impieties, with severest excommunication: the Solemn Oath your Majesty took a little before your Coronation, to the high Almighty God, to the Princes and People of this so Catholick Crown, doth not admit of such Conventions. The Catholick Kings, your Predecessours, who have spent so much Gold, and blood of their best Vassels, for the maintenance of Divine Worship, and for the beating down of Heresie, who have not valued the loss of whole Provinces, for not admitting of any other then the Catholick Religion, do conjure your Majesty, the Inheritor not only of so many Kingdoms, but of so great Catholick zeal, not to allow of that Convention, to which, the world knows, had you not been abused, you would not have consented for all your Kingdoms. They finally concluded with exaggerating the iniquity, and inhumane cruelties of the Grisons, which they were sure would increase, together with their fierce hatred against the miserable inhabitants of the* Valtoline, *for their having taken up Arms, in defence of their natural liberty, and of the Holy Faith.*

The King was doubtlesly moved with these Reasons, which being afterwards divulged in the Court, the chief Lords and Officers thereof, and the people in general, finding the resulting inconveniences by this consonage put upon the King, were much moved thereat, and did confess that nothing more contrary to the Faith, nor more prejudicial to Catholicks, could be contracted amongst Heretick Princes; and storming

ing thereat, knew not what to do, whereby with safety to the Kings royal word and agreement, the Convention might be kept from being put in execution; and whilst they were busied thereabout, a new accident fell out which furnish'd them with a means: A Diet was resolved upon for the execution of this agreement amongst the Swissers, to be celebrated in *Lucerne*, one of the chief Catholick Cantons of that Nation: wherein (to boot with the Deputies of all the Cantons) Monsieur *Scappi*, Apostolick Nuntio with the Swissers, was to be present for the Pope, Monsieur *Myron*, and Monsieur *Monbelon*, Embassadours, in ordinary and extraordinary, for the King of *France*, and *Gueffiere* Resident in *Rhetia*, and *Andriano Tomasini*, President of the Parliament of *Burgony*, for the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Feria* was commanded to observe *Tomasini*'s Orders, for what should be resolved upon in that Diet touching the affairs of the *Valtoline*: the Deputies also of the Grisons appeared at this Diet, who presenting the Decree of general pardon granted to those of the *Valtoline*, demanded the demollishing of the Forts lately erected in the *Valtoline*, guarded at the present by Spanish Garrisons, and to be repossest of that Valley, according to the agreement made at *Madrid*; offering themselves ready to observe whatsoever they were obliged unto by the said Capitulation: The President of *Burgony* perused, and attentively considered the Decree; and finding it to be too full of cavils and snares for those of the *Valtoline*, exclaimed much against it, first in words, and then in writing; and as if a large Gate were thereby left open for revenge, he began to accuse it of fraud: the words and actions of the Grisons gave more credit to the Presidents Reasons, and Exclamations, who seemed so incens'd against those of the *Valtoline*, as not being able to contain themselves, they stuck not to say, they hoped one day to wash their hands in their blood: the President was followed by all the Catholick Cantons, which were Confederate with the Crown of *Spain*; and by him of *Appenzel*, which stands in the midst between the Catholick, and Heretick Cantons; and therefore expresly refusing to stand bound for the Grisons, as they were required to do by the Capitulation of *Madrid*, they made a Decree thereupon, which they called irrevocable: the other Cantons, either not being willing to appear of another opinion, or seeing that their obligation would not be satisfactory without the like of their companions, thought it not fit to be bound. Thus was the Convention of *Madrid* excluded, or as the French and Venetians complain'd, deluded by the cunning and secret carriage of the Duke of *Feria*, who, as they said, had wrought upon the Swissers by moneys: neither did the heat of opposition made by the President of *Burgony* pass without suspect of some secret Commission from the Court of *Spain*, which might have altered her opinion touching the affairs of the *Valtoline*; and this suspition increased the more, for that the Spanish Agents, after the Swissers refusal, began to pretend that the Convention of *Madrid* was no longer valid, but was to be understood as Null; as made upon condition that the Swissers and *Valtolini* would be thereunto obliged: which condition being void, the Convention was void also: the business of Composition being therefore desperate, the Grisons being assisted by the French and Venetians,

resolved

reſolved to go once more armed to the *Valtoline*, and to indeavour the recovery thereof with greater Forces: which being preſently done, they fared not better then they had done before: though many men were ready to aſſiſt them in the parts about *Breſcia*, and *Bergamo*: they fell down with 13000 Foot into the Country of *Bormio*, with intention to aſſault the new Fort, wherein were 600 Foot under *Ottavio Sforza*, who being very well prepared for defence, the Griſons thought not good to aſſault them; but ſent ſome Squadrons to the taking in of a little Fort not far off, wherein were about forty foot, who defended themſelves egregiouſly, and ſlew and repuls'd many of the aſſailants: hearing afterwards that *Jovanni Bravo*, who was ſent with freſh men from *Feria*, approached, they went to meet him; and drawing out their Forces between *Bormio* and the little Fort, they ſtaid awhile expecting him, intending to fight him; yet when they heard the Drums which were nigh at hand, they retreated into *Bormio*, and ſetting it on fire went towards the Mountains top, and from thence retired homewards; but being overtaken in their retreat by ſome Horſe, which were ſent by *Bravo* to fall upon their Reer, where they received ſome prejudice; and their Commander *Herman Planta* being amongſt many others ſlain, all the reſt were ſo terrified and confuſed, they began to ſeek their ſafety by a diſorderly flight through the craggy Mountains, which though they were rugged and almoſt unacceſſable, yet by the long practice and experience which they had therein, they overcame them; and being ſcattered they paſt back over the Mountains, leaving in *Bormio* cruel ſigns of their rage againſt thoſe of the *Valtoline*: wherefore by reaſon of this action, ſo contrary to the Articles of *Millain*, the Duke of *Feria* waged open war againſt them; and agreeing with Archduke *Leopold*, whom *Tirvolo* and *Alſatia* did obey, that he ſhould aſſault the Griſons on his ſide the Mountains, he entred himſelf in perſon into the *Valtoline* with 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, thinking to oppoſe the Griſons new Forces: but when he was not well got to *Morbegno*, a Town which ſtands in the mouth of the *Valtoline*, and hearing there what had befallen *Bormio*, he turn'd upon *Chiavenna*, a Town of the Griſons, which is the head of another Valley, which runs along *la Mera*, a River which falling from the Alps runs into the Lake: there was therein a Garriſon of about 500 Griſons, who truſting more to the open Fields then to their Walls, drew a long Trench on the outſide of *Chiavenna*, from the foot of the Mountain, to *Mera*; where with croſſing the whole Plain above which lies on the left ſide of the River, they minded not much the lower ſide, it being narrow and mooriſh: thinking to make head there, they put themſelves almoſt all in Garriſon, and ſent for a good ſtrength of men to defend a certain place beyond the Trench: which being ſeated upon the skirts of the Mountain, *Pitz* commanded the way, and the Plain; The Governour ſent a good Band of Carabines againſt thoſe that defended this ſtation, who forcing the defendants to abandon it, the defendants retreated to the Trench, where they ſhewed neither courage nor valour; for finding that the Enemies Horſe had foorded over *la Mera*, and was coming about upon their backs, fearing to be taken in the midſt between the Horſe and the Foot, which drew neer, they fled into *Chiavenna*; which

finding

finding they were not able to defend, it not being fortified, they abandoned it, and fled all towards the Mountains. The Governour having first possess'd himself of the Trenth, and then entering *Chiavenna* without any resistance, he sent a party of Horse after them, who entering the Valley where *il Reno* begins, and by *Bregiglia*, they burnt and destroy'd all about them, extring on the one side as far as *Campelzina*, and on the other, to *Castagneno* and *Soio*; and having recovered three pieces of Artillery, which with two others which they found in *Chiavenna*, and which were kept there in memory of their ancient Victory won by their ancestors, above a hundred years before in the State of *Millain*; the Governour sent part of the Foot to assist the Archduke, who was entred at the same time with 10000 Foot, commanded by Colonel *Baldirone* into the *Direture*, the third League, and had taken the Valleys of *Engedina* and *Paroviz*, which (as hath been said) belonging anciently to the house of *Austria* had rebelled, and joyned to the other two Leagues; they afterwards by the assistance sent from the Governour took *Maiafeld*, a great Town and of importance, from whence going to *Coira*, the Metropolitan City of that Nation, they presently took it, where placing the Bishop in his ancient seat, who (as hath been said) was a little before driven from thence, they left a great Garrison; the Grisons, who were bereft of all aid and succour, not being able to give the least resistance against this their so great ruine: wherefore being beaten every where, and having humbly beg'd leave, and obtained it, to send Embassadours to *Millain* to treat of some agreement, the Griggionan and Cadedion Leagues (for *le Direture*, the third League, being as a member cut off, and under the Archduke, was not in a free condition to Capitulate) sent their Embassadours thither: with them went also some Embassadours from the Swissers, to assist their Friends, and Colleagues, at least with indeavours, which they were resolved not to do with Forces: being come to *Millain*, they desired a cessation of Arms, whilst some *medium* might be found out against so great uproars, and inconveniences. The Swissers were sent back with good words, and with general terms of the Kings good intentions, who as also the Duke of *Feria*, was said not to have any other end in these Commotions, then to establish a long peace, with safety to the Catholick Faith: so they return'd home within a few days, without entring into any particularities. The Grisons were treated withall otherwise; for they desiring to be restored to the antient condition of the *Valtoline*, they were plainly told that this their demand was contrary both to Humane and Divine Laws; the latter not suffering Catholicks to be under the Dominion of Heretick; and the former permitting those of the *Valtoline*, as those who were unjustly subjugated by the Grisons their companions, and unworthily oppress'd in their liberties, to withdraw themselves, whensoever they could, from the yoke of Tyranny; wherefore being forced to submit unto the will of the more powerful, they came to new Conventions; *Whereby liberty of Conscience was allowed through their whole Country; a perpetual confederacy was agreed upon between these two Leagues and Crown of* Spain, *with due respect had to their ancient Confederacy with the Crown of* France: *perpetual passage for the King of* Spains *men through the Rhetian Alps; and absolute*

liberty

liberty to those of the Valtoline, *with an obligation notwithstanding that they should pay yearly to the Grisons* 25000 *Duckets by way of Tribute; wherewith the Bishop of* Coira, *and the two Leagues, renounced all Authority, Empire, and Jurisdiction, which they had formerly had in that Valley; and the Duke of* Feria *entred suretiship, in the King of* Spains *name, for the yearly payment of the aforesaid sum by those of the* Valtoline.

The business between the Grisons and those of the *Valtoline* being thus happily composed, after some moneths some alterations hapned, which were soon appeased; for those of the third League could not suffer subjection, they therefore plotted Insurrections against Archduke *Leopold*, by means whereof they endeavoured to re-gain their Liberty. The Commotion began amongst those of the Valley of *Parentz*, the boldest and fiercest people of that Nation; who being sollicited by some of the Griggian League, who were ill satisfied with the last Capitulation at *Millain*, entred one Holy-day into the *Corps de Guarde*, and finding Arms there, but no Souldiers, they being gone to Mass, they seized on them, and killing the Garrison, they armed their Compagnions with long staves (for their Arms had been taken from them before by the Archdukes Officers) and increasing in numbers they went to *Coira* and to *Mainfeldt*, where fighting the Archdukes men twice in open fields, both which times they were victorious, they forced the others to surrender up those two places to them; which being taken, all the Garrisons of all the rest of the Country flying away, they might easily have re-gained their former Liberty, had not new men been speedily sent them from the Archduke to quell them; who being led on by Count *Sulz*, and by the same *Baldrone*, beat those of the League twice, and did not only recover all those places, but forced those of the *Diritture* once more to submit to the Archdukes yoke: And a Diet being held not long after in *Lindau*, an Imperial Town in *Suevia*, wherein the Archdukes Deputies, and those of the thirteen Cantons met, it was declared, *That the* Diritture *did of right belong to the House of* Austria, *and that therefore they should render obedience thereunto; and as being subject to the Austrian Empire they should obey the Archdukes Commands; and that they could not pretend to any Liberty, but should be wholly distinguished, and be altogether, and for ever be understood to be, separated from the body of the Grisons Commonwealth; annulling all actions of Confederacy which they had made, as the third League, with other Princes, and particularly with the King of* France. Which Declaration was afterwards approved of, and accepted by the Deputies of the said League, who swore Fealty, and did homage to the Archduke. Thus part of *Rhetia* beyond the *Alpes* resting in the Archdukes power, and the rest on this side the *Alpes*, either depending upon, or being subjugated by the Spaniard, the affairs of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*, and those of the House of *Austria* in *Germany* were much better'd, by reason of the great happiness which was gotten by the Conquest of *Rhetia*, and the Union of the States of *Italy* to those of *Germany*; by which Union the one might commodiously succour the other; insomuch as the *Valtoline*, and the League with the Grisons, procured by so much industry by Count *Fuentes* and the other Governours, were of very little consideration, in comparison of this new purchase: For whereas the

League, when it should be concluded, would have been uncertain and very expensive to the State of *Millain*, the Dominion over the *Diriture*, and the necessary dependency of the other two Leagues upon the House of *Austria*, did more undoubtedly secure the same ends without any expence: And whereas he who will enter into *Tyrroll* by the *Valtoline* must necessarily pass over craggy mountains unfrequented, and in the Winter season hardly passable, entrance is much more commodiously had into the Rhetian Countrey by the Valley of *Chiavenna*, then by that of the *Valtoline*; and from hence a better, shorter, and safer way is had for *Germany* then by *Tyrroll*, by which entrance is only had into the *Valtoline*: So as the King of *Spain*, without demanding passage from the Swissers, had the conveniency of receiving as many men as he would at any time from *Germany* into the State of *Millain*, and without troubling the Duke of *Savoy*, who might deny the reserved passage of *Bressa*, or, without being beholden to the French, who may hinder him, he might commodiously, and without any opposition, pass men from *Rhetia* into *Alsatia*, and from thence into the *Palatinate* upon the *Rhesne*, which was won but a little before to the House of *Austria*; and from the *Palatinate* into *Flanders* and the Low Countreys. So the Spanish and Austrian Empire so much distracted being become united, and communicable within it self, became more firm, and less exposed to be injured by others; and the French and other Transalpines, who envied such Grandezza, being by such a sound obstacle disjoyn'd and segregated from *Italy*, could less easily hold intelligence with the Italian Princes, or administer hopes of assistance to them. Wherefore *Feria* seeing how much by the success of that Enterprize happily begun under his auspicious Government, and more happily ended, he had exceeded the hopes of his Predecessors, returned full of joy and glory to *Millain*, triumphing over the Grisons, with the Artillery recovered after a hundred years, which being adorned with Lawrel were in manner of Triumph drawn before him. But look how much the condition of the Crown of *Spain* was better and more advantaged by so many good successes, so much the more did Jealousie increase amongst the Italian Princes, and the apprehension of their own Liberty and Command; and together with this jealousie, envy, and endeavours of opposition increased in those that envyed the Spanish greatness, the latter not being able to see so great an advancement in authority, nor the others to see that little loop-hole (much to their grief) shut up, by which their liberty in the greatest and most urgent straights might breathe: And as some stood lookers on, and quiet observers of these events, the lesser expecting when the greater should move, so the Duke of *Savoy*, though the prejudice did not chiefly belong unto him, unless it were that the Spaniards needing now no longer any passage through *Savoy* should have less occasion to put an esteem upon him, yet, were it either that as an Italian Prince he was touched with the dangers of others, or that he thought the too much Grandezza of the Spaniard might prove dangerous to his own affairs, or that he did desire by all means to cross the ends and designs of that Crown, he thought it no little diminution to his own Interests, that the Spaniards should not any more stand in much need of his Friendship: But the Venetians were chiefly mad be-

whom

whom the danger did more nearly concern, as thoſe that ſaw that the Spaniards and Archduke by getting firm footing in the Griſons Country, and by the Forts erected in the *Valtoline*, had not only diſturb'd their ends, and bereaved them of the good they hoped for by League with that Nation, but as it were impriſoned their liberty, and laid it at their feet: wherefore as if the total of their affairs, and their utmoſt ruine were in queſtion, they reſolved to remove every ſtone, to omit for no expence nor labour, and to refuſe no danger, ſo they might provide againſt the prejudice and miſchief of ſo great an alteration of affairs; and finding that the moneys they had diſburſt amongſt the Griſons and Swiſſers, the raiſing of men intended in thoſe parts, their aſſiſting of thoſe people, that they might ſubſiſt, and not be oppreſſed by the Spaniard, had proved altogether vain, and that they of themſelves were not able to undertake ſuch a buſineſs; *They reſolved to move thoſe Princes whoſe intereſts might be concern'd in the ends and actions of the Spaniards, to rouze themſelves up upon ſo great an occaſion: they forbore not to exclaim againſt thoſe actions, and to make it known in the Courts of all Princes, as well Italians as Forreigners, what the Spaniards ends were in entring upon this enterpriſe, and how under the vail of Religion they did undermine the Common Liberty, incited people to rebel, made themſelves maſters of other mens States, aimed at the reducing of* Italy *into ſlavery, to ſuffocate the Apoſtolick See, to give the Law to all Italian Princes, and after having put the yoke about their neck, make them dependent upon the Spaniſh Empire, and be at their beck: that this was a great ſtep whereby to aſcend and arrive at the abſolute Monarchy of* Italy, *and of all Chriſtendom, which they ſo earneſtly thirſted after: that the intereſt of all men, the ſafety of the Empire, and the Common Liberty were herein treated of: that therefore with an unanimous conſent they ought to withſtand theſe beginnings, oppoſe the progreſs of theſe unions and concatenations of States, ſo prejudicial to all men; to the end that when all remedies ſhould be too late, they might not in vain bewail thoſe loſſes which would be the infallible reſults of their not having moved upon this occaſion, that doubtleſſy, if they would all reſent themſelves, and behave themſelves generouſly in this affair, the Spaniards would be forced to yield to their unanimous will and conſent, and deſiſt from the enterpriſe which they had begun againſt the Common Safety and Liberty.*

Theſe and the like Reaſons alledged by the Venetians at the beginning of theſe Commotions in *France*, *Rome*, *Italy*, amongſt the Swiſſers and Griſons, wrought not much effect, nor were of ſuch moment as ſuch an accident required: The Court of *France* not being well pleaſed with the Venetian League, deſired that the Griſons affairs might be perturbed, and that the Venetians might reap but bitter fruit of their Negotiations: the Pope who was full of years, and of indiſpoſitions, ſhew'd not ſuch reſentment as would have been neceſſary: the Swiſſers diſagreed within themſelves, and as the event ſhewed afterwards, inclined more to favour the Spaniards Deſigns, then the Intereſt of the Common Cauſe; ſo as the Griſons being left alone in the Field, though ſet on, and fomented by the Venetians, were forced to ſuccumb to the ſtronger. But *Gregory* having ſucceeded *Paul* in the Popedom (as hath been ſaid) who ſeemed to reſent the buſineſs more then

his Predeceſſour had done, and the French finding what advantage had redounded to the Spaniards by the revolt of the *Valtoline*, and how much they had ſuffer'd thereby in their own authority, they began to be noleſs troubled thereat then the Venetians; and by title of Protection over the Griſons, the ancient Confederates of that Crown, to pretend that they might be reſtored to the entire poſſeſſion of their liberty, and of the *Valtoline*.

But many things oppoſed their deſires: the League between the Venetians and that Nation confirm'd contrary to the Authority of that Crown, by which and from which ſo many inconveniences did ariſe: the war which the King of *France* made againſt the Hereticks of his own Country, to reduce them to his obedience, and to the obedience of the Catholick Church; and therefore taking from them thoſe priviledges which they had extorted in the former wars, he was intent with all his Forces to heal that wound which troubled his Kingdom; and beſides that this war did keep him ſufficiently buſie, and kept him from forreign imployment; the Title thereof alſo, like that which the Spaniards did pretend againſt the Griſons, would not permit that he, without manifeſt repugnancy, ſhould favour thoſe ſame Hereticks out of his Kingdom, which he did with ſuch fervency, and religious zeal, endeavour to extirpate at home. The peace alſo, and good correſpondency between his Crown and the Crown of *Spain* did repugne it: which being very convenient for the common intereſt, it did not ſuit well with the King of *France* to diſcompoſe, eſpecially his own Kingdom being in trouble; and by directly entring into war with the King of *Spain* to kindle new fires at home, upon the intereſts of others: the freſh example of his Father King *Henry* was alſo ſufficient to keep him from ſuch an enterpriſe, who when he was in greateſt authority, and his Kingdom in compleat peace, did not break with the King of *Spain* for building Fort *Fuentes*, which was ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of the ſame Griſons: nor would he meddle in thoſe affairs, otherwiſe then by interceſſion: how much, might it be ſaid then, did it become the preſent King, in the beginning of his Reign, the Forces of his Kingdom being divided, amidſt ſo many Domeſtick troubles, to forgo his Fathers example, and to engage himſelf in forreign affairs, againſt a moſt powerful King; the event whereof being of ſuch weight and importance might certainly be ſuppoſed would prove, if not altogether prejudicial, at leaſt long and dangerous: to do this it was requiſite to have a powerful Army, juſt as if he went to get the State of *Milain*, back'd by the German Forces: Beſides, moneys, the ſinews of war, were wanting; and many other things neceſſary for ſuch an expedition: on the other ſide, he was obliged by being bound to protect his Colleagues, and their States, which he could not with his honour ſee abuſed: but his Kingdoms intereſt did urge him much more the eunto, to the prejudice whereof ſo great a union of the Auſtrian Dominions did redound: nor had the example of his Father King *Henry*, alledged to the contrary, any thing at all to do in this caſe; nothing being then upon the ſtage but a Fort built by the Spaniards upon their own ground; whereas now, the uſurpation of States was in queſtion, the oppreſſion of a Commonwealth, confederate with his King-

dom; the manifest danger of the Apostolick See, and of many other Italian Princes, Friends to the Crown; which he could not with wisdom nor honour suffer to fall under the Spaniards slavery: as for example, that of the same *Henry* might serve; when not being able to suffer that the possession of *Cleves* and *Juliers* should be disputed with the German Princes, nor that the Spaniards should increase their power and reputation by the oppression of those Princes, and by usurping those States, he took up Arms against the Crown of *Spain*, and against the house of *Austria*; and incited almost all Christendom against them; that these examples and respects were to be prefer'd before anger conceived against the Grisons for making League with the Venetians; if, contrary to custom, we ought in important resolutions to have any consideration at all upon private spleens, which were never known to be prefer'd, in well regulated Counsels, before wholsome deliberations. To these Reasons, which were of great force, were added the Venetians, and the Savoiards instigations; who shewing themselves ready to concur in the same war wish'd consideration might be had, that the authority of the French was at an end in *Italy*, if the King should not be permitted to enter by that way, or should suffer those parts to be fortified, by which they might enter with a few men into that Province, in defence of so many Friends and Clients of their Kingdom, for the good of the Apostolick See, and to curb the covetousness and ambition of the Spaniards, who when they should once become masters of what they had usurped, and have thereby joyn'd the King of *Spains* Forces with those of the Austrians in *Germany*, would grow unsupportable for their natural pride and arrogancy; and invincible by reason of their Command, Authority, and Power; insomuch as the Princes of *Italy* being deprived of the French aid, which was the only support of their liberty, would be forced wholly, and every where, to yield to the King of *Spains* pleasure, and to reverence, and adore the name of Spaniard, as an earthly Deity, from whence they were to expect, and to acknowledge the life and safety of their affairs, or otherwise their utter ruine: how great a glory, how great an honour would it be to the now King, in the first beginning of his Reign, and (as it might be said) of his life, to win so much authority in *Italy*, not only by sustaining the Duke of *Savoy* against the Forces of the Spaniards, but by becoming Arbitrator of peace or war between that Duke and the Crown of *Spain*; wherefore then should he not only lose so great an acquisition, but by abandoning the Grisons, the ancient Confederates of his Kingdom, and by permitting all the Princes of *Italy* to fall under the slavery of the Spaniard, make the world see, that the King of *France* had neither courage, nor power to defend his Confederates, to strengthen so many Princes who expect from him only cure for so mortal a wound: to provide against so great prejudice which would redound to himself in his reputation: and to his Friends and Clients in their Safety, States and Liberties. These and the like Reasons very much press'd, and vehemently pursued in that Court, might peradventure work upon their wills, but could not remove the difficulties of the enterprise; for how was it possible for that King, who then lay panting before *Montalban*, a great Town in the midst of his Kingdom,

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when *France* was divided into ſeveral Factions, and the Kings Treaſure exhauſted, to think of Forreign enterpriſes againſt the King of *Spain*, and houſe of *Auſtria*, who were already poſſeſs'd of the *Valtoline*, and almoſt of the whole State of the Griſons: who joyning in the Common Cauſe, the State of *Millain* would abound in Dutch, and by means of their Indian Gold they might turn his Kingdom up-ſide down, now when it was full of ill humours, the King and his Council did therefore what was moſt convenient for their preſent condition: which was, to proceed friendly with the Court of *Spain*, and to treat of compoſing the preſent Occurrences in a civil way. To this purpoſe Monſieur *Boſſompier* was ſent extraordinary Embaſſadour to the King of *Spain*; and finding there more likelihood of good ſucceſs then he could have imagined, he thought the buſineſs happily ended: but the French finding afterwards that the effects were not anſwerable, but that the Spaniards ſought by ſophiſticated interpretations to annihilate and overthrow all Conventions; and that having proceeded further in *Rhetia*, they had in part lacerated, in part ſubjugated the Liberty and Commonwealth of the Griſons, putting new and bitter conditions upon them, wholly contrary to what had been by common conſent agreed upon at *Madrid*; they thought themſelves doubly concerned in this buſineſs; for to the ancient Confederacy, and Protection of the Griſons, was added the Capitulation at *Madrid*, which the French could not, without a great affront to their King, ſuffer to be ſo trodden under foot: and by the eaſineſs of ſatisfying their deſires which they found in the Spaniſh Court, concerning this buſineſs, conceiving better of themſelves, and worſe of the Spaniards, they thought that when the King of *Spain* ſhould ſee them in Arms ready to reſent the injury, he would by no means expect their moving; nor that the affairs of *Italy* ſhould be more diſcompoſed then formerly for any ſuch reſpect; therefore, not admitting that the Treaty at *Madrid* ſhould be null and void, by reaſon of the Swiſſers, they pretended it was to be obſerved: offering new warranties, or cautions, equal to the former, for the performing of what was agreed upon; and if otherwiſe, they threatned making Leagues, and to prepare for *Italy*; ſo as *France* was full of warlike preparations, giving out that it was to take that ſatisfaction by Arms, which they would not do by Negotiation; and to this purpoſe the Duke of *Savoy* (who ſpur'd on this buſineſs) being gone to *Avignon*, whither the King of *France* was come in perſon from the neighbouring Camp before *Montalban*, the foundations of League were laid wherein the Venetian Embaſſadours did intervene; which certainly would have been perfected, had not the Popes Nuntio hindred it, by affirming that, for an undoubted Truth, the King of *Spain* had refer'd the whole buſineſs of the *Valtoline* to be decided by the Pope: but all that the Nuntio had affirmed proving afterwards to be but words, the Treaty of the League was reaſſumed with greater fervency; for the King of *France* began to diſcern by the not obſervance of the Convention at *Madrid*, and by the novelties committed againſt the Griſon, by the Archduke, and Duke of *Feria*, that the Rebels of his Kingdom were ſecretly fomented with monys by the Spaniſh Agents, to the end that being entertain'd with domeſtick wars, they ſhould not be at leiſure to think upon Forreign

wars:

wars: which, were it true or false, being believed by the King to be contrary to the good correspondency which was then profest between the two Crowns, he was much incensed at it; wherefore speaking not long after with the Prince of *Piedmont*, who was come to *Lyons*, he stipulated the League with him, in the Duke his Fathers name, which was a little before in Treaty, against the States of *Italy*, appertaining to the Crown of *Spain*, for restoring the Grisons to the ancient possession of their State and Liberty, and to their possession of the *Valtoline*; and it being divulged that the King was so fervent in this business, as he would compose differences, yea even upon disadvantagious terms with the Heretiks of his own Kingdom, rather then suffer such an affront to be done unto himself; and his Clients and Confederates to be so much injured, *Italy* grew greatly apprehensive of new troubles, which seemed also to be just then threatned, and foretold, by Celestial Prodigies and Impressions.

In the year 1618, and in the moneth of *November*, there appeared a great Comet above *Saturn*, and according to the opinion of the most famous Mathematicians, very neer the Stars of the eighth Sphear, whose angry head was like to the Star called *Mars*; and tail thereof, which was very long, and like a Squirrils tail, was extended or spread abroad 20 degrees, with two motions, the one retrograde, from the East to the West, wherewith it ran from the ninth of *Scorpio*, to the eighth of *Virgo*: the other from the South to the North, wherewith it ran 64 degrees, the head thereof terminating in that same Star which stands in the middest of the tail of *Ursa* Major, and the tail of it almost touching that mis-shapen Star which is hard by the tail of the Serpent. It was seen in *Persia*, in the Indies, and in *Japan*, it ran through all the parts of the World, and continued till the end of *December*. A little before it appeared another impression was seen, which was like a Log of fire, but lasted but a very little while: Mathematicians Prognosticated several things hereby, and those who think the success of humane affairs depend upon Celestial influences, as upon second causes; for these apparitions preceding the Insurrection in the *Valtoline*, many attributed the wars which proceeded from thence, to the maligne effects of those apparitions; and the present Occurrences, which grew daily hotter and hotter, to be a well prepared Matter, to receive the maligniry of these influences: but these Prodigies, which are most commonly fallacious, caused not these new Ruptures to be so much apprehended, as did the continual practises which were had every where. *Paris* appeared very constant and resolute in keeping what was gotten; and to this purpose had used all his Reasons and Authority, with his friends in *Spain*, that the glory of his actions might not be disturb'd by his rivals. On the contrary, the Venetians, who were very fervent in this business, were resolved by all means possible to bring it to the end which they so much desired. The Duke of *Savoy*, desirous of new wars, thought every hour a year till he had begun war with the Spaniard. The Pope, not able to endure that the Capitulation at *Madrid*, wherein he had co-operated, should not take effect, was very ill satisfied, and gave manifest signs of his resentment; the King of *France*, egg'd on by so many Princes, who had

recourse

recourse to him, as to the chief foundation of common resolutions, was ready to end this business by Arms, since he could not do it by Treaties. The King of *Spain* was doubly concern'd in this business; for to the respect of Religion, which was the chief cause why he had medled therein, was added the Decree of protecting the *Valteline*, and the liberty thereof: nor could he with honour abandon the enterprise, though he should not value the other weighty interests of his Crown: on the other side, seeing so many jealousies, such ill satisfaction, so great a combination of Princes, who threatned much mischief to *Italy*, he began to reflect upon the prejudice which might redound, if new wars in *Italy* should be added to the wars of *Germany* and *Flanders*, which at this time were very hot; and how hard would it be, to make sufficient provisions in all parts; which if they should fail in any one place would necessarily draw on the ruine of all the rest. Labouring therefore amongst so many weighty and differing respects, but chiefly under the great apprehension of the immense troubles which might insue unto *Italy*, as that which prevailed over all other more wholsome resolves; he chose the middle way, which was, to deposite the Forts of the *Valteline* into the Popes hands, to the end that he might keep them with his own Captains and Souldiers, in the name of the Apostolick See, to dispose of them afterwards with satisfaction to Religion, and to both the Crowns; whereby Religion was not injured: for laying the care thereof upon the Pope, he himself was freed from further trouble therein; nor was the liberty of those of the *Valteline* thereby prejudiced; for the Pope being to satisfie both the Crowns therein, it was not to be supposed that the Crown of *Spain* would ever be satisfied with any thing which might be contrary to their Liberty. Thus the war being removed from *Italy*, it seemed that the Crown of *Spain* had with one and the same resolution wisely provided for her own affairs, for the point of Religion, and for protecting the *Valteline*: whereby she witnessed to the world, that nothing else but zeal to Religion, and the keeping Catholicks from being oppress'd by Hereticks; and not any reason of State, or desire to Usurpe what belonged to others (as was said) had made the King interest himself in the present affairs: the deposition being accepted, the Pope sent his Brother Don *Horatio*, who was Duke of *Fiano*, and the Churches General, with 500 Horse, and 1500 Foot, into the *Valteline*; to whom the Forts of the *Valteline* of *Chiavenna*, and of *la Riva*, were immediately delivered up; and the Archduke took the Garrisons out of *Coira*, and out of the other places of that Country; and Duke *Fiano* leaving the Forces of the Church in the *Valteline* unde their Officers and Commanders, return'd quickly to *Rome*. Thus the troubles which seemed to threaten *Italy* being pacified in the beginning of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1623, the Negotiation touching the *Valteline* was transfer'd from the Court of *Spain* to that of *Rome*; and the end of so weighty a business, which was formerly expected from the Court of *Spain*, was now looked for from the Pope: but neither were the Venetians, nor those of the *Valteline*, pleased with this depositure; for the latter complained very much, that he whom they had chosen to be Protector of their Liberty, after having received them into his Protection, had turn'd them over to the

Pope;

Pope; whom by reaſon of what he had done againſt them, they did not only diſtruſt, but feared that he could not well defend them, by reaſon of the far diſtance of his Dominions, when they ſhould be aſſaulted by the Griſons, or by any other Potentates: they ſaid the King ſhould rather have quite given over their Protection, then have put them under anothers power; for by giving it over, he would have incouraged them, when they ſhould be at their own command, either conſtantly to defend their Liberty, or to die in the defence thereof: neither complained they leſs in the Court of *Rome*, whether having ſent people of purpoſe, to Negotiate their intereſts, they forbare not to repreſent the juſtice of their cauſe to the Pope, to the Cardinals, and to the Embaſſadours of Princes, not ſo much in point of Religion, as of Liberty: they exaggerated the Tyrannical, and unjuſt actions of the Griſons; their cruel orders to introduce Hereſie amongſt them; the Uſurpation of their ancient and natural Liberty: they humbly beſeeched that they would not ſuffer the people of *Italy*, who were by nature Free-men, and Catholicks, to fall once more under the Tyrannical yoke of Tranſalpine Hereticks; they ſhew'd the danger wherein their ſouls and lives ſhould be, if they ſhould fall again under their Dominion, from which they had withdrawn themſelves, for the preſervation of the Catholick faith; and from whom they could expect nothing but ſevere puniſhments in their lives, and deteſtable violence of Conſcience.

But the Venetians, who had laboured to get the *Valtoline* out of the Spaniards hands, were more vex'd and in greater ſtreights then before, now that they ſaw it fallen into the Popes power; being no leſs troubled now to ſee the Pope made Arbitrator, then the Spaniards Maſters thereof before: and this not ſo much out of the great intereſts which the Popes uſe to have with the Crown of *Spain*; as for that the Venetians having of late begun to ſtruggle with the See of *Rome* for the firſt place of Authority amongſt the Princes of *Italy*: And arrogating more Authority then became them in Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and in conferring Benefices, they thought that if the Pope ſhould keep the Key of that Gate for which they had ſtriven ſo much, the Popes Authority would be too great; and that they of Competitors being become inferiours, muſt be forc'd to yield, and foregoing much of their high pretentions muſt depend abſolutely upon the Popes power: And as it is natural to all men to be more willingly under the power of Forreigners then of thoſe of their own Nation; ſo they could not indure not only that they had not been able as yet to compaſs their deſired ends, not to ſecure their own liberty and the common Liberty of *Italy*; but that inſted thereof they had changed, or rather doubled their ſubjection, being compelled by the King of *Spain* to depend upon the Apoſtolick See: They were yet more troubled to finde that the Pope, who was very ſtreightly joined unto them till the day of depoſiture, ſhould now after he had got poſſeſſion, begin to waver and to decline from the common Intereſts; For the Pope ſeeing the ſurety and liberty of the Apoſtolick See ſecured by this depoſiture, that the like of the Venetians and of the other Italian Princes did thereby depend upon him; and that the Spaniards and French were thereby alſo under his Arbitriment,

It seemed that amongst several cogitations he had a mind to make use of the present occasion, to purchase and establish more Authority and Grandezza in the Church, and in his own Family: Wherefore beginning to listen more willingly to those of the *Valteline*, he grew cool in his resolutions, and ambiguous in his Answers; and of a Partner being become Arbitrator of the common Cause, he seemed to have laid much of his fervency aside, and that he did not listen either to the Venetians or to the French, with that attention as he was wont to listen unto them, and to confer the secrets of his soul with them.

The Spaniards were not displeased with these the Popes deportments, who were well enough contented that if any but themselves should possess the *Valteline*, it should be the Pope; and rejoycing that the world should be deceived in the imputation which they had formerly laid upon the Spaniards, of thirsting more after Dominion then after zeal to Religion, they used several pieces of cunning, that the Pope delaying his Resolves might keep possession the longer: Wherefore to boot with his fomenting the complaints of those of the *Valteline*, of whom the King of *Spain* still professed himself Protector, making use of the conditions of the Depositure, he was not content with the propounded Propositions: And at last, to the end that this private advantage joyned to the publick might make greater impression in the Pope, they contented that his Nephew should marry with the only Daughter and Heir of Prince *Venosa*, a Neopolitan Lord, who had for her Portion 40000 Duckats annual Revenue of Inheritance, which she held in Fee in the Kingdom of *Naples*: Nor herewithal content, they propounded, That regard being had to the antient Conventions of those of the *Valteline*, a fourth League might be made of them, which being governed by their own Laws and Magistrates, might sit in the general Diets, and give their Vote with the other three in all publick affairs appertaining to the Common-wealth: Or else, That it being made a Principality, it should be granted to some Prince who was a friend to them all, insinuating the Popes Brother or Nephew. Propositions which he listened very willingly unto, as being much inclined to the exaltation of his kindred; but they were mightily abhor'd by others, particularly by the Venetians, who grew as suspicious of the Pope after the Marriage, as they were confiding in him before, for the constancy which he profess'd in the common Cause: To this was added, That the Principality of the *Valteline* being of it self but weak, and lying open towards the State of *Millain*, it would too necessarily depend upon the Spanish Authority: and if this were not satisfactory in any other person, the Venetians must needs abhor it in the Popes Nephews, by reason of the Wives Estate held in Fee, which being by the Marriage to fall unto the Lodovisian Family, and to be annexed to his person who should be Prince of the *Valteline*, they were too pregnant proofs of the necessary dependance of that Principality upon the Crown of *Spain*: Neither could the French, though they stormed at the Popes alteration, any ways resent it; the business being by the Covenants of the Depositure reduced from Forces to Treaty, wherein the French were to carry themselves cunningly, lest they might exasperate the Pope, and alienate him the more from their Kings interests.

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The Treaty of Marriage which was near concluding between the Prince of *England* and the *Infanta Maria*, Sister to the King of *Spain*, did not a little trouble the French, and suppress their pretentions; which Treaty, being one of the most memorable and signal Negotiations of those times, and for that it was also of great concernment in the present Occurrences, it will not be unnecessary, nor will it swerve from our present Narration, to give you a short account of it.

The King of *Spain* being deeply concern'd in the *Bohemian* wars, did not only send men and monies to the Emperour through the *Valtoline* before it was deposited, but commanded Marquess *Spinola*, his Captain General in *Flanders* and in the Low-Countries, to enter the *Palatinate*, and wage war there in the Emperours name: In obedience whereunto *Spinola*, with incredible speed and prosperity, possessed almost the whole *Palatinate*; and suppressing the Forces of the numerous Army of the Protestant Princes, associated in assistance of the *Palatinate*, who durst not give him Battel, forced them at last to forsake the *Palatinate* upon the Rheine, and to receive Law from him: By which prosperous success the parts of the *Palatinate* and of the other Confederates being overcome, they were afterwards totally ruined by the Emperours Army, and by that of the Catholick League in *Germany*; for these two Armies jointly entering *Bohemia*, and joining Battel with the Palatines Army before *Prague*, they routed it totally; and the *Palatine* having lost his new Kingdom, and all hopes of regaining it, he fled with his Wife, Daughter to the King of *England*, towards *Holland*, that he might go from thence to his Father in Law, and obtain favour from him, or at least monies to recover his Paternal Estate, which was possess'd and confiscated by the Emperour, for Rebellion and high Treason. The King of *England* could never be drawn to approve of his Son in Law's resolution of accepting the Crown offered him by the Bohemians, and professing that he could not with a just conscience assist him in that Cause which he thought to be unjust, and a pernicious example to all Princes, forbore sending aid or succour to him; which he did profess at first, and with miraculous constancy and faith made good unto the last; whereby he deserved very well of the Emperour, and of the House of *Austria*, who were so deeply concern'd in those Revolts; But afterwards commiserating the exile of his Son in Law, Daughter, and Grand-children, and yet resolving not to assist their afflicted Country by Arms, nor by joining with the other Princes of *Germany*, who prepared to repair the Prince *Palatine* with new forces; he thought he should be able to do him better service by Negotiation; wherein he had placed no small hopes, by marrying his own and only Son to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and by his having deserved so well of the House of *Austria*: And unusual means being to be used in unusual enterprises, he with a sudden and very secret resolution, sent his only Son to the Court of *Spain*, to desire in his own person the *Infanta* for his Wife; thinking that by the Authority of his Sons presence, and by his generous shew of honouring that King, he should cut off all difficulties and hinderances which might obstruct a business of so high concernment: And that at the Court of *Spain* being overcome by so magnanimous a favour, should not only consent unto the Marriage,

but in favour thereunto restore the *Palatinate*, which the Prince intended to demand, and hoped to obtain amidst the Festivals and Jollities of the Royal Marriage.

The Prince of *England* departing from *England* privately, past with a very small attendance disguised through *France*, and came to *Madrid* before the knowledge of his departure, and of so strange a resolution, was arrived there: The King and the whole Court being astonished and confused at the arrival of such a Guest, knew not whether they were to be glad of the Princes coming, in respect of the great Honour they received thereby; or to be sorry for it, being necessitated to grant him whatsoever he should desire, though peradventure they were not thereunto well inclined: Yet being received with all the demonstrations of Honour, and with the greatest applause that might be, he found a first very good correspondency of good will in the King and in the whole Court, and ready desire to please him in what concern'd the Match; and for what concern'd the *Palatine*, such demonstrations were used, as he had reason to conceive hopes that he should obtain his whole desire by that voyage. As for the Marriage, all difficulties giving way to the Authority and presence of the Prince, the point of Religion was the only *Remora*; wherein the King of *Spain* desiring much satisfaction, many debates were had about it: But at last, the English being desirous of a conclusion, consented to whatsoever the Spaniards did demand; so as the Marriage was held as good as concluded, and for such divulged; Very rich Presents past between the Prince and his Mistress, as an earnest-penny of the future Marriage; and many signs of rejoycing, and of reciprocal affection and union, past between the two Crowns; There rested only one scruple on the King of *Spains* part, which delayed the Consummation, which growing daily greater became an invincible difficulty; and afterwards reverst the whole business, and did wholly defeat it: For the King of *Spain*, desirous to proceed cautiously in so weighty a business, and which was on his side irretractable, required security for the performance of what was agreed upon; And the King of *England* offering his Princely Word and Solemn Oath, (which was all that he could offer, or the other could pretend unto) the King of *Spain* was not therewithal contented; as not being willing by any means (in a business of so great concernment and importance) to depend upon anothers will, subject to so many casualties and accidents of Variation, which might peradventure happen: And because the business of the *Palatinate* grew more difficult, the King of *Spain* keeping himself within the bounds of not promising any effectual restitution, (which the Prince of *Wales* desired, and pretended that it was promised) affirming that he would use his Authority and best indeavours with the Emperour; (to whom, he said, the interest of concession did chiefly belong, and upon whom the disposal of that State did absolutely depend;) men began therefore daily to suspect more and more, that the Court of *Spain* having been from the beginning intentionally and inwardly against the Match, they had only cunningly held on the Treaty; partly, out of their own ambition and Grandezza; partly, for the Honour of the Prince, whom they seemed to esteem very highly; but chiefly that they might gain time,

and

and advance the mean while in the buſineſs of the *Valtoline*; Which the Prince perceiving, he parted from that Court after he had been ſix Moneths there, without having made any concluſion; and imbarking in a Fleet which was come from *England* to re-conduct him, he returned to his own Kingdom, carrying with him implacable hatred, grievous complaints, revenge and enmity, inſtead of friendſhip and a Wife.

Here I, the Tranſlator of this Book, muſt crave leave both of my Author and Reader, (which if it may not be granted me, I will preſume to take) to inſert a paſſage which then happened, and does relate to this Story; it being a full and perfect Vindication of a ſcandalous imputation laid by ſome black back-biting Dogs, nay foul-mouth'd Curs, upon this then glorious Prince, my ſince bleſſed King, and now and for ever that undoubtedly happy Saint in Heaven, King *Charles*, late Monarch of Great *Britain* and *Ireland*; they being deſirous to make the world believe, by their ſcurrilous ſpeeches and writings, that this pious, conſcientious, and religious King, was a Papiſt in his heart, and intended to introduce Popery into this Land: And truly, ſince it falls out ſo pat and ſo aptly here, I cannot forbear doing it, though I know it be unuſual, and contrary to cuſtome, for Tranſlators to adde any thing of their own; and this it was:

I *Who had the honour to be bred up with this hopeful Prince, and who account it my greateſt happineſs to have known him, and to have been known by him when he was King; having heard a ſtreet Report that this* Infanta, *his then* Miſtreſs, *and ſince Wife to the King of* Hungary, *was turned* Lutheran; *according to the gratious freedom his Majeſty was always uſed to afford me, I told him of it one day when he was at Dinner; upon the hearing whereof, His ever bleſſed Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay*; Harry, *if this be true, I am confident I know who turn'd her; which I deſiring to know who it might be, His Majeſty anſwered,* Padre Rohoſe: *This* Padre Rohoſe, *ſaid His Majeſty, when I came to* Spain, *was Confeſſor to the* Infanta; *and in the abſence of the Kings Confeſſor, was alſo Confeſſor to the King; He was one* (ſaid His bleſſed Majeſty) *who gave very diligent attendance upon me when I came firſt to*

Spain,

Spain, *and for two or three Moneths ſpace never failed to wait upon me when I was at Dinner; inſomuch as ſome acquaintance being grown between us, he one day moved me that a Diſputation might be had in publick between my Chaplains and ſome of the King of* Spains *Prieſts in point of* Religion; *affirming that he knew it would be very pleaſing to the* Infanta; *I anſwered, no, ſaying, I came not hither to turn, nor to be turned in my* Religion *by any publick Argumentations; nor have I any ſuch Commiſſion from the King my* Father; *but rather a Command to the contrary; but if you,* Padre Rohoſe, *have any thing to object againſt the* Religion *which I profeſs, I will give you the hearing in private:* Padre Rohoſe *being glad that he had got thus much, began to object ſomewhat againſt the* Religion *profeſs'd in my Fathers Dominions; at the beginning whereof, ſaid the Prince, laying his hand upon the others Arm,* No, Padre Rohoſe, *this is not the way, this is to Diſpute* de non conceſſis; *But let me give you an account of my Faith, and of the Tenents of my* Religion *firſt, and then if you have any thing to object, ſpeak your mind freely:* Padre Rohoſe *being herewith content,* (as ſurely he had good reaſon) *the Prince began and made him a full and true relation of the Tenents of his* Religion; *which when he had done,* Rohoſe *replyed, Sir, do you believe all this? Yes, ſaid the Prince; And will your Highneſs give me leave, ſaid* Padre Rohoſe, *to affirm this to others from your mouth? Yes,* (ſaid the Prince) *do it boldly, for this is the* Religion *I was born in, and bred up in; the* Religion *which is profeſs'd in my Fathers three Kingdoms, and wherein, by the Grace of God, I am reſolved to live and dye: Why then* (ſaid Padre Rohoſe) *for ought I know, Sir, you may be ſaved as well as I. My bleſſed King having told me this, I asked His Majeſty whether* Rohoſe *did not object any thing againſt what His Majeſty had ſaid; Not at the preſent,* replied His Majeſty; *but ſome few days after he took me aſide, and began to alledge ſome trivial things againſt what he had heard me ſay; to which* (ſaid the King) *I gave him ſuch an Anſwer, as I heard no further news of* Padre Rohoſe *for a good while; whereat marvelling not a little, I wonder* (ſaid the Prince, one day, in publick) *why* Padre Rohoſe *hath not viſited me of late; What is become of him? To which he was anſwered by a whiſper in the ear, That the Prieſt* Rohoſe *was forbidden*

coming

coming any more to the Prince his Court, leſt inſtead of his converting the Prince, the Prince ſhould convert him.

I could not omit mentioning this remarkable Paſſage here, ſince (as I ſaid before) I had ſo pat an occaſion to do it; and ſince it was to my ſelf that His bleſſed Majeſty was pleaſed to make this Relation upon the aforeſaid occaſion; And upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, and Word of a Gentleman, this, is the full ſence, and as near as I can remember, the very words His ever bleſſed Majeſty was pleaſed to do me the honour as to tell me; which though they wrought nothing upon me, more then what I did formerly know, and did confidently believe; if they be not able to ſtop the mouths of thoſe ſlanderous companions, and make them bite out thoſe Tongues wherewith they have indeavoured to throw dirt upon the Memory of His Sacred Majeſty; yet at leaſt, his conſtant perſeverance in the profeſſion and witneſſing his Faith at his unpreſidented death, me thinks ſhould make them do it.

And now to purſue my Author again;

Theſe practiſes made the French grow cooler (as I have ſaid) in the affairs touching the *Valtoline*; for doubting leſt by this Marriage a ſtreight League might be concluded between the Crowns of *Spain* and *England*; the Kingdom of *France*, being placed between them, grew apprehenſive of it. And the inteſtine war continuing in *France* againſt the Hereticks, whom were much favoured by the King and Kingdom of *England*, it behoved the French to be very circumſpect in falling foul with the Crown of *Spain*, when it ſhould be ſo cloſely annex'd to the Engliſh, as it was likely to be by that Marriage. But new accidents did this mean while happen, which did much better the French affairs. The Pope, who was grown very inward with the Spaniards, died about the end of *June*, in the year 1623. who was ſucceeded by *Maffeo*, Cardinal *Barberine*, a Florentine by Nation; who cauſed himſelf to be called *Urbanus*, one of a moſt pleaſing wit, as well for his great Erudition in the moſt weighty Sciences, as in humane Learning: He was alſo well vers'd in the affairs of the world, and in State affairs, for having been accuſtomed to the moſt important employments of the Court of *Rome*, he had ſo been Nuncio, both ordinary and extraordinary, with the King of *Navarre*, and whilſt he was in that imployment, was made Cardinal by Pope *Paul* the fifth, wherefore he was thought to be inclined to the French, and that he could not wiſh well to *Spain*; and yet he did ſo win upon the Spaniſh Faction by his wiſdom, dexterity, wit, and candid comportment, as the Votes of the Spaniſh Cardinals, and par-

particularly *Borgia*'s Vote, who was the head of them, went to the making him Pope: He was created according to the new form prescribed by his Predecessors; who to the end that the Cardinals might give their Votes with the more freedom, did by a particular Bull ordain so secret a way for the giving of Suffrages, as it could not be discovered by any; which form, though as new and not formerly used, it kept the Conclave a little longer; yet it being then the Dog-days, and the Cardinals being much incommodated by their being kept so close, many of them fell sick, and some died; wherefore, forced by fear and danger, they joined in the election of Pope *Urbane*, who was indowed with all those parts and ornaments required in a great Prince, and in a powerful Pope. Having taken the Popedom upon him, great signes of constant resolution appeared in him, of a good affection to Christendome, and that he was not apt to siding: For to the great neutrality which he seemed to profess in publick affairs, and in such as appertained to the Papal dignity, he added great severity in his private affairs, by refusing great offers which were immediately made him by the French Agents for the aggrandizing of his House; but on the other side, being very gratious to the Cardinals of *Savoy*, and to the French and Venetian Cardinals, with whom he held close consultations, he caused much distrust in the Spanish Cardinals and Agents, who therefore quickly shewed little satisfaction in his choice, and were displeased with themselves for the favour they had done him: And truly the success of affairs under his Popedom, shew'd they did not much erre in their judgment, nor in the diffidence which they conceived of him; for Pope *Urbane*, whether moved thereunto by his own Genius and inclination to the French, or out of a desire to restore the Pontifical dignity to its former vigour, and render it less exposed to the dependancy of anothers will, or that he nourished more generous and more exalted thoughts of the Liberty of *Italy*; he soon discovered himself no great favourer of the Spaniards, and very much a friend to those, who being desirous of the like liberty of *Italy*, strove to oppose the Spanish greatness: This jealousie was augmented by the knowledge of an important accident which happned in *Avignon*, in the Moneth of *October* this very year.

The Kings of *France*, *England*, and *Denmark*, the Venetians, Duke of *Savoy*, and Hollanders; many of the *German* Princes; and, as some will have it, *Bethlem Gaber*, the Transilvanian Prince, sent their Embassadours very secretly to that City; where coming unknown, and in the habit of Merchants, they made a League between them against the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, for the liberty of *Italy*, for the restitution of the *Valteline* and of the *Palatinate*; The principal Articles whereof were; *That the Hollanders, to bear with the war which they made in their own Country against the Spaniards, should send Fleets into* America, *and possess themselves of* Brazil: *That the King of* England *should assist the Hollanders with a certain number of men in their Domestick wars, and should send a powerful Fleet to* Spain, *to assault those Rivers, and to intercept the Navy which useth to come thither from* America: *That the King of* Denmark, *together with the Protestant Princes of* Germany, *should raise a powerful Army, and wage war with the Emperour in* Flanders *for the Restitution*

Reſtitution of the Palatinate: *And that* Bethlem Gaber *ſhould moleſt the Emperours Dominions towards* Hungary; *to the end that being aſſaulted on two ſides, he might be the leſs able to make reſiſtance: That the King of* France *ſhould hinder the commerce between* Spain *and* Italy *with a powerful Fleet to be kept at* Marſelles; *and ſhould paſs into* Piedmont *with an Army of* 25000 *Foot, and* 4000 *Horſe; and that joining with the Duke of* Savoy, *who was to raiſe another Army of* 12000 *Foot, and* 2000 *Horſe, he ſhould aſſault the State of* Millain; *for the maintaining of which Army the Venetians ſhould diſburſe* 100000 *Duckats a Moneth to the Duke of* Savoy: *And that at the ſame time the King of* France *ſhould fall into the* Valtoline *with another Army out of the Griſons Country; and when he ſhould have poſſeſs'd himſelf of it, he ſhould fall down from thence into the State of* Millain; *and joining with the Venetians, who for theſe enterpriſes were to join a certain number of men to the French Army, he ſhould aſſault the ſame State of* Millain *with the Common forces; and that they ſhould aſſault the affairs of the Kingdom of* Naples *with a Fleet of Ships towards the Adriatick Sea.*

This League being made two months after the Popes Election, in a City belonging to the Church, made the Spaniards ſuſpect that it never would have been appointed without tacite intelligence held between the Pope and the French, who were thought the authors of it; becauſe beſides the reſtitution of the *Valtoline*, and the *Palatinate*, the reſtoring of the Apoſtolick See to all that did anciently belong unto her was agreed upon; wherein it ſeemed the Kingdom of *Naples* might be underſtood: and place was alſo left in the ſame League, for the Pope, and great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who was alſo promiſed to have all the Havens of *Tuſcany* reſtored unto him: but the French openly denying any ſuch Conſpiracy, and no wiſe man being to believe, that a Pope hardly warm in his Chair ſhould enter into ſo weighty Machinations, whereby the world was to be turned up-ſide down, and the Catholick Religon to be diſturb'd; the Spaniards, though this Union might ſeem to be true, by many ſucceſſes which inſued, not having any certain proof which might clear theſe jealouſies, thought it a ſafer way to work upon the new Pope by diſſimulation, then to alienate him further from them by complaints, and vain reſentments; that which did moſt trouble the Pope, was, how to eſtabliſh the Dukedom of *Urbine* in the Apoſtolick See, which was, as it were, devolved thereunto by the ſudden death of the Prince, only Son to the old Duke, who a little before the Popes Election was found dead in his Bed, having been very well the night before when he went into it: for he having no other iſſue but a very young Daughter, and the Duke being ſo very old, as he was not likely to live long, much leſſe to have any more Children; that Dukedom, when he ſhould be dead, was to fall to the Apoſtolick See, whereof it was an antient Fee farm; and as this ſo great addition of State to the Church was odious to the confining Princes, the Venetians, and the great Duke, ſo neither did the Spaniards approve of it: wherefore they began to talk how they might continue that young infant in the Principality (whereof by the tenure of inveſting ſhe was abſolutely uncapable) by marrying her to a confiding Prince, and ſo, with ſatisfaction to all, keep that State from being

united to the Church: the manifest claim of the Church did oppose these designs, against which nothing could be attempted without open violence, and without troubling the whole World. Neither did the Piety and Religion of the old Duke permit, that (to the prejudice of his soul and conscience,) he should leave his people whom he loved very well, involved, after his life, in sore wars: the difficulty of managing the business was likewise a rub, and the great contestation which would be found in effecting it; there not being any Prince to be found for this Marriage, with whom the other Princes would be content; so great an addition to the great Duke of *Tuscany*, Cosin german to the Infants Mother, who was Daughter to *Cosmo* the Second, Father to *Ferdinando* the Second, now great Duke of *Tuscany*, on whom mens eyes were more fixed, for this business, then on any other, was equally suspicious to the Spaniards and Venetians, and to the other Princes of *Italy*: It made more for the interest of them all, to leave it in the Church, the common Mother, and Commonwealth; the Empire whereof is more moderate, by reason of the Sacerdotal profession, of the often change of Popes, and necessary vicissitude of Prelates which govern her: and wherein all Princes had more reason to confide, as being more interessed therein: whereas on the contrary, by joyning that State to *Tuscany*, too great and powerful a Pincipality would be constituted in the very heart of *Italy*: which extending from the one Sea to the other, and dividing whole *Italy*, it would have born too great a sway in all general affairs; and dividing wholly the Kingdom of *Naples* from the State of *Millain*, it might have been too prejudicial to the interests of the Crown of *Spain*, in those troublesome times, which afterwards hapned. To this, moreover, was added the tender years of the great Duke, who was under the Government of his Mother and Grand-mother, that Archduchess of *Austria*, Sister to the present Emperour, and Daughter to the late Duke of *Lorrein*, and therefore little able to enter upon new undertakings, so much controverted, and of so high importance: to fix their thoughts upon any of the Popes Nephews, as was then spoken of, would have been indeed more acceptable to all, for it would have hindered the connexion of States; a thing so prejudicial to that equality by which *Italy* is at the present maintained; nor would the Spaniards have been against it, to shun so great an addition to the greatness of the Church, and to win the Popes favour: but to boot that the Pope himself was not for it, it was a scandalous example, and subject to be revoked by the insuing Popes, by the precise orders and institutions of the Church, confirm'd by the reiterated Oaths of the Cardinals and Popes, by which the new Feofments of States which are devolved to the Apostolick See are forbidden; and the Infants age did most of all oppose it, who was incapable of contracting Marriage: so as by reason of the continual variation of worldly affairs, no certain resolution could be taken in a business of such importance, whereby all Princes might be satisfied; and yet the Spanish Agents did abbet these endeavours: but of all others Don *Antonio di Tolledo*, Duke of *Alva*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, who was allied to the great Duke, was most zealous in the business for the great Duke; and the old Duke of *Urbine*, being aware that Monsieur *Santorio*, made by the new Pope Bishop of *Urbine*,

and

and who was speedily sent to his Episcopal residence, began to be busie, and to interpose his Authority in some Affairs which appertain'd more to the State then to his Episcopal care, was not only much displeased with *Santorio*, but interpreting it, as if the Pope, anticipating the time of the lapse, had sent him as a Superintendent over the Affairs of the State, thought himself much injured: wherefore being angred, he sent the Child to the Court of *Florence*, and re-inforced *Tossone* and the other principal places, with Garrisons, and seemed desirous to Marry his Grand-child to the great Duke. The Pope was certainly much troubled at these passages, being wholly bent to reunite this State to the Apostolick See; insomuch as waxing jealous he sent many men to the Confines of *Tuscany* and *Urbine*: but they produced contrary effects to what the Spaniards pretended; for they did the more unite the Pope to the King of *France*, who having no Territories in *Italy* would always be a great friend to the Churches pretences and greatness; which increasing, without any prejudice to his Crown, was prejudicial to the Grandezza of *Spain*, which was envied by *France*; and therefore the Pope, that he might the better fortifie himself against the Spanish Machinations, and that he might be reveng'd of them who endeavoured to anger him, he shewed himself very resolute in the affairs of the *Valtoline*; that when he had rid his hands thereof, he might with more diligence attend the affairs of *Urbine*, and because the Spaniards, when they depositi the Forts of the *Valtoline*, obliged themselves (to the end that the Church might be put to no prejudice nor expence) to pay such stipends as should be necessary for the Souldiers, that they might defend them; and the Spanish Agents having failed in their payments; the Pope, who was in the mean while to take order for pay, said with much freedom, that he would not forgo what was his own, for what (according to the Grammarians) was Appellative, nor would he squander away the moneys of the Apostolick Chamber, in defence of the *Valtoline*, which did appertain little or nothing to the Church; but spare them for the eminent danger of the State of *Urbine*: which speeches being accompanied with some other favourable Demonstrations to the French, did trouble the Spaniards, and made them very circumspect in the business of *Urbine*, lest the Pope, to make a greater conjunction with the King of *France*, might probably precipitate the business of the *Valtoline*; and yet being naturally very considerate, he had two Consultations about the business of the *Valtoline*, of the most conspicuous Theologists of the Court, and most exemplary for holiness of life; who having discuss'd the business were of opinion that the Pope ought not to permit Catholicks to return under the yoke of Heretick, out of the evident danger of their souls; which belonging to the Flock of our Saviour Christ, it became him, according to the Gospel, to defend them like a good Shepherd, from the Wolves, though with the hazard of his own life. Thus did the Affairs of the *Valtoline* alter, out of several respects, in that Court, just like the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, and the Pope not being resolved what to do in it, that he might hold them both in hand temporized, and delay'd his resolution: but the French, who whilst *Gregory* lived were quiet, when they had a Pope who was their friend, began to rouse up, and to pretend that the

Valteline, the Forts being demolished, was to return under the Grisons command; nor did they admit of any exception, unless that for what concern'd the safety of the Catholick Religion, the Pope should be the determiner: this they said was dictated by the first Capitulations at *Madrid*; and thus Reason, and the King of *France* his Obligation to Protect the Grisons, did require: they persisted the more in these pretentions, for that they saw their affairs were much altered; for in the Spanish Court, instead of alliance, enmity with the English was increased: the Spanish Army in *Flanders*, and all the Forces of those States, were busied before *Breda*, a very strong Town of the Hollanders, both for Situation, Fortification, and for its being triple fenced by water; the taking of it was held impossible, the Siege very long, and of uncertain success, the Hollanders having raised a strong Army to relieve it. The Affairs of that Court had had but bad success in the Indies, and in *America*; for *Ormuz*, a very strong Town, situated in the mouth of *Persia*, a principal place for Merchandize, and of great annual revenue, and of greater concernment for the command of the East Indies, was taken by those Barbarians, they being assisted by English shipping: the *Bajade todos santos*, or *All Saints Bay*, the chiefest staple Town of *Brasile*, being (perhaps in pursuance of the League of *Avignon*) assaulted by a *Holland* Fleet, was taken, and sack'd; which having had booty there to the value of above two Millions of Ducates, fortified themselves there, intending further progress: these were two mighty blows to the Crown of *Spain*, which did oblige that King to send a powerful Army, as he did, to recover them; and to boot that the event of these Affairs was uncertain, they required great store of shipping, multitudes of men and money: nor were the wars of *Germany* yet wholly at an end; for many Rebels of the Empire, and whose Forces seemed rather to increase then to lessen, did molest it in several places; for the King of *Denmark*, in conformity to the League at *Avignon*, came into the Field very strong, and had made himself head of the Protestant Princes, who took up Arms against the Emperour, to restore the *Palatine* to his Patrimonial State, and who made great progress in the lower *Germany*. On the contrary, the Affairs of *France*, which till now had been full of troubles and civil wars, seemed to be brought into a safe Harbour, and by several accidents to be in a better condition: the King of *England*, having broken the match with *Spain*, had concluded a Marriage between his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and a Sister to the King of *France*, who was yet unmarried; and joyning in League with him, promised great things against the interest of *Spain*, both by Sea and Land, answerable to the League of *Avignon*; and the tumults of *France* were rather totally composed, or it was in the Kings power to end them: which accidents concurring at the same time, were able to incite any Prince to novelties, though never so much an enemy thereunto, much more the King of *France*, and French Nation, who were so far interested and ingaged in the business of the *Valteline*; and therefore though after many Consultations had in *Rome*, between the Embassadours of *Spain* and *France*, of themselves, and afterwards with the Pope, the Pope put forth at last some Articles touching the Equality in point of Religion amongst those of the *Valteline*;

line; whereunto the Embaſſadour did agree, and made others between themſelves in their Kings name, whereby the *Valtoline*, when the Forts ſhould be demoliſhed, was to return to be under the Griſons; but with ſome Articles, Conditions, and upon pain of Eſcheat, in caſe of ſwarving from the agreement, and particularly with leave for the King of *Spain* to paſs men thorow it; yet the King of *France*, accepting only thoſe that were propounded by the Pope, did abſolutely refuſe thoſe that were agreed upon by the Embaſſadour; and being highly offended with the Commandator *Sillery*, who was his Embaſſadour, he ſent Monſieur *di Bittune* to ſucceed him, and ſent for *Sillery* back to *France*; and did not only deprive him of his favour, but removed his Brother, who was Lord Chancellor, and the Chancellors Son, who was Secretary of State, together with other of their dependants, from their imployments, being apprehenſive (as was ſaid) that they held ſome ſecret intelligence with the Court of *Spain*; and being incenſed againſt the King of *Spain*, deſired the Pope that he would either cauſe the Forts to be demoliſhed, or elſe reſtore them to the King of *Spain*; to the end that he might make way to their demoliſhment, without offence to the Apoſtolick See: but the Articles of depoſiture withſtood the demoliſhing, and the reſtitution was gainſaid, for fear of raiſing new wars between the two Kings: ſo as, look with how much more circumſpection it became the Pope to proceed in his reſolve, ſo much more did the fervency of the French increaſe; who not brooking any delay, and ſeeing things in a way for war, furthered the execution of the League, and the preparations for all things requiſite for what was reſolved on. But the Marriage (which was juſt at this time in hand) between Prince *Philiberto* of *Savoy*, and Princeſs *Maria*, Daughter to *Francis* late Duke of *Mantua*, did either totally hinder, or at leaſt retard for the preſent the effects of ſo great a combination: by which Treaty the Duke of *Savoy* (who if he were not the head, was a principal member of this League,) was diverted from the common Counſels. The Spaniards had formerly endeavoured by ſeveral ways to ſtave him off from the other Confederates, ſhewing plainly how much it would make for his advantage to withdraw the *Valtoline* from ſubjection to the Griſons, and make it dependant upon their King; for his Territories having no need of acceſs by that way, he would be the only man on whom the Princes of *Italy* would fix their eyes, and whoſe friendſhip they would mainly endeavour, by reaſon of the need they ſhould have thereof; and the two Crowns would be inforced to eſteem him no leſs then they, ſince he would be the only man, who, when all other paſſages ſhould be ſhut up, might keep out the French, and all other Forreigners, from coming into *Italy*, or who might bring them in. But hatred againſt the Spaniards, and a deſire to oppoſe their ends, prevailing more with him, and conceiving great hopes from the League, he ſtill continued therein: ſome Propoſitions being afterwards made concerning this aforeſaid Marriage, of ſome reſignation to be made by the Duke of *Mantua*, of *Montferrat*; at leaſt after the death of the ſaid Duke *Ferdinand*, and of his Brother Prince *Vincenſo*, both which for ſeveral reſpects had ſmall hopes of ſucceſſion, the Duke of *Savoy* being exceedingly deſirous of new pretentions to that State, eaſily forewent

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any other business; and the Spaniards, who out of many respects were interested in these Negotiations, were not displeased that this might be effected, fearing lest the line of these two Princes failing, the Duke of *Nivers*, who was to succeed in those States, should draw the French into *Italy*; chusing, for the lesser evil, that since *Montferrat* was to fall to the house of *Savoy*, it might be given to the second Son, in whom they did much confide, and not to the eldest, who being to succeed in his Fathers Dominions, his Principality would be too great: and the Duke not being able to forgo so great an occasion of increasing his Dominions, for the vain and uncertain hopes of the League, which did not much belong to him, was so much the more necessitated to forgo the League, and the Friendship of the French; for this Marriage would make the French his enemies, if the succession of *Montferrat* should devolve upon the Duke of *Nivers*, who that they might have a Prince in *Italy*, totally dependant upon their King, would protect and maintain his pretences: nor could the Duke of *Savoy* keep possession of that State from the French, without the Spaniards assistance. The Spaniards therefore being desirous to win him over, and to interest him in their own Affairs, were then very hot in pursuing that Marriage: knowing very well that if the Duke should be separated from the League, the plots of the Confederates would vanish, who being, as it were, lame for what concern'd *Italy*, without him they could not, at least not without difficulty, do any thing they had agreed upon: the design had taken handsomely, but a petty accident which hapned in the River of *Genoa* withheld the effecting of it, and the Prince his insuing death did totally overthrow it: where *Liguria* Confines upon *Piedmont*, stands the little Marquisate *Zuccarello*, whereof mention hath been formerly made: it was anciently granted in Fee by the Emperour to those of the house of *Curetta*; but by alteration of times, and accidents, being gotten by the Genoeses, and afterwards invested in those of *Curetta*, it was held and possess'd for the space of 200 years by them, as Feudatories to the Commonwealth, upon the usual recognition of homage: the same accidents and revolutions of *Italy* had lately transported it from the Commonwealth to the Emperours, not without the Commonwealths complaint, which yielding to the times that were but bad for her, was not well pleased to be after so many years possession deprived of that Fee, which lay so neer, and so conveniently, to their own State: but the Emperours Authority rising up again in *Italy*, after some ages, the Genoeses were forced to be content, and to expect a better occasion of repossessing it; and therefore in the year 1576, they purchased an Annual Rent out of the said Fee, from *Scipio del Curetto*, the Marquess and possessor thereof; and this Annual Rent was approved of by the Emperour, and ratified by a solemn Decree. Not long after the Marquess being impeached by the Emperour, for a certain man-slaughter, he sold that Marquisate to the Duke of *Savoy*, to the prejudice of the Cesarean Exchequer, and of the Covenant of Prelation, so to avoid confiscation; and the Emperour proceeding to Sentence of Death against the Marquess, and to confiscation of the Fee, took it from the Duke (to whom it was already assigned over by the Marquess) and held it for himself, and for the Imperial Chamber: the Duke being deprived

ved of poſſeſſion, labour'd hard in the Court at *Germany*, ſometimes in his own name, ſometimes in the name of the Marqueſs, and of his Son, to have the lapſe and confiſcation revoked; but in vain, becauſe of the oppoſition of the Cæſarian Exchequer, and of the Commonwealth, which by reaſon of her ancient pretences, and much more by reaſon of her more modern ones, which ſhe had got therein, was by the Emperour admitted to give a Vote in that Judgement. In fine, the claim of the *Carews* being excluded, the Emperour, in the year 1624, ſet it to publick ſale by the Cryer, for whoſoever would give moſt; and divers offering moneys for it, it was adjudged to the Commonwealth, which offer'd moſt; whereat the Duke thought himſelf much injured, as ſuppoſing that no Chap-men would be found for it, ſo as the Fee remaining ſtill unſold, he might obtain it the more eaſily from the Imperial Chamber: he thought that the Commonwealth, by buying it, had ſpoiled all his deſignes, and utterly defeated all his hopes of ever coming by it. *He therefore writ to the Commonwealth, complaining of what had been done, and exhorting her to deſiſt, for otherwiſe he would reſent it mightily: the Commonwealth had juſt occaſion long before to complain upon this account of the Duke, ſince the queſtion being of a Fee ſituated in* Liguria, *wherein the Duke had never either action or pretention, all reaſon would that, in point of good neighbourhood, he ſhould have forborn it: but that the ſame neighbourhood allowed the Commonwealth to purchaſe it, as that which became her better to do then any other, by reaſon of her confining thereupon, out of reaſon of State, for her antient pretences thereunto, and for the new Article of Finale: but being deſirous of the publick peace, and of keeping good correſpondency with her neighbours, ſhe choſe to proſecute her pretentions by a civil way in the Emperours Court; wherein having after much labour, and expence, obtain'd her end; (which ſhe had done by no other way then by purchaſing that at a high rate which ſhe had much reaſon to pretend unto as her own,) ſhe thought her ſelf the much more injured perſon, ſeeing the Dukes appeals accompanied by ſuch open threats: and that though ſhe was reſolved to keep what ſhe had purchaſed, ſo as ſhe might ſhew her reſentment in equal terms, yet thinking moderation did better become her dignity and gravity, ſhe was more temperate in her anſwer; whereby endeavouring to poſſeſs the Duke fully of her juſtifiable actions, ſhe was reſolved to make good what ſhe had done, notwithſtanding all his threats.*

This conſtancy and freedom of the anſwer, the leſs it was expected, the more did it ſting the Duke to the very ſoul, who was haughty of himſelf, but much more by reaſon of the preſent Occurrences, whereby thinking himſelf to be in high eſteem with the greateſt Potentates of Chriſtendom, which ſtrove who ſhould moſt favour him, and draw him over to them, he thought himſelf formidable to the leſſer: he could not therefore well indure that a Commonwealth of Gown-men ſhould ſo little value his threats; and ſo much the leſs, for that the Commonwealth added Military proviſions to her anſwers, ſhewing her ſelf ready to make reſiſtance, in caſe the Duke ſhould ſecond his words with deeds: they therefore gave preſent order for new levies of men, for taking Foot into pay, for ſending for Captains and Commanders to ſerve them; and for her better juſtification, ſhe together

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with the Dukes complaints, publiſhed the merits of the Cauſe, and the ſmall juſtice he had to complain; the buſineſs being hereby brought upon the Stage, the Duke was the more bound to perſiſt in his pretences, and howſoever to maintain them, if not for the intereſt which the having or not having the Fee of *Zuccarello* would be unto him, at leaſt in reſpect of his reputation, wherein he thought he ſhould ſuffer very much, if the world ſhould have reaſon to attribute his deſiſting therein to the Commonwealths threats, and preparations: ſo as reſolving to have the better of the buſineſs, he being full of inexhauſtible invention, began to bethink himſelf how he might find out ſome plot, whereby his honour might not precipitate from that height which it was in: he began to invite, and to incite the Tranſalpine Nations againſt the City and State of *Genoa*, by giving out what immenſe riches, and vaſt prey, they might get from the wealthy Genoeſes: from theſe ſleight accidents, as from a little ſpark, great and dangerous flames for *Italy* aroſe, which had almoſt cauſed an univerſal combuſtion; for the greateſt Monarchs of Chriſtendom had a hand in the kindling, and in the quenching thereof: and becauſe for the knowledge of this, and of ſeveral weighty ſucceſſes which did from thence reſult, it will be neceſſary to know the condition and ſtate of the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, which was ſuch as made many Chriſtian Princes to appear upon this occaſion, I will for the preſent leave the purſuit of this Narration, and will unfold ſomewhat briefly of the Commonwealth of *Genoa*; which though it may ſeem ſuperfluous to the preſent Age, as being ſufficiently known, will be both acceptable, and neceſſary, for the knowledge of Poſterity.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book VIII.

The Contents.

In this Eighth Book you have the Description of the Commonwealth of Genoa; *her Interest and good Correspondency with the Crown of* Spain. *The Diet held at* Susa, *wherein two attempts are resolved upon: the one against the* Valtoline, *the other against* Genoa; *for the execution whereof many preparations are made both in* France *and in* Italy. *The French fall down into the* Valtoline, *under the conduct of the Marquess of* Coure; *and driving the Churches Forces from the Forts which were deposited in the Popes hands, they make themselves masters thereof: they likewise fall down into* Piedmont, *under* de Digueres *Grand Constable, and joyning with the Duke of* Savoy, *and with his Forces, go to the Enterprise of* Genoa; *and proceed far in that State; the Pope sends his Nephew Legate into* France. *The Genoeses are reduced into a very dangerous condition by hostile Arms.*

THe Commonwealth of *Genoa*, which being govern'd by her own peculiar Laws and Magistrates, injoys full and fortunate Liberty, possesseth the Kingdom of *Corsica*, together with all that Tract, which extending from *Germany* to the Haven of *Monaco*, is now commonly called the River of *Genoa*, and was anciently called *Liguria*; and extending her Confines beyond the *Appenine*, and the River *Magra* commands many Castles in *Lombardy*, and many in *Tuscany*, together with City of *Serezzana*: the City being great of her

ſelf, and capable of a numerous people, is one of the chiefeſt Cities of *Italy*; and for the opportunity of her ſituation, for her great Traffick, for the immenſe riches of her Citizens, is deſervedly accounted a rich and noble Mart, the ſtaple, and the nobleſt Exchequer, or Treaſury, of all *Europe*; ſhe was in former Ages very famous for Sea-enterprises, by reaſon of the number of her powerful Fleets, and by reaſon of the famous Victories which ſhe hath long and had over the Saracens; and ſince over the Venetians, Pisans, and Catalonians: a people who were alſo very powerful at Sea, who contending long with her for ſuperiority at Sea were ſome of them ſuppreſs'd, ſome totally defeated; and certainly ſhe would have gotten the abſolute Empire over the Mediterranean; had not her endeavours and Military Valour, exerciſed with ſuch glory and advancement of reputation againſt her enemies, been turned, (through the ambition and blind unbridled deſire of precedency in her own Citizens) to their own prejudice, and to the prejudice of their Country; for being divided into parties and factions, and cruelly rent by inteſtine contention and ſtrife, ſhe was forc'd to yield the Reins of Government, ſometimes to the moſt powerful Citizen, ſometimes to ſome Forreign Potentate; but the proſperous and unfortunate adventures of the Ancient Commonwealth are already diverſly written both in her own Annals, and in thoſe of other Nations; and they being far from our purpoſe, I have not room to write them here: that which is ſufficient to know concerning the main buſineſs, which we are now about to write, is, that ſince the Genoeſes drove out the French, whereby they regained their ancient Liberty, and reduced their Commonwealth to the preſent form of Government, (which was in the eight and twentieth year of the Age next before this that we now are in) they have always kept ſtrict and ſincere union with the Crown of *Spain*; inſomuch as not any Italian Potentate hath ſhew'd themſelves more a Friend to the Spaniards then they; nor perhaps was there ever known a conjunction between Princes of ſo unequal power and greatneſs, which hath been preſerved for the ſpace of a hundred years, with more ſincere faith, and more reciprocal advantage: the Havens, Seas, Paſſages, and all other conveniences of the State of *Genoa*, were always open to receive the Fleets, and to give paſſage or any other accommodation to thoſe of that Crown; whereas they were always ſhut up to any who might bring prejudice to the Grandezza, Dignity and Security of the Spaniſh Dominions. The King of *Spain* is permitted to keep a Squadron of Gallies in the Haven at *Genoa*, for any ſudden or urgent occaſion that may ariſe: which makes very much for the good of the affairs of that Crown, by reaſon of the opportune ſituation of *Genoa*, which being ſeated between the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and of thoſe of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and being alſo the Staple to the State of *Milain*, is very convenient for the uniting and preſervation of States, and Provinces divided ſo far one from another. On the other ſide, the ſame friendſhip and good correſpondency is a great ſecurity and help for the State of *Genoa*, for the ſingular care which thoſe Kings are forced to have of her preſervation, not only by the tye of extraordinary Friendſhip, but out of private Intereſt, ſo as the Commonwealth may with good reaſon ſuppoſe all the Forces and

Fleets

Fleets of that Crown to be always ready to defend her, againſt whoſoever ſhall plot any thing to the prejudice of her, or her Liberty: he gave the beginning to this ſo neer conjunction, who being the firſt author of the Commonwealths Liberty, deſerves to be by her ſtiled the Father and Freer of his Country, and fellow Citizens. Prince *Andrea Doria*, the beſt Captain in Sea affair of any in his time, and reputed the beſt for Maritime Forces, and experience for Military Valour and happy ſucceſs: wherein the compaſſion of his afflicted Countries miſery prevailing more with him, then the great offers, and afterwards the anger of the King of *France*, forſaking not without great danger to his own Fortune, the French offers, and ſtipends, he went over to ſerve the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, King of *Spain*; and hoping much in this new conjunction, he betook himſelf with incredible courage and generoſity to ſo glorious an action: wherein being very fortunate, he proved not only an unexpected ſafety to his Country, which driving out the French, he reſtored to happy and miraculous liberty, but gave a great turn to all the affairs of *Italy*; for the fortune of the French, which had then the upper hand, and was almoſt victorious, began then to decline; and that of the Emperour which was then at an ebb, began to be raiſed up; for the French mens loſing the State of *Genoa*, was immediately followed by their loſs of the Kingdom of *Naples*, whereof they were almoſt fully poſſeſſed; and being by *Doria's* reſolution robbed of all their beſt and greateſt Maritime Forces, and by the revolution of the affairs of *Genoa* deprived of the opportunity of being ſuccoured by Sea, they fell upon ſad incounters; and not being able to hold out longer; were at laſt forced to abandon the enterpriſe to the Imperialiſts, who getting to within the walls of *Naples*, the French did not only badly defend the free poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, but loſt all hopes of ever regaining it. The King of *France* his enterpriſes in *Lombardy* and in *Piedmont*, had no better ſucceſs both then and afterwards: Where the conveniency of the State of *Genoa* being afforded to the Emperour, and deny'd to the French, was of great moment for the Emperours victory, and for the ruine of the French forces; inſomuch as the French being utterly ruined, and the Emperour ſuperiour to all, and able to give the Law, he built up that grandezza of Fortune to himſelf, and poſterity, which he injoyed whilſt he lived, and which his deſcendents, the Kings of *Spain*, do at the preſent injoy.

Doria's name grew very glorious every where for ſuch egregious actions; and his Authority was very great in the Commonwealth of *Genoa* for her re-gained Liberty; and his Power was no leſs great with the Emperour, who eſteeming it not only a great happineſs to have ſo famous a Commander under his pay, and of ſuch valour and experience in Naval Affairs, but thinking him alſo a fit Inſtrument to make the City and State of *Genoa* ſide with him (a thing of great importance to his affairs) he ſtudied ſtill to keep him his Friend, by conferring great Rewards upon him, and unuſual Honours: He therefore made him Lord High-Admiral at Sea, and ſeldom diſſented from his advice (which he valued very much) in Land Enterpriſes. And as *Doria's* power with the Emperour rendred the liberty of the Genoeſes free from

being disturbed by so great an Authority, as some of the free Cities of *Italy* were; so his authority with his Fellow-Citizens was sufficient to keep the Genoeses constant in their devotion to the Emperour; which was the more easily effected, for that the affairs of *Italy* being divided into two Factions, the one adhering to the French, the other to the Emperour, the prevalency of the latter was very opportune and necessary to the Commonwealth, to preserve her from the evident danger of being the more oppress by the former, the French being the more incens'd against the Genoeses for the great prejudice they had received by their revolution. *Doria* out-lived the Emperour some few years, and continuing in the same Employments and Honours under *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, and Son to the Emperour, he was succeeded by *John Andrea Doria*, Heir not only to his Principality, States, and Maritime Fortune, but also to his Heroick Virtue and singular Piety towards his Countrey; who after having served the Crown of *Spain* in places of great Employment, and given good proof of his Valour and Counsel upon all occasions, and having kept great sway with his Fellow-Citizens, was of no less authority in the Court of *Spain*, in so much as he was preferr'd by *Philip* the Second in command at Sea before many Competitors and famous Captains of Illustrious Families, and discharged the Office of Lord High-Admiral with splendour and magnificence answerable to the authority: And as he was a great help, and very serviceable to the keeping of the same correspondency between the Crown of *Spain* and the Commonwealth; so was he a no little supporter of his Countreys Liberty in the jealous and troublesome times which did sometimes happen; and as the former was honoured by the publick Decree of the Commonwealth with the title of Father and Freer of his Countrey, so was he by the like Decree honoured with the title of Conservator of the Liberty thereof. After his death (for the chief Command at Sea was reserved for the Princes of the Blood Royal) his third Son Don *Carlo Doria* succeeded in the Government of those Gallies which the King of *Spain* keeps in *Genoa* (for his eldest son being by reason of his private indispositions unfit for Navigation; as also his second son *Giannettino* by reason of his Priesthood, he being at the present a Cardinal, Archbishop of *Palermo*, and Viceroy of *Sicily*.) Which Don *Carlo*, as also Cardinal *Giannettino*, treading in their Forefathers steps, proved very advantagious in the service of that Crown to their Countrey, and to themselves. At the same time almost that the supreme Command at Sea ceased in the Dorian Family, new and extraordinary worth arose in the Family of the *Spinolas*, a House of great Alliance and Wealth in the Commonwealth, whose worths fomented the same good correspondency. Marquess *Ambrosio Spinola*, and his Brother *Frederick*, both of them being young men and very rich, emulating as well the glory and splendour as the virtue and worth of the *Dorii*, and not knowing any more Illustrious Theatre then the Wars made by the Kings of *Spain* in the Low-Countries against the Hollanders, and the United Provinces, for the maintaining of Religion, and Regal Authority, they both of them offer'd to enter upon that warfare upon their own expence; the youngest to serve with a certain number of Gallies in the Flemish Ocean, and the eldest in Land-service with a great

great number of men. But *Frederick* being ſlain in a Naval Battle, almoſt in the beginning of the War, could not arrive at that height of Glory which the Marqueſs his Brother did in a few years; who being a great Commander of Armies almoſt before he was a Souldier, and far out-doing the expectation of men moſt exerciſed in Military Affairs, became in a ſhort time the beſt Commander of this preſent age; and having the ſuperintendency and abſolute management of thoſe Wars given him by the King of *Spain*, he did not only ſtop but ſuppreſs the Fortune of the Enemy, which like an impetuous Torrent was like to drown the Kings Authority, and the Catholick Religion in thoſe parts: Moreover he carried the Spaniſh Forces into *Germany*, where he did ſingular good ſervice, took many entire Provinces, and was (as hath been elſewhere ſaid) a great help to the affairs of Religion, and of the then tottering Empire: His counſel in civil matters was anſwerable to his Military Valours: for which being admired and reverenced by all *Europe*, he bare alſo a great ſway in the important reſolutions of the Court of *Spain*. Thus the Fleets at Sea, Armies at Land, the moſt conſiderable Employments of that Crown, having for the moſt part paſt through the hands of the Genoeſes for almoſt a whole Age, and theſe drawing over other of their Fellow-Subjects to the Kings ſervice, and uſing them in many uſeful and honourable Employments appertaining to their Governments, it neceſſarily followed, that ſo much confidence being put by the King in the chiefeſt Subjects of the Commonwealth, and ſuch Honours and Employments conferr'd upon others united the whole Commonwealth of *Genoa* for ever firm to that Crown: Moreover, the Squadron of the Kings Gallies which was kept in *Genoa* were generally commanded by Genoeſe Captains, and ſerved with Officers and Mariners of the ſame Nation, who did not only maintain their houſes and families by the Kings pay, and by the great emoluments which they got by navigation, but did augment their own fortunes.

This Squadron of Galleys were therefore a great good to the King, and to the Commonwealth; to the King, for that to boot with the conveniency of that Haven, which was ſo fitting for the King of *Spain*, and for his Dominions in *Italy*, it encreaſed the number of his adherents in *Genoa*; for the Common-wealth, for beſides the entertaining and employment of ſo many of her Captains and Citizens, and to boot with the advantage of Traffique and Treaſure, it was of great uſe to train up her people in maritime skill, which Art could not well have been preſerved amongſt them, but upon this occaſion; and thoſe Galleys being commanded and managed by the Genoeſes, the Common-wealth had conveniency to make uſe of them, as if they had been her own, upon any occaſion of her own ſafety and defence, without any the leaſt jealouſie; for theſe being added to her own, made up almoſt a compleat Fleet, able to oppoſe the aſſaults of any enemy; but chiefly for that this being one of the beſt Squadrons of Gallies the Crown of *Spain* had, and being in the power of the Genoeſes, it muſt needs be a good pledg of the Kings good will to the Common-wealth: The Commerce alſo which the Genoeſe Mariners have uſually in the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, and the Traffique

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which is very great, in the State of *Millan*, and in *Flanders* doth imploy great part of the meaner sort of the City and State of *Genoa*, who by natural inclination, and by reason of the barrenness of their Country, are given to Negotiation, both by Land and Sea: so as there are but very few, who for their own peculiar concernments, are not very desirous of the prosperity of that Crown. But the Contracts or Covenants of the richest and ablest Gentlemen of the Commonwealth doth interest the Genoese Nation with the Crown of *Spain*; the most famous and important contract, and of greater concernment for the affairs of Crown then any other which we reade of, or have heard.

The King, to keep and maintain his Armies in *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Italy*, and for maintenance of his Fleet in the Ocean, and in the Mediterranean, is forced to make many expeditions, and send provisions sometimes to one part, sometimes to another: the Kings Exchequer had not alwaies ready money; or, in case it had, moneys could not with safety and speed be conveyed into those parts where they were to be serviceable, but they must either be intercepted by the Enemy, or sunk at Sea, or come too late to where they were destined, which would cause the ruine of the Kings Enterprises and Armies: The Genoese Merchants, by the great affluence of their riches, credit, and correspondency, which they held in all parts of *Europe*, did abundantly and beforehand supply what was necessary; so, as in humane bodies the soul, and natural heat, send forth and supply all the members with necessary nourishment; just so in the immense body of so great a Monarchy, the Pen of the Genoese, as the soul and vital spirit of the King of *Spain*'s Treasure, serves the King to convey ready moneys happily, safely, and speedily, whithersoever it is needfull, with reciprocal profit and conveniency; for the King by making his provisions in good time, and speedily, secures his Enterprizes, wins honour to his Arms by victory, and defends his Dominions; and the Genoeses get vast gain by the employment of their moneys, whereby their private fortunes do exceed that of all other Nations; for which advance of moneys they are paid by the King in annual Revenues, out of the States and Kingdoms belonging to the Crown, as well in *Spain* as in *Italy*: therefore as this contract is necessary for the main affairs of that King, it obligeth him to have a care of the Commonwealth; for without the preservation thereof, the contract is impossible to be made good; and so great a stock of moneys of the Genoeses being imploied in the Kingdoms belonging to that Crown, serves the King as a pledge of their good will. These are the Ties, these are the Bonds of Friendship, and conjunction between the Crown of *Spain* and Commonwealth of *Genoa*; which being confirm'd by process of time, and by so many trials, grow daily stronger, not only for the interests, which multiply continually, but for the trust and confidence which doth also multiply by the course of years: the Kings of *Spain*, for the space of almost one whole Age, have had trial of the good and sincere publick correspondency, and of the acceptable, and faithful service of the private Genoeses: great were the conveniences and advantages which they thereby got both in publick and private. On the other side, those

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Kings having always born much respect towards the Commonwealth, and having ever endeavoured the preservation of her Liberty, the Genoeses did so confide in their affection and good will towards them, as the neighbourhood and greatness of the Kings Dominions, wherewith theirs are environed, and the powerful Forces of that Crown both by Land and Sea, (sufficient to beget confidence in greater Potentates then the Commonwealth,) were not only no cause of fear nor terrour to her, but they by long experience began to confide in them; and they served as a Bulwark and defence to the Commonwealth, against all hostile violence. No foot of the State of *Genoa* was ever seised on, no point of her jurisdiction injured, nor the least part of her liberty; and whereas the Commonwealth, when she began to adhere to this Crown, being then newly got out of Forreign subjection, was faint hearted, weak in Forces, rent with intestine discords, and both publick and private fortunes were exhausted; by her regained liberty, and by this new contracted friendship, she did not only recover her former spirit and heart, but reassuming her native colour, and being restored to her ancient splendour, appeared in publick and in private as formerly; and whereas having been formerly molested, sometimes by one, some times by another Potentate, and troubled by intestine discord, she had much ado to preserve her self, but undergoing great storms was subject to many dangers; after the union and good correspondency with the Crown of *Spain*, she was brought into a safe Haven, secure from Domestick and Forreign tempests, she was respected by her neighbouring Princes, honour'd by those that were further off, not molested by her rivals, nor offended by any; and if at any time she hapned to be molested by any, she was protected and defended by all the Forces of the said Crown, as if she had been one of its Patrimonial Dominions.

The Nobility of *Genoa* prosper'd no less in their private affairs, then in the publick; some of them were honoured by that Crown with great Honours and Imployments, others were favoured with Offices, Dignities, and great Rewards: the City her self was embellished with stately Edifices, which were not inferiour for Ornament or Magnificence to those of any other private personages: private houses were strangely beautified: none were like to them for Plate, Jewels, nor Moveables, neither in quality nor quantity, for the fortunes of private men some amounted to the yearly rent of a hundred thousand Ducates, many to half as much, and very many to less, but still very considerable sums: by which riches and splendor the Commonwealth being become very powerful, she might justly be adjudged to be brought to a better condition, in all respects, then ever she had formerly been; for though in past Ages, when she was wholly intent upon Maritime Affairs, she was become very glorious for famous Victories, made by her numerous powerful Fleets: yet the vivacity and refinedness of the Genoese spirits being become fierce by continual use of Arms, wanting Forreign Enemies, she could hardly keep from civil dissentions; the result whereof was the ruine of Military knowledge, and the common Countries destruction: the same vivacity and acuteness growing wanton by the continual peace of latter times, and being refined in ci-

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vil Arts hath made them study publick Government the more, and more desirous to preserve their Country and Liberty, as the Spring-head of all their good, and as the only stay and foundation of their private fortunes; and being hereby become so happy both in publick and in private, she had no reason at the present to envy the condition of former times; her Subjects were no less glorious then those of former times in Military Affairs, and for what concerns the Gown and Civil Affairs, undoubtedly, far beyond them: she had plenty of men, excellent for learning, and for all kind of Erudition, very wise for State-Government; and (which is seldom seen in so great affluence of private Riches and Authority) singular for Religion, Piety, and Charity towards their Country: so as though in point of greatness of State she may yield the upper hand to some of the modern Commonwealths, yet can she not be thought inferiour for unanimity of mind, for a solid and well regulated Government, nor for the love of Liberty. The Legislators of antient times, and those who in their Rules of Philosophy have left excellent Precepts of Policy, always thought private riches, and excessive power in private Citizens, to be the corrupters of mens minds; wherefore as if it were a Plague or pestiferous Venome in a well regulated Commonwealth, they did so abhor it, as *Licurgus*, the wise composer of the Spartan Commonwealth, not being content with an equality of Land amongst the Citizens of his Commonwealth, he would not permit them the use of Silver or Gold. In process of time, the same Spartans did of their own free will yield up the command of Maritime Fleets, which the Confederate Cities of *Greece* did maintain in common, to the Athenians, for fear lest their Citizens, being accustomed to so great a command, might become contumacious to the Orders of the County, and might some time or other have some Plots upon the publick Liberty; therefore they provided against too great power and authority in their Citizens, by the Law of Ostracism; and how much did the Agrarian Law trouble the Commonwealth of *Rome*. It is too clear and manifest, how the Roman Liberty was at last overthrown, first by the too extraordinary power of *Marius* and *Sylla*, and afterwards by the like of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*: some of the modern Commonwealths, out of the same respects, give the command in chief of their Land Armies only to Forreigners, and the Supream Government at Sea, which they cannot take from their Citizens, they confide it in them so allaied as they cannot exercise it within a hundred miles of the City; nor is it permitted to their Citizens to receive Pensions, or take imployments or dignities from other Princes, nor yet to purchase estates or fortunes in other Princes Dominions, lest their dependency upon that Prince may prove prejudicial to the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth of *Genoa* by a singular and happy example, which doth confound both the precepts of the ancient and the institutions of modern Commonwealths, doth not only sustain her self by the greatness of the private fortunes of her Citizens, but doth from thence take force, spirit and splendor; and by means of her Citizens great power recovers sometimes her lost liberty, sometimes preserves it, and becomes considerable to Forreign Nations, and to neighbouring Potentates. The Citizens of this Commonwealth treat with

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the greatest Monarchs of Christendom; they get Revenues in Forreign Countries; they are admitted into administration of the King of *Spains* Treasure; they receive Pensions, Titles and Dignities from his Crown, they receive the chief Government of his Kingdoms and States, the prime jurisdiction over his Fleets at Sea, the absolute command over his Land Armies, they are admitted into, and chosen to be Counsellors of his Privy Council; and yet so many, and so great Dignities, Titles, Imployments, Offices and Preeminences, do not at all prejudicate or weaken the Principality of their common Country, but do rather strengthen it: The occasion of so many miraculous effects may be attributed to the union and good Government of the Commonwealth: which keeping her Forts, Garrisons, and the whole ground-works of the State in her own hands, by the favour of her people, who are more inclined to live free then any others, and by the leaning-stock or support of her Nobility, (which being bound up, and united in one body, doth much exceed the grandezza of any one private Citizen, and is sufficient to suppress any whatsoever force, and to curb any intention which shall be contrary to the present Government) it may be attributed to the good opinion of the Kings of *Spain*, who being, on the one side, certain that they may have any thing of the Commonwealth, in the condition she now is in, which they can desire at her hands, always provided her liberty be preserved; and on the other side, apprehensive of the strange consequences which might result from the turn of Affairs, they have reason to abhor all novelty, or alteration of Government. But it may chiefly be attributed to the private Citizens ardent desire of liberty, who being taught by the calamities of former times, that the Principality of one alone is unsupportable to a people that are born free, and how dangerous it is for him who shall arrive thereat; and being made to know by their present happiness, how pleasant, useful and glorious a thing, Liberty injoyed in common is to all men, and how much it makes them be esteemed in the Courts of Forreign Princes; they love better to increase and better themselves by the preservation, then by the ruine of the common liberty; and growing greater by their private fortunes, to restore that splendor multiplied to their Countrey which at first they received from her; They are therefore able to make it known in Princes Courts, where they live, how advantagious it is for their affairs, that *Genoa* should live in liberty; and if at any time, by any strange accident, they be put to struggle for the maintenance thereof, they by their greatness of spirit can shew themselves so zealous in that behalf, as by a generous refusal of the greatest Dignities, Preferments and Fortunes which they hold from the King, they are able to divert ill advised designs, and to free their Country from the sinister influences which the bad counsels of any Officer can threaten it withall.

The interests then of the Crowne of *Spaine*, and of the Commonwealth, being thus fast link'd together, those who envied the Spanish greatness could not bear with such a parity of fortune, and endeavoured by all means possible to break it; sometimes openly endeavouring the common liberty of *Italy*, wherein they strove to interest themselves, as a Prince of *Italy*: sometimes whispering jealousies and suspicions secretly between both parties: some-

times upbraiding the Genoeses with their having received dignities and riches from that Crown, as gilded fetters of their liberty; which under the shadow of friendship and equal confederacy, was the base and servile slavery of the Spanish Empire. King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, whom the French after his death honour'd with the Cognomen of Great, having bent his thoughts, in his latter years, upon quelling the Grandezza of the house of *Austria*, and of the Crown of *Spain*, fix'd his eyes first upon the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, intending to make his first blow at her, as at one of the corner-stones of so great a Monarchy, with firm resolution to cut that knot in pieces with the sword, since he saw it impossible to be loosened otherwise: but this design falling by the sudden fatal death of the said King, the image thereof remain'd imprinted in his successors, who thinking that the State of *Genoa* was become more then Spanish by this undissolvable knot, and that it made too much against the common ends and designs, did not only abhor the name of a Genoese, but began to betake themselves against the Commonwealth: thinking that when she should be abased, the Spanish Empire should receive a shrew'd blow; and that taking their rise so high, the success must needs be good; for they made their account, that when they should have possess'd themselves of the State of *Genoa*, the State of *Millain* being shut up on that side, and being debarred from succour by Sea, would be the sooner taken by Land Armies; and that the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* being so far distant from *Spain* would hardly be kept: the breaking of the Contract, which would certainly be effected by the loss of the State of *Genoa*, incited them as much as any other respect; and the Crown of *Spain* remaining unable to make provisions for Armies, they held for certain that the chief sinews of the Spanish Empire being thus cut in pieces, the affairs of that Crown would give against such encounters as would make way for much further proceedings: they therefore resolved to bend all their endeavours, to plot any thing, and to use all force against the State of *Genoa*, as against that which did chiefly withstand the ends and interests of the common cause: no provision was had for this by the last League of *Avignon*: but the enmity which not long after arose between the Commonwealth and the Duke of *Savoy*, touching the Marquisate *Zuccharello*, much fomented these their machinations; which enmity daily increasing, a great combustion brake forth from a little sparke. The Duke was not inclin'd at first to make war with the Genoeses upon this account, for though he was sensible enough of their resistance, and appeared to be already much in that resentment, yet the Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Philiberto* and the Princess of *Mantua* detained him, and forced him to swallow down any thing, out of a desire of getting more pretences to *Montferrat* by this Match, and to reunite himself to the Crown of *Spain*; for to break with the Genoeses did diametrically oppugne both these ends, which his mind was then chiefly set upon; for there was no doubt, but the King of *Spain* would interest himself with the Genoeses: wherefore forbearing rigorous proceedings, and falling upon a more moderate way, he tried to get out of this trouble by some fair means; he endeavour'd to get the Spanish Agents to delay the assigning over of *Zuccharello* for a while, upon agreement that he would plead the utmost of his pre-

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tences within a few days in the Cesarian Court; and that if he did not then obtain his intent, it should be lawful for the Commonwealth to injoy this their new purchase without any disturbance. The Spanish Agents who were to manage this matrimony, and the reconciling of the Duke of *Savoy*, were desirous to please him, and that the Commonwealths delay should be granted him; lest the purchase of that little Castle might not only be a hindrance to that which was in Treaty, but might occasion new rumours, and noise of wars in *Italy*, to the prejudice of the publick peace: wherefore means being used with the Commonwealth, to forbear, they also under hand delaied the assignation of *Zuccharello*; & some Propositions of accommodation were with the privity of the Cardinal of *Savoy* offer'd to the Embassadors, who were then in the Court of *Rome*, to pay their wonted obedience to the new Pope; by which the controverted Fee should be delivered to neither of the parties, but should be invested in some third person, who might be a friend to the other two; insinuating Don *Carlo Barbarino*, the Popes Brother: but all was in vain, for the Commonwealth fearing that the Dukes power would at last prevail over what was right, and fearing that they might prejudice the King of *Spains* reputation, if they should put over the businesse to the Arbitrement of any other Princes; or else thinking that to yield to any thing would seem that they were afraid of the Dukes threats, persevered constantly not to put that to the Arbitrement of another, which was undoubtedly theirs, and which they had lawfully purchas'd from the Imperial Chamber: so as being resolved to keep it just as they had bought it of the Emperour, they complain'd of the delay made by the Governour of *Millain*: but at last, all difficulties being overcome, and the Commonwealth being possess'd of the Fee, the Duke was necessitated to think of resentment: wherein he found himself much ingaged both by the Letter which he had written, and by the Commonwealths refusal: the way for his resentment was made more free by Prince *Philiberto's* death, which hapned at this time in *Palermo*, that City being visited with a sore Contagion: which did not only put an end to the Treaty of Marriage, but cut off all hope of ever piecing it up again; for though he left two brothers unmarried, yet since the same parts, nor circumstances, did not concur in them, it was impossible to continue it; neither of them being acceptable at the Spanish Court, they having openly declared themselves for the French party; and moreover, the Cardinal had appeared openly an enemy to the Duke of *Mantua*, almost upon all occasions. A petty accident did also more irritate the Duke, which had he not considered too much and published it to be one of the chief incitements to the war, would not deserve the recital: some little boys of the meanest sort of the Genoese Plebeians seeing the Souldiers rendezvouz, which were daily made in the City, they also put on counterfeit and childish Arms, and ran up and down the City, meeting and exercising their Arms: it hapned that at a certain encounter, the one side took the Captain of the other side Prisoner, who was to represent the person of the Duke of *Savoy*, and led him about as in Triumph: which action though the Senate did not leave unpunished, yet being given out to be greater then it was, it came to the Dukes ears, who peradventure desirous to have better justifica-

tions for what he should do then his buying of *Zucchorello* made proceſs likewiſe be made himſelf, but more according to what was reported than to what was true; it being ſaid that the Dukes Image was caſt into the fire and burnt: and ſending this Proceſs, formed by himſelf, into the Courts of *Rome*, and of other Princes, he complained very much thereof, as of an action done by the privity of ſome Gentlemen of *Genoa*, in ſcorn and contempt of his perſon. There were beſides this ſome ancient rancours remaining between the Common-wealth and Duke, touching a controverſie about their Confines, and ſome Caſtles which they had been long at Law for; but more of late, for favours privately adminiſtred to the Duke of *Mantua* in the War of *Monferrat*; and afterwards more openly to the King of *Spain*, in the taking in of *Oneglia* and *Maro*; which hatreds and heart burnings the longer they were concealed broke forth afterwards into the greater flame, when the way was made open for them.

The French therefore and the other Confederates, made uſe of this occaſion to keep the Duke conſtant to the League; to which purpoſe a Diet was held in *Suſa*, a Town in *Piedmont*, at the foot of the Alps which divide *Piedmont* from *Dalphiny*; wherein met the Duke of *Savoy*, *Deguieres*, who was a little before made Lord High-Conſtable of *France*, the Marqueſs of *Criquy*, *Glandio Marini*, French Embaſſadour with the Duke, the Venetian Embaſſadour, and ſome other Embaſſadours of the Confederate Princes: Here the Duke of *Savoy*, after having made grievous complaints againſt the Genoeſes, for injuries which he pretended to have received from them, propoſed it, as the better and more ſecure courſe, to turn their Common Arms againſt the State of *Genoa*, before they ſhould fall upon the State of *Millain*, as was agreed on at the League of *Avignon*: He ſaid the victory would be the more eaſie and certain by reaſon of the weakneſs of the chief City, and of the other Towns in that State, by reaſon that that Common-wealth was totally unprovided of forreign Forces, and that ſhe could make but little uſe of her Natives, they being imbaſed by long peace; that he himſelf had many friends, and many that would ſide with him, in that City, and in that State, who being deſirous of innovations would be a great help to the Enterpriſe: He repreſented, that when that Common-wealth ſhould be ſubdued the Contract would be at an end, whence many inconveniences would reſult to the Crown of *Spain*, and, in particular, that the Siege of *Breda*, which was under the eyes of all the Confederates, upon the fail of moneys would undoubtedly be raiſed; but he chiefly endeavoured to inform them, that when the *Valteline* ſhould be taken, which was to be aſſaulted in the firſt place by their common Arms, though thereby the State of *Millain* would be kept from relief by *Germany*, yet the way by Sea being open, it might be ſuccoured from *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; whereas when *Genoa* ſhould be taken, and the River thereof, the State of *Millain* being block'd up on all ſides, and debarred ſuccour, would become an eaſie and ſecure prey to their common Forces.

Theſe reaſons of the Dukes being the more efficacious, becauſe the reſt ſaw, that unleſs they would give way thereunto he would not joyn with them in their League, they did not only approve of his opinion, but

but contrary to what was agreed upon at *Avignon*, they promised to joyn their Forces with his, to the suppressing of *Genoa*; and that the Fleet of *Marseilles*, and of *England*, which were design'd to go against *Spain*, should aid the enterprise of *Genoa*, not only with Arms, but with abundance of Victuals, Ammunition and Men: they were said moreover, to divide the Commonwealth of *Genoa* thus amongst them, that the City of *Genoa*, and all her River as far as *Savona*, should belong to the King of *France*; that *Savona*, and the rest of the River till you come to *Villa Franca*, should fall to the Dukes share: that the number of the French should be betwixt ten and twelve thousand Foot, and 1000 Horse, and on the Dukes side 15000 Foot, and 200 Horse, and sufficient provisions of Victuals, Ammunition and Artillery: the Venetian Embassadour did not joyn in this enterprise against *Genoa*, for that it not being comprehended in the League of *Avignon*, he said he could not consent to this new enterprise, without new Orders from his Commonwealth: but time being given him to write to *Venice*, and to receive resolution from thence, he received Orders to conclude, in conformity to what was agreed upon by the French and by the Duke.

This new League being made, or reformed, in satisfaction to the Duke, they proceeded therein with as much privacy as was possible, lest if it should be known, those against whom they were chiefly intended should take up Arms: the French professed openly that they would submit to the Popes resolution, for what concern'd the *Valtoline*, and that the Kings Forces should forbear innovating any thing against the Ensign or Garrisons of the Church: they affirm'd the same in the Court of *Spain*, declaring further, that the King would attempt nothing to the prejudice of the peace, and reciprocal correspondency: and the Pope believing their words and promises made not any preparations, in these so great commotions: nor did the Spanish Court confide less in the promise of the French, then the Pope: the King of *Spain* having contracted a mighty debt, by reason of the late wars of the *Valtoline*, and of *Italy*, and being obliged to make great provisions of moneys and men for the present wars of *Germany*, *Flanders* and *Brasile*: the winter season which drew on, being incommodious to prosecute wars already begun, much more to commence new wars, added to this belief, for the meeting at *Susa* was upon St. *Martins* day, and *November* was wholly over, before the Confederates appeared to make any preparations; and none being able to believe, that the French Armies would pass the Mountains that Winter, it was thought that the meeting at *Susa* would make more noise, then deeds, or that it did serve but as threats to advance the Negotiators parties, and conditions: but so great an action could not be kept long conceal'ed, for to boot with the meeting at *Susa*, which afforded sufficient reason of suspicion; the Marquess of *Cœure's* going to the Swissers, and his so long stay amongst them, occasioned much jealousie; for though he seemed to go thither as extraordinary Embassadour, to adjust old accounts between that Nation and the Crown of *France*, yet being always accompanied by the Embassadours of *Venice* and *Savoy*, and by the chief of the Grisons who were driven from their own homes; and he being very

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busie in raising men, and in making preparations for war, it was judged that he tarried there for more then the business of that Embassie. Many Posts were also observed to pass frequently between the Confederates, and that much business was in hand; the which the less they could be seen into, they gave the more occasion of distrust: no less shews appeared on the Venetians behalf, in whose Territories, but particularly in those of *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, great preparations were observed to be made of Souldiers, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition. The people destined for the enterprise of *Genoa* fell down already from the Alpes into *Piedmont*; and the Duke also levied many men in his State; and for the greater secrecy, he kept them in the vales of the Alpes which were neerest *Piedmont*; and the Constable of *Dolpheny* made great levies of men, giving out publickly enough, that he would pass over the Mountains with them himself in person. The more sollicitous the Confederates were in their proceedings and preparations, the State of *Millain* was the more remiss in theirs, which was at this time almost wholly unprovided and unarmed; for the King not being contented to have appeased the minds of the discontented Princes by depositing the Forts of the *Valtoline*; but the more to satisfie them, and to remove all jealousies from them of being infested, and consequently to take away all occasions of new troubles, he had ordered the Duke of *Feria* to send all the men he could into *Flanders*, and he to obey him had sent 6000 Foot, and 800 Horse thither, a few moneths before the Diet at *Susa*; and had moreover sent Cavalier *Pecchio*'s Brigade to Winter in *Sardignia*: but *Feria* finding afterwards, that this his shewing himself to be inclined to peace was not able to withhold the Counsels and Resolves of the League, but that it did rather hasten the execution thereof, he advertised the Court of *Spain* thereof, desiring orders and provisions to prepare against the insuing storm. This advertisement, though confirm'd from other parts, was not credited in that Court; but he and Don *Sanchio de Monry*, Marquess of *Castagneda*, who succeeded *Vives* in the Embassie at *Genoa*, having inform'd the King, by Letters, of the great danger wherewith the State of *Genoa* was threatened, and how ill they were provided to defend themselves; the King writ to the Commonwealth, offering her all his Forces both by Sea and Land for her defence: The Commonwealth, which besides what she had already done, proceeded to make great provisions, were it either that she believed too much in them, or that she would stand upon her honour with the Court of *Spain*, or that she thought it dangerous to bring the Kings Auxiliary Forces into her Dominions, writ back, giving a large account of what provisions she had already made, and what she was to make, seeming as if she needed no succour: by which the Court of *Spain* argued, that the Agents in *Italy* did amplifie the danger more then they had reason for. But *Feria* finding the danger to grow every day greater, and to draw neerer, and despairing of being able to make the Court take order for assistance, he thought he was bound to do it himself: he therefore recalled *Pecchio*'s Brigade from *Sardignia*, he gave order for another to Count *Giovan Serbellone*, together with some Horse companies; he desired, and obtained a Brigade from the Duke of *Parma*, and another from the Duke of *Modena*, he could get no

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more from *Naples* save one only Brigade, and some Troops of Horse; for the Viceroy hearing of the English Fleet, would not unfurnish the Kingdom of many men; and casting it up that these men being numbred into the usual Garrison of the State, they would not amount to 16000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, he knew they would not be sufficient to defend the State, and to succour *Genoa* and the *Valtoline*, if (as it was feared) they should be assaulted all at once: he therefore betook himself to think upon Forreign Forces; and since he saw he could hope for none from *Spain*, by reason of the Courts great aversion thereunto, and for that the Fleet which was gone to recover *Brasile* had carried away 10000 men from those Kingdoms; and that Marquess *Spinola*, who was imployed before *Breda*, did rather want then abound in men; and that for the aforesaid respects he could not ground much upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; he betook himself to *Germany*, where without expecting any order from the King, he gave out Commissions for making great levies of Germans. Besides, because he could not expect provisions of moneys from *Spain*, and that the State of *Millain* was so exhausted as it could not furnish him with any, he applied himself to the Genoeses: nor was his application in vain; for some of the richest Gentlemen of *Genoa*, and who did most study the interests of that Crown, seeing how much the welfare of the Commonwealth was concern'd in the preservation of the State of *Millain*, furnish'd him immediately, upon his bare obligation, with between three and four hundred thousand Ducates, by which he was inabled to disburse the first payments, and to raise four Dutch Regiments, consisting of 4000 Foot apiece: he believed that the Confederates intended their first blow against the *Valtoline*, because he understood the preparations were in greatest readiness in those parts: all the provisions of the Counties of *Bergamo* and *Brescia* were brought into *Valcomonica*, which confines upon the *Valtoline*. The Marquess of *Coure* had already raised two Regiments of Swissers, and one of *Valtesani*, besides two others which were come to him, together with 600 Horse, from *France*, through the Country of *Berne*: much Victuals and Ammunition was sent him from the County of *Bresse* by the Rivers and Lakes of *Helvetia*; so as not being able to conceal that any longer which was apparent to all mens eyes, *Feria* sent often Messengers on purpose to advertise the Marquess of *Bagni* of every particular, he being the head of the Ecclesiasticks in the *Valtoline*; which Messengers being experienced in affairs of war, and known in Fortifications, might visite those Forts, and might see whether they wanted any thing or no, and who might offer *Bagni* Forces to re-inforce his Garrisons, and to withstand the approaching assault: but *Bagni* still refused his offers, alledging that he had no orders from the Pope to receive, nor to introduce any Garrisons of Forreign Princes into his Forts; and the Pope did refuse it as well as he, whom the Duke of *Pastrana*, Spanish Embassadour at *Rome*, did very much press thereunto in the name of the King, and of *Feria*; giving him a particular account of the danger the *Valtoline* was in of being assaulted by the Confederate Forces. The occasion of this refusal appeared plainly to be, because the Pope, as also the Court of *Spain*, trusting in the express and clear promises of the French that they

would bear all respect to the Forts which were guarded by the Ecclesiasticks, and that the Kings Forces would never commit any hostility against the Ensigns of the holy Church, did not apprehend the fears which were thought to be very remote, and idle; and therefore being unwilling to beget diffidence and distrust in either of the Kings, he added, that the succours which were offer'd were superfluous and dangerous, lest they might draw humours to that wound which they endeavoured to heal by succours; for he said it was probable that the French would take pretence to assault the Forts of the *Valteline* from the entring of the Spanish succours thereinto, and would turn those Forces against them which they profess'd were intended elsewhere; and that they would assault them, not as deposited in the Popes hands, but as assigned over by him, contrary to the agreement of the Deposition, to the Spaniards; so as esteeming the remedy a mischief, he thought the Articles of the Depositure, and the Majesty of the Popes name, and Ensigns, to be a surer defence, and a fitter means to remove new occasions of war, then the Auxiliary Arms of that Crown: he therefore did so far persist in his constant refusal, as the many and pregnant evidences which were laid before him by the Spanish Agents, that the French preparations were intended against the *Valteline*, were always by him repuls'd as imaginary jealousies, vain rumours, and as subtle Spanish inventions.

Thus did the Pope carry himself in these and in other Commotions, which not long after happened against the State of *Genoa*; for a great many Souldiers being already pass'd from *France* into *Piedmont*, where the Constable was already arrived, and the Duke of *Savoy* making also great preparations for war out of his immense hatred against the Genoeses, the Commonwealth had recourse to the Pope, that he would intercede with the Duke, and that he would assist them with some men in this so great, and so neer at hand danger; but all these endeavours and applications were to no purpose; for the Pope constant to his resolution of Neutrality would not grant her any succour; only, to shew himself desirous of her preservation, he proposed a League between him and the great Duke for the defence of the States in common: which Proposition the Genoeses took to be either a kind of honourable denial of their request, or an endeavouring to separate the Commonwealth from the Crown of *Spain*, to the prejudice of that conjunction which, if ever at any time, was now necessary for them, and from whence they might promise themselves more potent, certain and undoubted aid, then from any other Prince or Potentate; and thereby to draw her insensibly into a League with the contrary parties which were chiefly ill minded towards her; for there being but little correspondency then between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, and (on the contrary) much distrust, the Commonwealth could not joyn in League with other Princes, and particularly with the Pope, without offending the King of *Spain*, and without injurying the good will, correspondency, and the weighty interests of the common affairs; nor could she, without danger to her self, separate her self from the union of that Crown which she had found to be so certain for the space of so many years, so advantagious, honourable and faithful; which Crown (were

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it only for the neceſſity of her own intereſts,) was forced to ſuſtain her with all her power; ſo to caſt herſelf into the arms of the Confederate Princes, who ſo vehemently conſpired her ruine; and yet the Commonwealth, trying the Pope, as it were, with the like cunning, anſwered, that they would willingly accept of the Confederacy, if the King of *Spain* were therein comprehended: which the Pope not giving way unto (for it would be an apparent parting from his profeſs'd neutrality, and a drawing the enmity of the King of *France*, and of the other Confederates, upon him) the Commonwealth was therefore not to hope for any aſſiſtance from the Pope; for 1000 Foot being at the ſame time deſired of him by the Commonwealth, and by the great Duke, who had but little need thereof, he granted them to the great Duke, and denied them to the Commonwealth, then whom none could have greater need thereof; and he denied them alſo thoſe Corſicks which were granted to the Pope for the ſervice of the Apoſtolick See, in the time of peace. But for all this the Genoeſes wanted not Forces to ſuſtain and defend themſelves; for having always doubted that the clouds of *Suſa* would diſcharge themſelves in a great tempeſt upon them, they had not been ſparing, nor negligent in making proviſions againſt it: they ſent into *Germany* for two levies of Dutch, the one of 2000, the other of 3000 Foot; they took order for 30 Companies, to conſiſt of 200 Foot apiece to be raiſed by the richeſt and chiefeſt Gentlemen: they ſent for 600 Foot from *Corſica*, they brought in the Prince of *Bozolo*, with 800 Foot, and 200 Horſe; Prince *Doria* raiſed 400 more at his own particular charge; and finally, they had many Commanders, and other Citizens, who aſſiſted the Commonwealth with men paid by themſelves, and with ready moneys: theſe Forces being put together, and added to thoſe of the preceding year; and being ſecured by the choice Militia of the State, they thought they needed not fear the Enemies aſſaults; for though all the aforeſaid preparations could not be in a readineſs at the appearing of the Enemy, yet they would have a ſtrength of between eight and ten thouſand Foot and 200 Horſe, in the State, all of them being paid; beſides as many more of the ordinary Militia; and the State of *Genoa* being begirt by the *Apenine* toward *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, the Enemy muſt either enter in a groſs body, or by ſmall numbers; if in a groſs body, the ſtrength of ſituation, the ſterility of the Country, the difficulty in bringing Victuals, and other impediments, did ſecure them from the progreſs of the Enemy; it being impoſſible for great Armies to continue long in that enterpriſe without much Victuals; if in ſmall numbers, the Army of the Commonwealth being aſſiſted by the ſame difficulties, and being accommodated by the Country, would be ſufficient for defence: to this was added, that howſoever the Enemies Army entred the Mountains, they muſt needs leave the State of *Millain* on their backs; wherein though there was not very great Forces at the preſent, yet the few that were there, and the ordinary Militia of ſo great a State, was, doubtleſſy, ſufficient to ſhut up the paſſes, ſo as neither Victuals, nor proviſions could be brought them; and having them behind, they might be incloſed between them, and the Forces of *Genoa*, on their Front, which might occaſion them many troubles and dangers, and be ſuch a hin-

derance to them as they could not long continue in oppugning the City: but when the Forces should be augmented in that State, according to the orders that were given, and provisions that were ordered: the ruine of the Confederates Army did plainly appear, since it would be shut up between barren Mountains, and the Sea, without Victuals, Provisions, or hope of succour: they must therefore of necessity be very circumspect in their proceedings, in engaging themselves far within the Ligurian Mountains, having considerable Forces on their Front, being not safe behind, and exposed to the assaults of a powerful Enemy: especially since the Commonwealth, besides ten Gallies of her own which she had then at Sea, being to receive all the King of *Spains* Gallies for her defence, together with the succour of men, which were already preparing in *Naples*, and in *Sicily*, the Enemy could hardly be relieved by Sea; and yet the Duke of *Savoy* and the Constable, preferring vain and uncertain suppositals before so solid and undeniable ground-works, doubted not to enter couragiously upon the business; for making account that the English Fleet, and that of *Marcelles*, should appear strong and powerful in the Ligustick Sea at the same time that their Land Army should draw neer the Sea, and that being to be much more in number and Forces, then the Gallies of *Spain* and *Genoa*, they thought they would not only be able to keep those Gallies from them, but supply their Army with abundance of Victuals and Ammunition which they should bring along with them; so as not only the danger of Famine, and the difficulty of bringing Victuals to the Land Army ceased, but the expence thereof: they thought themselves sufficiently safe from being disturbed by the *Millain* Forces, by the union and good correspondency which continued still between the two Crowns; the which they firmly believed their proceeding against *Genoa* would no way oppugne, since that State was not directly comprehended under the Territories of the Crown of *Spain*; nor could they perswade themselves that the Governour of *Millain* should move, for fear of being the author of the breach, or that he would commit any hostile act against that Army, in which together with the Ensigns Royal of *France*, which he saw therein displaied, the Lord high Constable of that Kingdom did wage war in person; and the State of *Millain* being then almost unarmed, and unprovided of any manner of warlike provision; having the French in the *Valteline*, and upon the Confines of *Como*, and the Venetians armed upon the Cremonesian Confines, they thought their moving would be rather desired, then dreaded, on that part; since their Army in all warlike reason was to be superiour, as they were much superiour in numbers of fighting men, and in valiant and experienced Commanders; for which cause it was likewise probable, that the Governour finding himself in such a multitude of business, with but a few men, and those ill ordered, he would not dare to meddle with a fresh, gallant and impetuous Army, led on by two of the most famous Commanders of the present Age.

And to the end that new levies of Dutch might not pass into the State of *Millain*, the King of *France* held Treaties with the Swissers, that they should keep their Passes shut, till such time as the enterprise of *Genoa* should either be perfected, or brought neer perfection; and of so great

great authority were the Confederates, especially the French, at that time, with that Nation, as all the Cantons, the Catholick Cantons being comprehended, which are united to the Crown of *Spain*, and confederate with the State of *Millain*, suffer'd the French to pass armed thorow their Country, and in order, contrary to their ancient customs and institutions, and which had never upon any occasion been violated, of not allowing passage to Forreigners, unless either unarmed, or few at once; and this for nothing else but out of their great desire of preserving their liberty: nor did it seem that so unaccustomed a thing did proceed from ought else but from their firm opinion, that the Confederates preparations would devour the State of *Millain*, which they saw was wholly unprovided of defence, so as if they adored the French as Victors, they durst not anger them. Thus the Duke and the Constable, taking it for granted that they were sure of the State of *Millain* by going to *Genoa*, and being abundantly provided of all things by the Fleets at Sea, they thought nothing could obviate their Victory, save the defence which would be made by the Genoeses, who they thought would be able to do very little, being streightned at Sea, and assaulted by Land: they confided not so much in the valour of their own men, as in the weakness of the Enemy, and of their Discipline: they, moreover, grounded their hopes of Victory upon the Duke of *Savoys* assisting the Constable, that for certain he held very much intelligence in that City, by means whereof, as soon as they should come before the Walls, confusion and disorder would fall out amongst the disagreeing Citizens, so as, undoubtedly, the Gates of the City would be thrown open, and they should be let in into the City; and when they should have taken *Genoa*, they supposed the State of *Millain*, being inclosed by their Forces, would soon submit to their discretion: upon such supposals, and such foundations, which their hope of Victory, and desire of revenge made appear easie unto them, (but which in reason were very uncertain, and which the success was likely to gainsay,) they resolved to commence the enterprise: they began first in the *Valteline*, about the end of *November*; the Marquess of *Coure* who had 8000 Foot with him, and 600 Horse, all well in order, thought it no longer time to delay executing their designs: discovering himself therefore, of a peaceful Embassadour, to be become a Commander in Arms under the King of *France*, and the Confederate Princes, he past from amongst the Swissers into the Grisons Country, and suddenly took *lo Stalco*, a chief and important pass, by which you come from *Tirvolo* into *Rhetia*; and having afterwards taken the City of *Coira* he went to the Consultations of the *Dirtoure*, who having driven out the Archdukes Officers had reassumed their liberty: having restored the Grisons to their former ancient condition, and driven the Bishop of *Coira* from his seat, he fell down with his men into the *Valtoline*, about the end of *December*, in the year 1624, and totally laying aside the Protestations and Declarations made a little before by himself, and by the other French Agents, that all due respects should be born to the Ensigns, and Garrisons of the holy Church, he fell upon the Forts of the *Valtoline*, which were guarded by the Forces of the Church: those of the *Valtoline*, when they saw the Enemy approach, applied themselves to the

Governour of *Millain*, and to *Bagni*, desiring the first that he would send in some Spanish succour, and the other, that he would receive them; without which they saw it was impossible for them to defend themselves: whereupon the Governour, who had sent many men already into *Comasco* under *Sch. Jeronymo Pimentello*, to make head there, and to defend the State against any hostility, sent again to offer those succours to *Bagni*, who when he saw the danger so neer, would not notwithstanding accept thereof, building, as he profess'd, upon *Coure's* word; for when he saw him pass armed from the Swissers to amongst the Grisons, he sent his Secretary unto him, to know his intention: answer was made, that by the orders he received from the King, he was to bear all respect to the Apostolick See, and that he would observe it: wherefore *Bagni* would not draw upon him the insulting French, by receiving succour from *Millain*, in which abuse he continued so long, at least seemed to continue, as when he afterwards desired those succours, it was too late to receive them; for the Count entring the *Valtoline*, by the Pass of *Ploschiavo*, did at the very first take *Piattamala*, a Castle defended by some few Forces of the Church, and by them forsaken at the very first appearance of the French. Then drawing neer *Tiranno*, not above a mile distant from *Piattamala*, he threw a Bridge over the *Adda*, by which passing those men over he kept three days idle beyond the River, expecting that the Horse which were sent with 1500 Foot, a little lower, to take the place called *Tiglie* and *Ponte di San Pietro*, (by which way only succour might be brought from *Millain*) should have made themselves masters of those places: afterwards absolutely denying that he had given his word to *Bagni* not to prejudice him, he assaulted the Town of *Tiranno* on two sides, wherein *Bagni* was with 600 of his men; and whereinto Cavalier *Robustelli* was entred a little before with 800 of those of the *Valtoline*, people of the Train bands who were but little exercised in Arms. *Coure* had but one small piece of Artillery with him, which being level'd against that part of the Wall where the Valtolinians were, had hardly made one shot, when the Valtolinians were so terrified, as throwing down their Arms they abandoned the place; and *Robustelli* not being able to make them stand to their Arms, they retreated into the Castle, which was more defensible; whereinto *Bagni* being also retired, those of the Town, seeing themselves abandoned by their Chiefstains, surrendred upon Articles, and incontinently the Venetians who were at *la Veletta*, which stood upon the Mountains that divide the *Valcamonica* from the *Valtoline*, fell down with their Artillery, Ammunition, and all things belonging to war; and placing their Battery against the Castle, *Bagni* articled to go with all his Souldiers out of the *Valtoline*, without entring into any of the Forts. *Coure*, when he had taken the Castle, went to *Bormio*, accompanied by the Venetians, and by their Artillery; and having easily taken it turn'd backwards, and took the other Forts, and the Towns of *Sondrio* and *Morbegno*, towards the State of *Millain*; whereby the *Valtoline* was wholly in the possession of the French. *Bagni*, when he saw *Coure* so neer, had sent to demand those succours from *Feria*, which a little before he had refused, who gave order forthwith to *Pimentello* to send 1500 of his best Foot, and a Troop of Horse,

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under Count *John Serbellone*; and they being come to St. *Pietro*, at the same time that the Castle of *Tiranno* was surrendred, seeing it possess'd by the French, who were fortifying the opposite Bank, they past no further on, but return'd back to the State of *Millain*. *Feria* feared that the French would not be satisfied with getting the *Valteline*; but that being back'd by the Venetians, by whom they were continually furnish'd with Moneys, Munition, and continual recruits of men, they would assault the State of *Millain*; and that the Venetians would do the like, according to the Conventions of the League at *Avignon* to *Crema*, and *Giaradadda*, as soon as the French should have given the first assaults on their side; or at least, when having taken any Town they should have got footing; wherefore being troubled at the immanent danger, he found out a means whereby keeping the French from invading the State of *Millain*, the Venetians should also be forced to forbear. *La Riva di Chiavenna*, being taken at the first commotions from the Grisons, as it was a hindrance to keep them from entring the *Valteline*, so it being now in the power of the Ecclesiasticks, he thought that if he should take it, it would be a mighty stop, to keep the Enemy from assaulting the State of *Millain*: he plotted with *John Francisco Sacchetti*, the Popes Commissary-General in the *Valteline*, who was then in *Millain*, to re-inforce the Garrison of *Riva* with a thousand Foot, which (if he would give way thereunto,) he would send thither: *Sacchetti* consented, as either not knowing the importance of the place, or thinking it too hard to deny so small a matter in such a precipice of affairs: thus 1000 Foot entring, they re-inforced that place both with Fortifications and Garrison. *La Riva* is nothing but an Inn, to which is joyned a little Haven, where the Merchandize, which go and come from *Germany* into the State of *Millain*, do lade and unlade; it stands upon the top of the upper Lake, which, as being lesser, is called *Ugheto*; and joyns by a strait channel to the lower Lake, just as the head is joyn'd to the breast of the body, by the neck: the situation of *La Riva* is very narrow between the Lake and the Mountains, which drawing neer the waters in this place leaves a little margine which serves for a shore: a certain little Mountain stands over *la Riva*, over which many high Mountains stand. This place is of such consequence, as whosoever will pass from the *Valteline* into the State of *Millain* with Armies and Artillery, must either go full upon Fort *Fuentes*, which is upon the left side of the *Adda*, where she falls into the Lake, or go about by the Rive of the Lake, and pass over to the shore opposite to the Fort, and go from thence into the State of *Millain*; and therefore, as Fort *Fuentes* is too hard an encounter for those that will fall down by that way, and assault that State, so to go about by the Rivers of the Lake is impossible, if *la Riva* which is in the midst thereof be fortified: the Governour got leave to have it in his hands, and to fortifie it strongly, and munite it with men, to oppose it as a fence against the Torrent of the French Forces: nor was his Counsel therein bad; for *Coure* having possess'd himself of the *Valteline*, as he would go to the recovery of *Chiavenna* by the River of the Lake, and when he should have taken it, would have sain down with his Army into the State of *Millain*, he saw his design prevented by *Feria*'s diligence;

gence: so as being forced to change his way, he turn'd back again by the same craggy Rhetian Mountains, by which he came into the *Valtoline*, and was necessitated to take a long and troublesome compass about, by the Vale of *Chiavenna*, but without any incumbrances or Artillery; which because he was not able to bring thorow those Mountains, he was fain to leave in the *Valtoline*. *Chiavenna* made some resistance, but not being able to hold out, yielded, as did the rest, to the French; and *Coure* finding that it would be impossible to pass by thence into the State of *Millain* without Artillery, knew he must necessarily first expugne *la Riva*: the which was the only deposited Fort that remained untaken; leaving therefore some of his men in *Chiavenna*, he returned with the rest into the *Valtoline*, by the same craggy Mountains by which he was come. The Duke of *Feria*, on the other side, commanded *Serbellone*, that to boot with the thousand Foot which were already entred, he should enter *la Riva* with 2000 more Foot, who being come thither made many Fortifications, as well upon the Plain of the Mountain, as upon the Passes towards *Chiavenna*, and towards the way that leads from the *Valtoline*; and moreover, that he might keep the Enemy from passing over with Barques into the opposite part of the Lake, he munited all the Passes which were on the other side of the River of the Lake and of the Channel, that were fit for landing, to the end, that *Coure* might not effect that by Water which he could never do by Land, as long as *la Riva* held out: so as that very Inn was able to put a stop unto the vast designs of the French, and the other Confederates, who when they should have taken it, thought to have done great matters in *Italy*: Thus *la Riva* only excepted, all the *Valtoline*, together with the Counties of *Bormio* and *Chiavenna*, which by joynt consent of both the Crowns were deposited into the Popes hands, were taken by the French and Venetians, more by cunning and dissembling then by open force. The Duke of *Feria*, as he could not meddle in the defence before the taking of the *Valtoline*, without order from the Pope, so professing that the business did not belong unto his King after the depositure, would not go to the recovery thereof without new orders; but being content to keep *la Riva*, expected new directions from the Court; and the Court unwilling to come upon this occasion to a breach with *France*, had recourse to the Pope, laying all the burthen of this affair upon him, and pretending the observance of agreement from him, desired him that he would endeavour the restoring of the *Valtoline*, and offer'd to assist him therein, if he from whose hands the *Valtoline* was taken would use his own name for the recovery thereof.

The Pope, abhorring to break with *France*, no less then the King of *Spain*, and thinking that the Spaniards would lay all the burthen upon his shoulders, examin'd this business otherwise: he considered how unworthy a thing it would be, for the Pontifical Office to become the Author and Promoter of Discord and Wars between two Kings, between whom, as Sons of the holy Church, he was bound to endeavour peace and union: he considered that the ambition of some of the Spanish Agents, contrary to the safety of the affairs of *Italy*, had given just occasion for the present commotions, wherin he neither out of

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right nor justice, nor State-interest, ought to favour them; that possibly the King of *France* might have no hand in *Coure's* actions, or that if he had, his aim might only be to suppress the Spanish ends, and to secure the common affairs of *Italy*: that therefore it was necessary first to spie into his intentions: that difficult and dangerous businesses were brought with more ease and safety into the Haven, by fair means, then by rigour and severity; and that it would not be wisely done to fall foul at first, whereby if the King should grow obstinate in the business, he would by all means make it good: that it was not the part of a Pope to give the King occasion to cast off his obsequiousness, and respect towards the Apostolick See: nor by making himself a party, to give him such reason of distrust, as if a breach should happen to fall out afterwards between the two Crowns, he should be made unfit to recompose it: that the Grandezza of the Apostolick See consisted in this, which if she should be a partaker, she would necessarily cast the ballance on one side, and by standing Neuter she should keep them both her friends: so as by his Pontifical Authority, and by the credit he should get by his neutrality, he should be the better able to compose businesses: Being therefore desirous to proceed maturely in so weighty a business, he resolved first to use peaceful endeavours with the King, and to procure the restoring of the *Valtoline*, by civil means, and by Negotiation: but so much circumspection in such urgency of affairs was interpreted a luke-warmness, and coolness of Counsel; especially by such who are better pleased with actions of resentment then with such as are considerate, and duly weighed; and much more by such who might reap advantage by the Popes resentment; and therefore the Popes circumspection made all men wonder, and afforded variety of discourse and interpretation, no less then did the fervency of the French, and their double-dealing upon the present occasions: *On the one side, none could conceive so little respect from the French, to be used towards the Apostolick See; that so little account should be had of the reciprocal conventions touching the deposiure, and of the Promises and Declarations made by them but a little before, in the face of the whole World, of not innovating any thing concerning the* Valtoline: *on the other side, it past not without admiration, that the Pope, not making any the least account of so many Counsels, and so many Protestations, and offers made by the Spaniards, accompanied by the evidence of such preparations made by the French, and by the Venetians, would first wait for the blow, before he would hold up his hand to fence it; and that he did so sleightly resent it, when the blow was given; and none being able to believe that he was really deceived, it was therefore argued, that he suffered himself to be deceived, by secret intelligence; and as suspicion when it is once entertain'd, draws unto it all the actions of those, who are already become suspected; so the Pope, who from the beginning of his being Pope was held to be sufficiently inclined to the French, it was thought, that partly to please that King in that wherein he was so much press'd in point of honour, partly not to incense the King of* Spain *by the express delivery up of the Forts; after his Declaration made in points appertaining to Religion, that he saw this practise which did indeed give some colour to this commotion, and did oblige the Pope to provide for it; and perhaps also, as some men thought, because he was not of opinion that the depo-*

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ſiture of the Valtoline *did ſuit with the intereſt of the Apoſtolick See, even when he was Cardinal, and much leſs now, when if the two Kings ſhould fail the Souldiers which were in the* Valtoline, *the Pope muſt ſupply their defaults with the Churches moneys: that therefore he choſe the middle way, and did permit the French to make themſelves maſters thereof by force, to the end, that afterwards he might diſpoſe thereof with advantage, and reputation to that Crown; and ſo with greater ſafety, and ſatisfaction to the common affairs; and that therefore thinking this the beſt courſe he could take for the ſafety of* Italy, *over which he was very vigilant; and to ſuppreſs the unextinguiſhable fire of war which did hang upon the Gates thereof, he choſe, as the leſſer evil, to conſent to the wills of the French, of the Venetians, and to the common ſence of the Italian Princes: ſome ſetting aſide ſuch nice Conſiderations, ſaid more freely, that the Pope was no leſs troubled then the Venetians, that the Spaniards under pretence of Religion ſhould get footing in the* Valtoline, *thereby to trample upon the Liberty of* Italy, *and reduce the Apoſtolick See and ſo many Princes into ſlavery; and that therefore abhorring their intentions, they were vex'd at nothing more then to ſee themſelves undone by ſuch ambitious ends; ſo as not accepting the Spaniſh ſuccours, he gave ſecret orders to* Bagni, *that he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be overcome by the French: many alſo diſcourſing yet more freely of the Popes mind ſaid, that the Pope not being content with excluding the Spaniards from the* Valtoline, *to have thereby deluded their ends, and ſecured the Common Liberty, did nouriſh yet greater deſigns in his boſom, and aſpired to curb their immenſe power and ambition, ſo to reduce the affairs of* Italy *to within ſuch a compaſs, as the Princes thereof being gotten free from the Spaniſh tutelage, might govern themſelves as they liſted, and diſpoſe of themſelves, and of their own buſineſs, without ſuch reſpects to that Crown: and that therefore joyning with the French, the Venetians, and Duke of* Savoy, *he did go along with them in the ſame common ends, which was, to pull down the Spaniſh greatneſs.*

This opinion was much ſtrengthned by the great conformity of genius between him and Cardinal *Magallotti*, Brother to his Brothers Wife, who in his firſt conferring of promotions was by him made Cardinal, whoſe Counſel he did ſo highly eſteem, and ſo much confide in, as he was wont to ſay, that if there were another World, it might be govern'd by his opinion; and though the Pope himſelf was of ſolid Counſel, and very capable of Publick Government; and that he needed not to be adviſed by any one, and that his favours confer'd upon *Magallotti*, and his having imploi'd him much in publick Affairs, might be attributed to his alliance, to his ancient Friendſhip, and to the deſire which is uſual in Princes, to exalt their Favorites; yet the moſt difficult affairs of the Papacy paſſing thorow *Magallotti's* hands, and all men eſteeming him to be high in the Popes favour, it was neceſſarily thought that he had a great ſtroke in all publick reſolutions; and therefore *Magallotti* being rather of a brisk and ſtirring ſpirit then given to mildneſs and moderation, and much more inclined to the French then to the Spaniards, made men think that the Popes deliberations, paſſing thorow *Magallotti's* Forge, did partake more of that temper then of neutrality, which he did ſo publickly profeſs: whilſt in theſe ruptures, having taken into conſideration, how much the affairs of Religion would

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be endangered, and how much he ought therefore to have opposed himself even in Arms, against whosoever should bring war into *Italy*, he was wont to say, that of a Judge, he would not make himself a party: that he would not break with either of the Crowns; that he would not exasperate the King of *France*, nor provoke him to any strange resolution, by which that Kingdom might separate it self from the Church, whereof there being some speech at that time in *France*, whereat the Pope was much troubled, would sometimes say, that he would not imitate another *Florentine* Pope, who by not knowing how to carry himself dexterously in point of neutrality, had given occasion to the disunion of *England*: These were the opinions, these the discourses which were commonly had in *Italy*, and even in the Court of *Rome*, which being somewhat controverted, grew afterwards somewhat stronger, and got a little more field-room, in the troubles and dangers, which not long after befel the Genoeses: at the which being but very little moved, it was conceived that being therein also of intelligence with the other Confederates, he was not less displeased to see business proceed successfully against *Genoa*, then with those that had proceeded in the *Valtoline*. The *Valtoline* being taken, the Pope hearing the rumours which were spread abroad through *Italy*, and in the Court, of his intentions, and seeing that all mens eyes were bent upon him, he sent *Bernardine Nari* to *Paris*, who was his Chamberlain, and one that he loved very well, and who was acceptable to that King, as having been formerly a Page in that Court; to complain of *Coure*'s actions, and shewing himself to be thereat offended, he gave order for levying of men, and made some other preparations for war: which being unseasonable for what was past, proved also unuseful for what was to insue; for what remained, he held very secret Consultations with the Cardinals, and Embassadours of *Savoy* and *Venice*, so as he seemed to continue his former Friendship, and good Intelligence with them, and that those his preparations were in order to somewhat else, then for the recovery of the *Valtoline*, or for the defence of the present state of *Italy* against the perturbers of her peace. A little after the French entred, and took the *Valtoline* under the Marques *Coure*, the Constable of *France*, falling into *Piedmont* with about 14000 Foot, amongst which were some Veterane Regiments, and with 1500 Horse; and joyning with the Duke of *Savoy*, who had 14000 Foot and 2500 Horse, together with much Artillery and Cannon for Battery, they marched towards the State of *Genoa*, the Constable being accompanied by his Son in Law, Marques *Crickey*, and the Duke by his Son the Prince; and were not only favoured by the Duke of *Mantua*, who gave them free passage thorow the lower *Monferrat*; but also by the season of the year, which though it were in *February*, 1625. yet contrary to the custom of that Country, and to the season it self, they were not hindred either by by ice or snow: there was no title nor reason on the behalf of *France*, for the war against *Genoa*, nor were there any Heralds sent from that Court, to demand or pretend unto any satisfaction for any offence done to that Crown by the Commonwealth, nor was there any to be alledged: nor did any of the French mention any end their King had in that enterprise, save only some that vaunted

that they went to free *Genoa* from being oppreſs'd (as they ſaid) by the Spaniſh Tyranny: others, who were not ſo cloſe, let it ſometimes ſlip out of their mouths, that the King aſſiſted the Duke of *Savoy* in reſenting the injuries he received from the Genoeſes, by reaſon of the intereſt of alliance which he had with his family: but when they were entred the State of *Genoa*, they minded the making themſelves maſters of the Towns which they took, and put Garriſons into them in the Kings name, as belonging (as they affirmed) to the antient Patrimony of *France*. The Duke and Conſtable intended at very firſt to beſiege the City of *Genoa*, the Metropolitan of the whole State, which not doubting but that they ſhould eaſily take, they thought they ſhould find little difficulty in the reſt of the enterpriſe: news came at the ſame time, that the Duke of *Guiſe* prepared a Fleet in *Marcelles*, who having declared himſelf an enemy, before any of the others, had taken 150000 Ducates, which being ſent in ſmall Veſſels from *Spain* to *Genoa*, came into the Ports of *Province*, as into Friends Havens; and it was given out that both that, and the Engliſh Fleet, would quickly appear in the Seas of *Genoa*. The Commonwealth did not believe that the enemy would aim ſo high at the very firſt; but that bending their firſt violence againſt the Weſtern Seas, and taking ſome important place, they would fix their footing there, and making it a Rendezvouz for Arms they would wait upon ſuch occaſions as time and condition of war would produce, and proceed further afterwards, and advance againſt the City; wherefore they had diſtributed the greateſt part of their beſt and moſt experienced men into the Towns of *Savona*, *Albenga*, *Porto Mauritio* and *Ventimiglia*: but receiving aſſured advertiſement, that the enemy was reſolved, the firſt thing they did, to fall upon the City of *Genoa*, they varied their form of defence; and leaving *Savona* well Garriſoned, which is a chief place of the State, neereſt the City, and neereſt the enemies Army, they recalled all the reſt of their people which were diſtributed along the River, the greateſt part whereof were preſently ſent to defend the Paſſes: there are two ways which lead to *Genoa* from the lower *Montferras*, through which the Confederates Army paſt. The one by *Roſſiglione*, which paſſing over the *Apenine*, goes to *Voltri*, a great Town upon the Sea, ten miles Weſtward from the City: the other by *Gavio*, which paſſing alſo over the ſame *Apenine*, falls by the Valley of *Pozzevera*, to St. *Pier d'arena*, two miles diſtant from the City towards the ſame ſide: the latter being the more ordinary way for Carriages is more large and open, and made more commodious, and plain, by Art, as far as the ſituation will permit; at the entrance into this way is *Gavio*, a Town indifferently great, but weak, unleſs it be for a Caſtle ſeated on high, and (though little) of no little conſideration: it is hard to bring Cannon by either of theſe ways; and almoſt impoſſible by that of *Roſſiglione*. The Commonwealth therefore reſolving to quit the defence of *Novia* and of *Occada*, two great Towns, the firſt beyond *Gavio*, and the other beyond *Roſſiglione*, fell to fortifie *Gavio*, and put 2000 Foot therein, to defend it: ſhe alſo cauſed ſome Trenches, and ſome Redoubts to be made beyond the ſtraits of *Roſſiglione*, for the better ſecurity of that Paſs; for Garriſon whereof were ſent 2500 Foot, by which and by the ſtrength of the ſituation, it

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appeared (by the relation of experienced Commanders who were ſent thither) ſo ſecured as the Paſs was thought almoſt invincible: looking therefore that the enemy would be longer detain'd, they gave themſelves, with much ſtudy and induſtry, to Munite the City; which though it be walled about with great Walls, and flank'd with good Bulwarks, yet being over-looked by Mountains which incompaſs it, they choſe to fortifie the top of thoſe Mountains by a long continued Trench, which beginning from the head of the Lanthorn which ſhuts up the Haven Weſtward, ſhould run upon the back of the Mountains; and bending towards the Eaſt, ſhould deſcend into the Valley of *Biſagno*, and ſhould terminate there almoſt upon the point of *Carignano*, which is the furthermoſt part of the City towards the Eaſt; and becauſe the Commonwealth knew ſhe wanted a Commander in Chief, who might be well experienced in war, to whom they might commit the weight thereof, they choſe *Giovan Feronymo Doria*, Knight of St. *Jago*, to be their Camp-maſter-general, of whom mention hath been formerly made: an ancient and experienced Commander, but whoſe great age did diminiſh that vigour in him, by which in his youth he had done much in the behalf of the Catholick Religion, and of the Crown of *Spain*, in the wars of *France* and of *Flanders*; and they made Don *Carlo Doria*, Duke of *Turcis*, chief General for the defence of the City.

The Camp-maſter-general *Doria* being brought into the Senate to ſpeak his opinion touching the total adminiſtration of the preſent war; ſhewed that the chief defence of the City conſiſted in keeping the Enemy as long as they could beyond the *Apenine*; for the City being ſituated much underneath the neighbouring Mountains, and it being to be conceived by the great Train of Artillery which the Duke brought along with him, that he meant to begin the Siege by Battery, there was great danger of terrour and confuſion in the City, not being accuſtomed to ſuch furious noiſe of the Cannon: ſo as not approving the former reſolution of abandoning *Novi* and *Ovada*, he moved for their defence; for though they were not able of themſelves to ſtand out, yet they would afford time and commodity to make their Trenches already begun upon the Mountains, and for the coming of ſuccours from *Naples*, and from the State of *Millain*. The Commonwealth approved of this advice, and ſent *Georgio Centurione* and *Henrico de Franchi*, two Senators, to defend *Savona*, with titles of Commiſſaries General, and ordered *Doria* to defend the State beyond the *Apenine*: furniſhing them all with ſuch men as they could ſpare without disfurniſhing the City: *Doria* paſſing over the *Apenine* ſent his Nephew *George Doria*, with ſome Forces to *Novi*, and he in his own perſon undertook to defend *Ovada*: the Enemy had not as yet appeared before any of theſe places, only a Trumpet came ſome days before to *Ovada*, to ſummon it to ſurrender; and the ſcarcity of Oxen and Horſes, for the Train of Artillery, together with ſome other impediments, was ſuch, as not ſufficing to conduct them, they were forced to bring part of their Artillery ſome miles forwards, and to ſend the ſame Cattle back to bring on the reſt: which occaſioned much delay in their march; and the deep Mire, and Rivers which were ſwollen by the great fall of Rain, re-

tarded them much more; and yet the *Dorii*, finding neither Victuals, Munition, Artillery, nor any manner of defence in either of theſe places; for the Inhabitants finding that the Commonwealth had abandoned them, had for the moſt part quitted thoſe Towns, and carried away the Artillery and Munition along with them, which were impoſſible to be brought back, the Enemy not being many hours march off when the *Dorii* entred: *Jovan Jeronymo* was forced to abandon the enterpriſe, and to retire to within the Trenches of *Roſſiglione*; which finding to be ill ordered, and not defenſible, he writ unto the Senate, adviſing them to remove the people from thence, leſt they might be loſt; and it being impoſſible to go with the Army and Artillery that way to *Genoa*, he counſelled that the whole defence ſhould return to *Gavio*, by which the Enemy muſt of neceſſity march; and whither he would go with his men, as he did: going therefore to *Ottaggio*, a great Town upon the ſame way, five miles more inward then *Gavio*, he thought to ſend aid from thence to *Gavio* and *Novi*, which he held would aſſuredly be the firſt places which the Enemy would fall upon; and by thus keeping them from entring by that way, to keep the City from being aſſaulted, and from the misfortune of the imminent war. *Doria* was not well got out of *Ovada*, when the Van of the enemies Army, which was advanced, not meeting with any obſtacle, entred thereinto, and finding no reſiſtance took it; and the Count of *Overgnia*, General of the French Horſe, advancing by the way of *Gavio*, took *Novi* alſo upon ſurrender; and the Enemies Army which came on, lay idle for ſome days, quartered in theſe two Towns, and in the adjacent parts; waiting for the reſt of their men with the Artillery and Munition, which came on but ſlowly, by reaſon of the aforeſaid difficulties. The Duke being quartered in *Cremoline*, a Town in *Montferrat*, neer to *Ovada*, was buſie in taking the Trenches which guarded that Town; and the Count *d' Overnia*, who was quartered in *Novi*, and in the Cottages thereabouts, had his eye upon the Town of *Gavio*, which was defended by *Benedetto Spinola*, who upon this occaſion was made Commiſſary-General beyond the *Apenine*, a Souldier much imploi'd in the wars of *Flanders*, in chief commands, for a long time; he had with him 1500 Foot, moſt of them Country people, and one Troop of Horſe from the State of *Millain*: he having ſpeedily fortified the place, withſtood a fierce aſſault given by the General, who going to ſurpriſe it with almoſt all his men, but without Artillery, was forced to retire with the loſs of many of his men, and ſome of the chiefeſt, and alſo to abandon ſome ſtations which he had taken before the aſſault. The Dukes men had no better ſucceſs in an aſſault which they gave to the Trenches of *Roſſiglione*; for the ſtation was manfully defended by *Jacomo Spinola*, the head of 500 Souldiers of the Militia of *Biſagno*, with no ſmall loſs of the aſſailants: ſo as the people of the Commonwealth, though for the greater part of the meaner ſort, having gotten the better in theſe two aſſaults, and in ſome leſſer attempts, began to take heart, and to think the face of the Enemy leſs formidable; and the Commonwealth her ſelf, fearing before how her men would behave themſelves, ſeeing things ſucceed better then they expected, and that the Enemies Army lay ſtill idle, doing nothing worthy

worthy the threats, and fame which was given out; began to build more upon the difficulties the Enemy would meet with, then upon the ſtrength of their ſituations, and of the valour of their own men: wherefore they would not (according to *Doria's* advice) abandon the Fortifications of *Roſsiglione*, which they were told by others were not to be taken; and hoping every day for better ſucceſs, they thought that the Enemy, being ſtreightned in thoſe parts, began to experience thoſe difficulties, whereinto they had unadviſedly brought themſelves; and this the rather, for that Don *Jeronymo Pimontello*, General of the Horſe of the State of *Millain*, being entred by order from the Governour into *Tortona*, with 4000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, ſtood obſerving their ways, that he might fall upon them in the Rear, if they ſhould paſs further into the Mountains of *Liguria*: all this while the peace was not violated, nor was there any breach of a war conceived to be made between the two Crowns; though for the Duke of *Guiſe* his having ſeized on the 150000 Ducates, as hath been ſaid, in *Provence*, the King of *Spain*, pretending an intereſt therein, had made a repriſal of all the French goods that were in *Spain*; and the French had done the like to thoſe of *Spain*, that were in *France*; therefore the Duke and the Conſtable, profeſſing to obſerve punctually friendſhip, and good correſpondency with the States, and Subjects of the King of *Spain*, did not permit any act of hoſtility to their men; and if any accident ſhould happen to the contrary, they proceeded to ſevere puniſhment againſt the Delinquents, as done without their order, thorow military licentiouſneſs, and excuſed themſelves; which was not only accepted by the Spaniſh Officers, but feeding the French with the ſame food, they aſſured them they ſhould not be injured by their Forces: many invitations were made moreover to the Duke, and to the Conſtable, and reciprocal friendly Offices paſt between them; and upon complaint made by the Conſtable that ſome loads of Meal were taken by the Subjects of the State, reſtitution was forthwith made; the Governour, who was unarmed, being unwilling to provoke an Army which was ſtrong and powerful upon his Confines: but when he ſhould have paſt the *Apenine*, where the numbers of men would neither be an help, nor hinderance, it was certain he would not keep within the ſame bounds; for it being as impoſſible to keep *Genoa* without the aſſiſtance of the State of *Millain*, as to defend *Genoa* when that State ſhould be loſt, it was apparent the Spaniards would be forced to break with all the World rather then to loſe *Genoa*; for theſe Reaſons the Genoeſes were reaſonably well ſatisfied, eſpecially ſince they ſaw none of the Enemies Fleets appear: but the Duke being deſirous to clear the Paſs of *Roſsiglione*, reſolved to aſſault it with the groſs of his Army on *Holy-thurſday*, the twelfth day after *Ovada* was taken: the defendants, who had had the better upon other occaſions, were affrighted to ſee ſo many men appear in good order; ſo as diſtruſting not to be able to defend themſelves, they all baſely forſook the Trenches before the Enemy came within Musket-ſhot, and retreated, unleſs it were a Company of the Coriſicks, which being placed higher made honourable reſiſtance: but afterwards fire taking in a Barrel of Powder, at the blowing up whereof 20 of them were burnt and ſlain, and ſeeing the places behind

hind them abandoned, they likewiſe forſook their ſtations, and retreated to *Roſsiglione*; and the Enemy following their blow, became maſters of the Trenches, and ſoon after of *Roſsiglione* alſo, which was likewiſe forſaken by the reſt, who making it a Rendezvouz for Arms, for re-inforcing thoſe who defended the more inward Trenches, ſeeing that they all ran away, they likewiſe began to run: ſo as the place, together with the Victuals, Munition, Moneys to pay the Souldiers, and other proviſions, fell (without any oppoſition) into the Dukes hands: they continued running away, till they came to the Sea; only two Companies of Souldiers ſtaid in *Manſone*, where there was a little Caſtle, very ſtrong by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the Paſſage, fifteen miles diſtant from *Roſsiglione*, towards the Sea; wherein there was two ſmall pieces, and whither ſufficient Victuals, Men and Munition were ſent from *Genoa*: the Enemy entring *Roſsiglione* paſt on to *Campo*, a place only three miles more inward then *Maſone*: here they halted, trying thoſe of *Maſone* with ſmall Skirmiſhes, and Articles of agreement, who ſtill defending themſelves did manfully make good that Paſs, and that Caſtle: all this while the new work of incompaſſing the Mountains with Trenches was hardly begun in *Genoa*: the Walls of the City were not at all fortified; and their Artillery, whereof they had great ſtore, and very great ones, were yet in their Magazines, unmounted, as in time of peace, and lying one on the top of another, they had no experienced Cannoneers, little ſtore of Match, and the meaner ſort of people was beyond meaſure increaſed, by the concourſe of women, and others fled thither from the neighbouring parts for refuge: the Souldiery, which for a whole year were there aſſembled at the great charges and induſtry both of the publick and private, much diminiſhed: thoſe few that were left were ſent to Garriſon *Gavi* and *Roſsiglione*; and many of the latter were diſſipated through the terrour of the preceding day: 200 Neapolitans, who at the earneſt intreaty of *Fanetto Spinola* were by *John Jeronymo Pimontello* ſent to *Tortona* ſome days before what had hapned at *Roſsiglione*, as they paſt along, without thought of being aſſaulted, were cut in pieces by the French: wherefore, the City appeared to ſuſpect *Feria*, as being abandoned in her ſo great danger: ſo as the unexpected news of *Roſsiglione* being brought to *Genoa*, the City was in great terrour and confuſion; which increaſed by the children, old men and women of *Vettri*, who flocking to *Genoa*, full of fear, and believing that the Souldiers of the Commonwealth, who fled from *Roſsiglione*, and returned by the way of the Mountains towards the Sea, were the Enemy, affirm'd that *Maſone* was taken, and that the French did draw neer; that therefore which befell *Rome*, the City of *Mars*, after the rout at *Thraſimeno* and *Canna*, and at *Hannibals* approaching the Walls of *Rome*; and of later times, *Paris*, when the Army of the Duke of *Burgony* and of the other Confederates, in the War for the Common Good, was heard to arrive; and yet of later years, when ſhe feared to be aſſaulted by *Charles* the Fifths Army; that which befel the Venetians after the Rout at *Giaradadda*, befel the City of *Genoa*: a City bred up for almoſt a hundred years in peace; where there was not any that had ever heard the noiſe of an Enemies Drum or Trumpet: ſome of the Gentlewomen went from the City,

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ſome of the weaker ſort of people fled; others freed their houſes of what they had of moſt value and worth, and ſent them to *Ligorne*. The Senate amidſt ſuch a multitude of affairs and troubles, hearing the opinion which was had of the greatneſs and neerneſs of the danger, reſolved forthwith to abandon *Savona*, *Gavio*, and all the other places of the State, and to withdraw all their Forces to defend the City of *Genoa*, upon whoſe ſafety and welfare, all their thought were ſet: therefore on *Good-Friday*, the very day that they heard this news, they ſent all the Gallies that were in the Haven to *Savona*, with order to the Commiſſaries, that leaving the Citadel provided for, they ſhould preſently return with all the inhabitants to the City: Orders were likewiſe ſent to Camp-maſter *Doria* in *Ottaggio*, to do the like with all the Garriſons thereabouts, and with thoſe of *Gavio*: the firſt Order was obey'd, for on *Eaſter* Eve the Gallies returned from *Savona*, with the people and Commiſſaries, but not the other; for *Doria* being experienced in warfare, thinking it to be a raſh reſolution, wrot back, before he obeyed it, that the Enemy having brought ſo many and ſo great pieces of Artillery by the way of *Roſſiglione*, there was no danger that they could poſſibly approach the City without them; and that the people might run danger of being loſt, if they ſhould be brought away, the Enemy being ſo neer; he therefore exhorted the Senate to make head againſt them in *Gavio*, which whilſt it was maintained did obſtruct, and being abandonded did make way for free paſſage to the City. The Senate approved *Doria's* advice; true it is that the Commonwealth building much, in this ſo great terror, upon his Counſel and Valour, and upon the like of *Benedetto Spinola*, who kept to defend *Gavio*, ſent for them both to *Genoa*, that they might aſſiſt to defend the City; and *Spinola*, (who upon this occaſion was made Camp-maſter-general) was by *Doria's* direction, ſucceeded in the defence of *Gavio*, by *Jovan Baiſta Mezza*, of *Pavia*, Captain of the *Millain* Horſe who were there in Garriſon: it was therefore ordered contrary, to the former reſolution, that the Gallies ſhould return the next morning with the people who were not yet landed, to defend *Savona*. *Ludovico Guaſco's* coming to *Genoa* did alſo much incourage the Inhabitants, and appeaſe the confuſion they were in, who was ſent by *Doria* with 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe to the relief of the City; and coming on the *Eaſter* Eve, when the confuſion was ſo great, was received with great joy, not only for the Forces which he brought with him, but alſo for that thereby the jealouſies which were had of *Doria* ceaſed, and they hoped for greater ſuccour: ſo as now ſome hopes of preſervation appeared; eſpecially ſince they heard that the Enemy came on no further by the way of *Roſſiglione*: they therefore knew that the City had conceived too exceſſive fear by the diſaſter of *Roſſiglione*, and Proclamation was made, that upon pain of Death none ſhould depart the City, or ſend away any Goods or Moveables; and they began very diligently to make Trenches, to mount their Cannon, to dig Ditches, and to make other Fences for the City, all, both men and women, being very intent upon the preſervation of the publick ſafety and liberty: but on the other ſide, the Senate fearing that ſome new invaſion might be made in the Weſtern River, eſpecially ſince they heard that at this very time the

Pimonteſes

Pimonteſes were gone to *Saſſello*, a Town belonging to the Commonwealth, lying a little above *Savona*, and that they had taken it; and fearing that General *Doria*, by reaſon of his great years, would not be able to provide at the ſame time for the defence of the River when it ſhould be aſſaulted, and of the parts beyond the *Apenine* whereby the the Army marched, they choſe *Tomaſo Caracolla*, who was then in *Millain*, for their Camp-maſter-general; and deputing him for defence of the State beyond the *Apenine*, they ſent *Doria* to recover *Saſſello*, and to defend the Weſtern River. On *Holy-Thurſday*, the Popes Gallies, and thoſe of the great Duke, appeared in the Haven at *Genoa*, which wafted Cardinal *Franciſco Barbarini*, the Popes Nephew, to *Marcelles*, who was ſent Legate *à Latere* to the King of *France*, upon the occaſion of the *Valtoline*, and of theſe preſent occurrences: a proviſion which was thought by many to be very weak, and unſeaſonable to keep off this imminent ſtorm; and therefore as it proved uſeleſs afterwards, ſo wat it of very little hope now: the Legate being arrived would not come on ſhore, nor accept of any publick or private invitations, many whereof were offer'd him, excuſing himſelf upon his preciſe Commiſſions and Orders limited by the Pope: inſomuch as there were ſome who interpreted this Embaſſie to be for ſome other more ſecret ends: being ſtaid there ſome time by contrary Winds he departed on *Eaſter-day*, early in the morning, towards *Savona*, where he tarried ſome days, expecting Monſieur *Pamphillio*, Auditor *di Ruota*, who going along with the Legate, was to remain Nuntio in ordinary in *Spain*, and was ſent from *Savona* to the Duke, to get from him ſome ceſſation of Arms. The Duke ſeeming ſomewhat ſcandalized, that the Legate came not himſelf in perſon, gave *Pamphillio* but a cool welcome; and by reaſon of the Victory at *Roſsiglione*, thinking that he had the City as good as in poſſeſſion, he did not grant the demand, alledging for his refuſal, that being but a Souldier of the King of *France* in that war, it was more then lay in his power: not long after what had hapned at *Roſsiglione*, the Duke and Conſtable turn'd their Forces by the other way of *Gavio* and *Ottaggio*: diſtruſting as I conceive, to be able to advance by the way of *Roſsiglione*. The Genoeſes penetrating into the deſign by what *Doria* had ſaid, and being ſomewhat freed from their firſt aſtoniſhment, thought it neceſſary to turn their defence that way, not only to oppoſe and weary the Enemies Forces, but to get more time by delay for the coming of ſuccour from the State of *Millain*, from the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, where they were raiſing; and though all agreed in this, yet they differ'd in their opinions touching the way of putting it in execution: ſome were for re-inforcing the Garriſon of *Gavio*, whither *Doria* (before he went from *Ottaggio*,) had ſent 1500, who if *Gavio* ſhould be loſt, might entertain the Enemy, till more ſuccour ſhould come: others were of opinion, that all the Kings and Commonwealths Forces ſhould march towards *Ottaggio*, or the neighbouring parts, and make uſe of the Mountains ſituationous: and that giving more incouragement to the defence of *Gavio*, they might force the Enemy to lye more cloſe, and with more trouble and unquietneſs. During theſe diſcourſes, *Thomaſo Caracciolo*, and the Baron *Batteville* came from *Millain*, who unwilling either to approve or diſapprove, any

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of the aforesaid opinions, before they had gone in person to know the situation of the Country, and condition of the places, that so they might give their opinion the better upon what was propounded: it was forthwith resolved they should go into those parts, and take with them 1000 of *Guasco*'s Souldiers; and that *Guasco* himself should go with them and be assistant to them in Counsel; and that *Doria* should go to *Savona*, and from thence to the recovery of *Sassello*, which was soon recovered. *Camillo Cattaneo*, Knight of *Malta*, came also to the City from *Sicily*; one that had been long vers'd in the wars of *Flanders*, who was presently sent with 2000 Foot to *Masone*, and finding it not capable of so great a Garison, he was ordered to go to *Ottaggio* so as between those who were there already, and those that were to come thither within a few hours, *Caracciola* had with him in *Ottaggio* about 5000 Foot, and 80 Horse; *Caracciola*, leaving *Guasco* behind him, to follow with the Foot, came to *Ottaggio* about the going to of night; and understanding immediately that the Duke, being then very strong both in Horse and Foot, was come to *Carosio*, a little Village in the mid way, but neerer *Ottaggio* then *Gavio*, and not thinking that he would come to an assault so soon, he was not so diligent as was necessary, the enemy being so neer with so great Forces, and himself so couragious; and the night being dark and rainy would not permit him to discover the condition of the situation, and circumstances of the Country: some few men were only sent to guard the Passes, and to re-inforce some of the neighbouring Hills; and news coming to *Genoa*, that for certain the Duke would make himself master of *Ottaggio*, before he would attempt *Gavio*, as well for the Victuals which he was confident he should find there, as that the enemies being driven out of those quarters might be no hindrance to the taking of *Gavio*, they only staid expecting the next days light, to give necessary orders, and make requisite provisions: only they argued that night, whether if the Duke should advance, they should do better to wait for him within the Town, or meet him in the Field: *Camillo Cattaneo* was for keeping within to defend the Town, and *Caracciola*, that they should go out: but supposing that the Duke could neither have Cannon, nor be prepared for an assault, they thought they should have time enough to do what should be best, so as it would be superfluous to talk thereof now, hoping that time, the proceeding of the Enemy, and the next days light, would counsel them what they had best do. *Ottaggio* is great and populous, situated at the foot of the *Apenine* towards *Lombardy*, upon the left hand of a rivulet, which falls from the Mountain, and runs along the Plain on which the Town stands, which is weak, and almost open; for the ancient walls are ruinated in many places: on the top of it there stands a little Castle, much decay'd by time; and standing upon the high-way which leads to *Genoa*, it was rich and populous through the Merchandize, and passage which went and came continually from *Lombardy*; and the Genoeses thinking that it might be made very tenable, by reason of the situation, if it should be fortified, they made many Trenches in several parts, as well to defend the way as the neighbouring Mountain: the chiefest were, one made to defend a little Bridge called *Frasso*, half a mile beyond the Town; the other, a long

Trench, which extending from the foot of the Mountain to the rivulet, sheltred the Town and the whole *Campagnia* on the front; by these Works they thought they might be able long to withstand the oppugning of *Ottaggio*, and keep the Enemy from entring by that way, not considering on how many sides an Army may make its way. The Duke who expected the speedy arrival of his Artillery, resolved not to march that day, so as the Commonwealths Captains might have had better conveniency to provide for defence: but Monsieur *Di San Anna* being sent by the Duke with some Forces about break of day to discover the way, and the first Fortications, took the Fortifications of *Frasso*, almost before he had discover'd them, which were the first, and were basely abandoned at the first appearance of the Enemy; he sent forthwith to acquaint the Duke with this his happy beginning; the Duke was in doubt whether he should keep behind, with all or with part of his men, or make them retire from the place he had taken; and whilst he knew not what to resolve upon, he might hear a Skirmish which had hapned between his men, and 400 Foot which were sent from *Ottaggio* to recover the abandoned place; he was advertised of what was done, and was sent to for succour, for that his men were in great danger: so seeing himself ingaged, contrary to the orders he had given, he commanded his men to advance, crying out aloud, and with much confidence, this is a day of Victory: going forth with all his men into the Field, and sending part of his people by the Hills beyond the water, who should seem as if they went to assault that Town on the back, he disposed his Cavalry a long the River, and kept the rest on this side, and went with a large Front to assault the Plain, and the Hills which stood over them. The Genoese Commanders betook themselves to defence with no less courage, though with worse order and fortune; for *Caracciola's* power prevailing, they march'd into the Field; and whilst the 400 Foot which went to recover *Frasso* entertain the Duke, they ordered their men thus. The Plain which lies between *Ottaggio* and *Frasso* is divided; on the left side whereof, which is under the Hills, they disposed of the Foot, wherein were comprehended *Guasco's* men, who were come but very then, weary and wet: in the way that lies neerest the River they placed 80 Horse, divided into four small Squadrons; they sent some to re inforce those that were to defend the Hills, by which the Enemy might advance: the mean while, the Duke having not only defended and kept *Frasso* which St. *Anna* had taken, but repuls'd the 400 Foot that went to recover it, he pursued them, though not without trouble and difficulty; for they retreated slowly, still resisting and fighting; and continuing thus for some hours, the Duke came at last within sight of the Plain of *Ottaggio*, where he might see the Commonwealths Forces in order, and prepared for defence; and staying his march a while, that he might form his Squadrons, and give fitting orders, he sent to assault them on all sides, those who defended the Hills were the first that gave back, who being pursued by much a greater number, retreated towards the Plain; whither being come, they disordered their friends Files, who being justled by their friends, and assaulted by the Enemy which pursued their friends, they could not resist; and the 80 Horse which they had placed

placed in another part, wheeling about, at the first appearance of the Enemies Horse, without striking one stroke, the flight and confusion grew greater every where, then the fighting: so every one endeavouring their safety by retiring towards the Town, the Field was forsaken; and *Caracciola*, who fought there manfully with a Pike in his hand, and *Agostino Spinola*, were taken Prisoners: great was the slaughter of the Genoeses, especially at a Portcullies which they found shut; for there being here a great press of those that pursued, and those that were pursued, and little or no resistance made, the Dukes men had opportunity to kill many; yet this slaughter was not without revenge for the Portcullies being beaten down, and the Dukes men entring the Town, were very hardly dealt withall, not only by Musket-shot from the windows, but by two Barrels of powder, to which fire being seasonably set, many of the Dukes Souldiers perish'd, amongst which many of the chiefest both for Birth and Valour: yet that first part of the Town was taken by the Duke, who without giving any time of respite fell upon the main Town, which was divided by a little rivulet from the Suburbs which were taken; where also the falling on was not only great, but also the resistance; and the oppugners received most prejudice, who remaining an open mark to the shot of the defendants, (for there were neither Trenches, nor cover'd approaches) they fought for the space of three hours: the defendants playing upon them from the Windows and tops of Houses: yet the oppugners increasing every moment, and a rumour being spread abroad amongst the defendants, that the Enemy was entred by another part of the Town, the Captains and other Officers, being surprized at so sudden a news, and not knowing what to do, they gave over making further defence, and fled to the Castle, hoping to get out from thence by the way of the Mountain, and go safe to *Genoa*: but they failed in their design; for seeing the skirts of the Mountains possess'd by the Enemy, and having neither Powder in the Castle, to defend themselves, nor Victuals to maintain themselves, they had but little hope of safety. The Town, by their retreat, slackned their defence, and being at last either abandoned by the defendants, or overlaid by the assailants, whose numbers increased by continual recruits, and the Duke being there in person, it fell into the power of the Enemy; and soon after the Castle; wherein there being neither Victuals, nor any thing for defence, *Guasco* and the other Commanders who were shut up there, surrendred upon Articles: which being agreed upon by word of mouth, but not in writing, afforded occasion of wrangling; those within pretending that they were to have their liberty together with their lives; and the others, that their lives were only granted them; wherefore the Duke kept them all prisoners; and the more to justifie his doing so, said that they had broken their Articles by setting fire to a Barrel of Powder, which slew many of both sides, and amongst the rest Monsieur *di Flandes*, one of the chief Officers of the Dukes Army, and one whom he esteemed very much for his valour: at the which unfortunate accident the Duke was so disgusted, for the loss of his men, and especially for that of *Flandes*, as he thereby pretended to detain them all, and to deprive the Commonwealth, in such an exigent

of time, of their chief Commanders, attributing the accident to the Enemies maliciousness. Thus all Articles were broken; and the Souldiers entring the Town presently sack it; wherein not only much ravenous crueley was committed, but great impiety, to the great prejudice of those of *Ottaggio*, they being destined to suffer the first mischiefs of war which was begun against *Zuccharello*, 80 miles distant from thence: great was the prey that was here got; for this was the usual Market for Victuals which past from *Lombardy* to *Genoa*; and the Ottaggians being naturally industrious, and given to Trade, were very rich in Moneys, Houshold-stuff and Corn; whereby the Dukes men, who had known the miseries of war, clothed themselves anew, and got great store of Moneys, Victuals, and of many other things: the Prisoners were very many, amongst which, nine of the prime Gentlemen of *Genoa*, besides many other Captains and Officers; seven Ensigns were there taken, and the Victory was great, for here did the chiefest of the Commonwealths Souldiers and Commanders fight; but yet it was not without the loss of a great many of the Dukes best Souldiers. *Ottaggio* being taken, the Duke took some Horse with him and rode up the *Apenine*; where when he was come to the top, he looked advisedly upon the Valley of *Ros-Zevara*, which lay beneath, and upon the Sea which was neer unto it: for the City which is inviron'd with neerer Hills cannot be seen from thence; and devouring that prey with his looks, and desire of revenge, which he was never to get, he thought every hour a thousand years till he had got the City: not knowing, nor being able to imagine that God had prefix'd that place where he now was for the boundure of his vast designs, and for the utmost limits of his Triumph. The Duke could not so fully injoy this his Victory; for to boot with the loss of his best men, his joy was embittered by the news which he heard the next day, touching his Admiral Galley, which the very next day after the Battel was brought, with his chiefest Standard in her, captive into the Haven of *Genoa*: the Commonwealth had sent three Gallies some few days before into the Provencal Seas to annoy the Dukes Coasts, who hearing that the Dukes Admiral was at St. *Honorato*, a very small Island in that Sea, anciently called *Lerino*, not far from *Nice*, and disjoyned from the Continent by a little Channel, they resolved to go in pursuit thereof: when they came neer the Island, two of them kept without at Sea, and *Gallezzo Giustiniani*, who commanded the Genoese Admiral, entred between the Island and the Continent, and lighting upon the Dukes Galley, (which seeing what danger she was in retired) and strove to get into some Town of *Provence*, but was overtaken and forc'd to yield to the Genoese Admiral: but though the unhappy success at *Ottaggio* did not occasion so great terrour and confusion in *Genoa*, as did the loss of *Rossiglione* but some few days before, (for she was the better accustomed to bear with such disasters:) yet the wiser sort knew, that this loss was much greater then that of *Rossiglione*, by reason of the defeat given to all their best men, and the imprisonment of so gallant and experienced a Commander, in whose worth and valour the Commonwealth reposed so much trust, together with the like of their Captains, and prime Gentlemen: they considered the danger they were in, that the Duke following

lowing his good fortune might present himself before their Walls with his whole Army, and that of the King of *France*: so as being inwardly afflicted with so great a loss, they knew not how to sustain so imminent a danger. The Senate calling a Counsel of many of their Captains and Counsellors, (whereinto was admitted the Marquess of *Castagneda*, being the Spanish Embassadour, whose advice they much valued, as being one well experienced in the Wars of *France*,) and the Duke of *Zuccs*; they were of differing opinions, as were also their Captains and Counsellors: some thought it a pernitious advice to consume their best men in the defence of a weak place, against so powerful an enemy; and thinking it a better course to make use of them for the defence of the City, whose danger could not be greater, nor neerer hand, they advised to abandon *Gavio*, and to withdraw the Garrison, to defend the chief City; others persevering in their former opinion, said, that the Enemy losing also many of their best men, which were the very sinews of their Forces, they became weaker, and consequently less able to expugne the City; and that succours being daily expected from *Naples* and *Sicily*, the City could run no danger: so as it might do well, though with the loss of the Garrison at *Gavio*, to entertain the enemy, and to gain time not only for the coming of the foresaid succours, but for the arrival of the Germans, who (they heard) were already entred the State of *Millan*. In this difference of opinions, they resolved to consult with the Duke of *Feria*, and to be governed by him: the Duke of *Savoy*, on the other side, grown proud with Victory, prepared to pass with all his men over the *Ayrone*, and to come before the City Walls; and was very careful in preparing all things fitting for the enterprise: but the Constable kept him from this resolution; who being unwilling to leave *Gavio* behind his back, which was well fortified, and had a great Garrison in it, it being an inlet for succour, and a place of safety for the Enemy to retreat unto upon any occasion, gave order for the expugning thereof before they should advance further. The Duke thought it somewhat hard to forestall the course of Victory; but not being able to do otherwise, he was forc'd to give way to the Constables will; without which he could not prosecute the intended enterprise: and because the Constable thought the loss too great which was received by the former assault given to place by the General of the Horse, and the loss greater which was received before *Ortaggio*, because they had proceeded in those actions according to the Military manner, he would therefore proceed orderly in the taking of *Gavio*, with Artillery, Approaches, and making of Trenches: Captain *Mezza*, Governour of the Garrison of that place, labouring how to defend it, and how to offend the Enemy by often sallies, conceived such hopes, as he writ to the Senate, that he would make good that place for the space of ten or twelve days; nor would he peradventure have failed to do it, had not one who had gotten privately into *Gavio*, given him some orders from *Stefano Spinola*, and from the Resident for the Commonwealth with *Feria* at *Millain*, whereby he was told that *Feria* thought it a better and safer way, to preserve their men, then to lose them together with the Town; the preservation whereof was desperate: that he should therefore give over the

the defence thereof, and provide the best he could for the safety of the Garrison. The Senate had writ to *Meazza* when they left the decision of the business to *Feria*, that he should observe such Orders as he should receive from *Spinola* from *Millain*; and they had written to *Spinola* that he should direct *Meazza* what to do touching the maintaining, or abandoning of *Gavio*, according as *Feria* should think fit: hereupon *Meazza* about midnight, without knowledge of the Townsmen, went away with the Garrison of 3000 Foot towards *Serravalle*, a Town lying towards the State of *Millain*, about some five miles off; but finding the ways bad, and therefore having spent much time in his march, he began to fear being surprized by the way, the next day: wherefore resolving to return back, he did so, with the like silence as he had come out that night; and upon Articles to march out with his men the next day, he yielded up the Town, but not the Castle, which was not at his disposal: this third accident did again afflict the City, which the day before the surrender had received *Meazza*'s Letter, by which he assured them he would maintain the Town fourteen or twelve days at least: in which mean time the Genoeses believing that for certain, that relief would come from *Naples* and *Sicily*, they began to hope, that the succour would come before they should see the Enemies Army: but now failing of that assurance, and not seeing the succour come, every one apprehended his own misfortune, and were astonished at the Enemies success; and finding that they prospered in all their actions, they thought it impossible they should do otherwise in the enterprise of *Genoa*. This their affliction and astonishment was presently increased by the loss of the Castle, which hapned not long after; for the Duke being desirous to remove all pretences and impediments that the Constable could alledge, for not going to *Genoa*, speedily prepared the Battery, wherewith having for a while plai'd upon the Walls and prejudiced them a little, the Captain of the Castle (though he were strongly situated, and well provided of all things, yet being) but young and unexperienced, he came to Parley, and obtain'd Truce for three days, with leave to send to *Genoa*, to advertise the Senate of his condition; but the Duke having made some Trenches during the Truce, and the Captain not having received any advertisement from the City during those three days (for the Duke had detain'd the Messenger) he also surrendered: so the Army, having no other obstacle to keep them from going to *Genoa*, unless it were the craggedness of the Mountain; the Duke eg'd on by ardent desire, and by the great hopes which so noble a concourse of Victories afforded him, he press'd the Constable very hard, that without giving further respite to the Enemy, he would give order for the advancing of the Army and Artillery, assuring him of undoubted Victory,

We have already (said he) *opened the gate, paved the way to the City: all obstacles and impediments are already removed; the Enemies are routed, their chief Commanders are our Prisoners; the City her self, before the Victory at* Ottaggio, *being full of terrour and confusion, had* (*as we understand by some Prisoners*) *sent to Article with us, and to offer us great sums of Money: many of the chief of the Commonwealth do the like to redeem themselves from us, and our hands; from whence knowing their own weakness,*

neſs, and being confounded with the preſages of imminent ruine, they very well know they cannot poſſibly eſcape, what will they now do, after ſo many defeats, on the heels of one another? after having loſt their beſt men? when they ſhall ſee themſelves deprived of ſo many Chiefs and Officers? deprived of their General at the very firſt encounter, in whom they did ſo much confide? ſhall we think that they will hold out, at the very firſt appearance of our Enſigns, that they will wait for the noiſe of our Cannon? ſhall we believe that a City accuſtomed only to Traffick, and to give account how they have gotten ſo great riches as they have now within their Walles, and as they have diſtributed elſewhere, ſhall dare to make any reſiſtance againſt our Forces, our Enſigns, our Fame? againſt the dread which the French Forces bear with them every where, and which are every where ſo feared and reverenced? let us go, for God's ſake, before they by their flight rob us of ſuch riches as are already ours: before that being fortified, and ſuccoured by the Spaniards, they may diſpute that Victory, which nothing but ſpeed can, in all probability, aſſure us: what terrour, what conſternation hath the loſs of their Trenches, the rout and defeat at Rofiglione, *imprinted in our Enemies? how near was that City then to be abandoned; and ſhall we now, after the defeat of* Ottaggio, *after the loſs of* Gavio, *when they are deprived of their beſt Souldiers, beſt Commanders, doubt that they will not undoubtedly be ready to run away, then to defend themſelves? that they will not rather think of their own ſafety, then of making reſiſtance? I paſs by the many intelligences which we have with thoſe Citizens; I mention not the diſcontents, and diſſatisfactions which are in that City; which certainly will much facilitate our Victory. Let us go on then, great Conſtable! not to the oppugning, but to the expugning of this City, not to the Aſſault, but to the Conqueſt thereof; not to the Combate, but to the aſſured Victory, which is promiſed, and prepared for us; by ſo many Circumſtances and Arguments: whereby the name of* France, *and the Empire of that Crown, which is already in the wane in Italy, ſhall be by us raiſed up again; and to our perpetual glory, be reſtored to her former ſplendour and dignity; and your Excellency by ſo ſignal an action ſhall crown your ſo many former praiſes, and gloriouſly concluding your Heroick Deeds, ſhall render your name more famous amongſt the French, and other Nations, then that of any of thoſe ancient Commanders which we remember or read of.*

The Dukes Authority was not ſo powerful with the Conſtable as it had been; and as fellowſhip in command is always full of emulation, and jealouſie; the ends of Commanders not being always the ſame, it appeared by ſeveral ſigns, that neither were their wills the ſame: he therefore anſwered:

If your Highneſs, His Majeſties Agents, and the other Confederates had, in ſome ſort at leaſt, correſponded to the Obligations of the League, and to the great offers made to me at Suſa; *ſurely ſuch exhortations as theſe would be ſuperfluous to me: nor ſhould I, who have always incited others to glorious and gallant actions, need now ſuch an Inciter; for the very Reaſons, and the ſame Courage, which in obedience to his Majeſty, and to ſerve ſo many Confederate Princes, moved me in my old Age, and in the midſt of Winter, to paſs over the Alpes, would of themſelves be ſufficient to bring the Enterprize to an honourable end, which was reſolved upon ſo good grounds,*

grounds, and begun with ſo great preparations, and greater cheerfulneſs: but in a buſineſs of ſuch weight we muſt go to work with underſtanding, and caſting up our accounts well, we muſt not go groping in the dark amidſt ſo many dangers; leſt we repent our raſhneſs too late, and leſt inſtead of advantage, which we pretend unto, and the glory which we hope for, we reap ruine, loſs and diſhonour: we go againſt a great City, well peopled, munited with ſtrong Walls, and invironed with many Fortifications, as we are informed: we go by uneaſie ways, by a barren Country, by ſtrong ſituations, by craggy Mountains, by Countries which have nothing left in them for the maintaining of an Army; where are our Victuals for nouriſhment? where Cattel for Carriage? where Carriages for other Implements? does your Highneſs know how far the Proviſions which you ought to make prove ſhort? how far inferiour to your obligation, and to what you did aſſure me they ſhould be, firſt in Suſa, *and afterwards in* Turin? *I do not here Diſpute whether it be out of will, out of negligence, or impoſſibility, that they have not yet appeared: whatſoever the reaſon be, it cannot be denied but that there is great want of them, and that the conſequence thereof is great for what we have to do: the Engliſh Fleet, and that of* Marcelles, *which were the chief ground-works of our enterpriſe, have not only not yet appeared in the Seas of* Genoa, *but are not (for ought we can learn) come yet out of their Havens: the ſupply of men, which ſhould be prepared in* France, *for the neceſſary recruit of our Army, which is weakned very much already, and very much leſſened, we do not hear that they are yet ſent, no not ſo much as in a readineſs: nor is there any care had of us in that Court, more then if we had never come out of that Kingdom; and who can think but that a reſolution wiſely put on upon theſe ground-workes muſt needs run to ruine, when theſe foundations fail? and yet your Highneſs, perſiſting in the ſame fervour, thinks it great ſhame not to purſue that which it would have been great weakneſs to have begun without theſe foundations, or to have reſolved upon, and which it would be great raſhneſs to purſue: whether of our two advices be the better, (if it were not convinced by common ſenſe and reaſon) would be better comprehended if we would but duly conſider what our condition was when we had paſt the* Apenine: *is being impoſſible, if we ſhould have met with any indifferent reſiſtance, to keep there idle, deſtitute of Victuals, and of all humane proviſion; and who can doubt but that any the leaſt ſtop, any the ſleighteſt hinderance to this your Highneſs his pretended Victory, will redound to our own total ruine and deſtruction? but why talk I of ſtops or hinderances? our only tarrying for the bringing on of our Artillery, and other Proviſions, which cannot March as faſt as our Army; the time onely to diſtribute out Quarters; to make our ſelves maſters of their Sentinels or Sconces; to the diſpoſing of our Artillery; (if we ſhould meet with no other lets,) will be undoubtedly ſufficient to ruine us, and to deſtroy our men, if we carry not Victuals along with us, ſufficient for our maintenance the mean while; ſo as we ſhall have come thither, for nothing elſe but to make our ſelves a ridiculous ſpectacle to the world, through our raſhneſs, and indiſcretion, whereof our very enemies, whilſt ſitting within their Walls, will be the firſt and neereſt ſpectators: what will become of us then, think you, if the State of* Millain, *which we ſhall leave behind us, as a ſure enemy, ſhall move? who can aſſure us that they will continue their hi-*

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thereto feigned friendship with us, when we shall have passed the Mountains? what will the event be, if the great succours and aids which are preparing in Naples *and* Sicily *shall come from thence this mean while? with what courage, with what Forces, can we at the same time mind the expugning of a City well walled, well provided and succoured, and resist the Forces of the State of* Millain, *which shall come upon us, whilst we are oppress'd by so many troubles, straitned by so great necessities, shut up between the Mountains and the Sea, and deprived of any mortal succour? will your Highness confide in the weakness of Enemy, in the Peoples astonishment in, the disorders of the City, in the great intelligence which you confess you have there? let us suppose, that this being our condition, the City Gates should be thrown open to us, and that that should be the only way remaining for us, in this extremity, to get the Victory, or rather to save our selves: will your Highness (persisting constantly in your opinion,) place, I will not say the happy event of the Enterprize, but the safety of our selves, and of our reputations, upon so aerial, and so uncertain points? the battel at* Ottaggio *may make your Highness know that the enemies are not so full of baseness and cowardize, as your Highness believed them to be but a little before: the taking of that little Burrough which made nothing at all for our main affair, which wanted Artillery, and whose Walls were for the most part down, cost us the blood of our best men, as your Highness very well knows; and shall we think that they who have sold so little a Town at so dear a rate, will be ready to throw open their Gates, that they will so easily give themselves, their Wives, Children and Riches, in prey to us? let not, oh let not the too immoderate desire of Victory, the too great thirst after glory and revenge, make us too rash; and let us not be misled by vain intelligence with discontented people, wherein the total of our lives and reputations does depend; nor let us not place the ground-work of our Enterprize upon the peoples confusion, and sudden fear: for I protest and declare, that we shall assuredly be deceived if we carry with us no other preparations, no other inforcements for Victory, and for our own escape: the intelligence, that plots of malecontents, may easily be discovered and hushed, they may be upheld by the coming of new succours, changed by the alteration of success, vanish through the difficulty of performance, or suppress'd by the diligence of the Governour: a little time appeases hidden commotions, so small opposition curbs popular insurrections; and by what we hear of the union and good order of that City, we have more reason to fear them to hope for Victory; and I who have some experience of the worlds affairs, if I build somewhat upon such occasions, and accidents, when Forces are adequate to the Enterprize; so where I finde them inferiour, I have always thought them to be but baits to ruine, and to the destruction of those that lay the ground-work of their success thereupon.*

The Duke replied many things, whereby to draw the Constable over to his opinion, sometimes shewing him that being so far ahanded they could not without much shame forbear prosecuting: sometimes endeavouring to free him from the fear of the State of *Millain*, shewing him in what straights of men and money the Duke of Ferrara was; sometimes that the French Forces had the better of it in the *Valtoline*, and were Conquerors on that side, who would at the same time fall there upon the State of *Millain*: sometimes mentioning the Venetians,

who being ready to break into war upon the account of *Gremona* and *Giaradadda*, would reduce that Governour to a condition of rather needing succour, then of succouring: that therefore they were to make use of the reputation and heat of Victory, which doth oft time bring Enterprises to a happy end, though they be otherwise impossible, and desperate, to the appearing of all humane reason: that all sinister events ought not to be thought upon, which may intervene in humane actions; since there are none so certain, nor so surely grounded, which may not be hindred by a thousand accidents; upon which he who would fix his eye too attentively, must not hope to do any thing; that many things were to be left to Fortune, which bearing a great sway in all humane actions, but particularly in those of War, doth commonly assist bold and couragious actions: that it could not be long ere the Fleet would arrive, the necessity whereof he, out of many considerations, did not much value: But the Constable demanding, finally, provisions to maintain the Army for at least three moneths beyond the *Apenine*, before he would move from those quarters where he was; (and not long after these Disputes, news coming, that great succours were come to *Genoa*, from *Naples* and *Sicily*) the execution of this so great Enterprise was almost quite given over.

The Duke being necessitated to steer on his course, resolved, to shun lying idle and loss of time, to turn part of his men towards the Western River, which by the Capitulations of *Susa*, were assigned over to him; and where he understood the Genoese had taken *Oneglia* from him, together with all the Valleys of that Country, and were entred into that of the neighbouring *Prata*: he gave the charge hereof to the Prince, who forgoing for then to attempt *Savona*, sate down upon *Pieve*, the first Town of the Genoese, of the nearest to *Piedmont*, and the Marquisate of *Ceva*: 2000 Piedmontese of the Trained bands of *Mondovi*, and of the Marquisate of *Ceva*, were entred a little before into the River to defend *Oneglia*, not knowing that it was taken by the Genoese: these having past the *Apenine* at the place which is called *Passo della Nava*, by which the way lies to *Pieve*, (a Pass naturally very difficult, and unaccessible, and almost Landwed by those of the Commonwealth, came not time enough to defend it, nor to relieve *Oneglia*, which was already taken by the Genoese, but going to *Porto*, it was their good luck to relieve and free it; for there being none before it but an unexercised Militi, without an experienced Commander, with little or no Military Discipline, they gave over the Siege at the appearing of the Piedmontese: so as returning with the same ease, and success, into *Piedmont* by the same Pass of *Nava*, and having acquainted the Prince with the weakness of the Guards at those Passes, and how easily they had relieved *Prata*, and how they had not met with any opposition in their return, they incouraged him the more to the enterprise; where by the example of his Subjects who were returned from those parts, he had reason to expect but small resistance: he therefore with hopes of good success, began it; nor failed he in his hopes, for finding the Passes, as he had been informed, but badly guarded, he fell down from thence to *Pieve*, a great Town at the foot of the *Apenine* towards the Sea; and

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the Market being usually there as great and populous, used by the Piedmonteses and Genoeses, but not weaker to be defended then that of *Ottaggio*, Camp-master *Doria* was entred thereinto, being sent thither from *Genoa*, when the danger of that side was known: he had only a thousand paid men given him by the Commonwealth; so as though he had refused to go thither with so small a number, yet to obey the Senates Orders he went: but with protestation, that he went, to the manifest loss of himself, and of his men: so gathering together 1500 more of the common people of that Country, he came together with them into *Pieve*; and holding it was impossible to take that Town without Artillery, which he also thought was impossible to be brought thither, he gave all necessary Orders, and made all requisite provisions for defence: he fortified the Monasteries of Sr. *Austine*, and the *Capuchins* which were without the Town; and munited them with sufficient Garrisons: he did the like at a certain station which was called *la Morte*, all which places he thought untakeable without Artillery: so as thinking himself safe within the Town with those Fortifications, he expected the coming of the Enemy.

Doria was not deceived in his opinion; for the Prince appeared without any Artillery, and sitting down before Sr. *Austines* Monastery, he met with great opposition, and for some days had little hope to take it; but Artillery arriving the fifth day, beyond the defendants expectation, all impediments were removed; for levelling them at the Monastery, and beating down the Steeple, it slew many of the defendants with the fall thereof, he infused such terrour into the rest, who returned tumultuously into *Pieve*, leaving that station in the Princes power: their example was immediately followed by the rest of the Guards, so as the Prince (being master of the Field,) sate down presently before the Town, which being by so unexpected a chance fuller of confusion then order, and the Walls not being fit for battery, the Captain began to Parley; and having the word of one of the Dukes Captains given him, that he might march out, he, not minding who it was that gave it, or what power he had to give it, was presently made Prisoner, and it being given out amongst them that were within, that for fear of troubling of the Treaty, they should put out their Matches, the Besiegers approach'd the Wall without resistance, and beating down the Gate with a Beam of Wood they entred the Town, and those within fled away by another little Gate that was towards the Sea: but they mist of their design, which was to escape, for that other Gate being presently possess'd by the Princes Souldiers, many of them throwing themselves down from the Walls, which were not very high in that part, were some of them slain by the Musketiers who were placed on the out side, and other some perish'd in their falling down: here was the greatest slaughter of the best men, to the number of 200; but those that kept within the Town met with more mercy; for the Town being taken whilst the surrender was in Treaty, the Prince provided for the peoples safety; and the Souldiers falling to plunder, and their avarice being greater then their cruelty, none were troubled but those that withstood plunder: many were taken Prisoners, amongst

which, Camp-master *Doria*, and four other Gentlemen of *Genoa*, two others who were goe into the Castle yielded not long after, upon promise of safety of life and liberty, which was readily observed. Thus was *Ventimiglia* taken, *Doria* made Prisoner, and the people of the Commonwealth, who were destined to guard that part, were defeated: *La Riviera*, having lost its Garrison, and not hoping for relief, fell into the Prince his power: all the Commonalty ran to receive him, and brought him the Keys: they freed themselves, by moneys, from being sack'd, and rendred obedience to the Prince, being order'd by the Commonwealth to do so; which minding only the defence of *Genoa*, suffer'd them to comply with the times, so to keep from being sack'd, and from the violence of War: Whereupon *Albenga*, *Alassio*, *Porto Maurizio*, *San Remo*, and the City of *Ventimiglia*, the chiefest Towns upon the River, together with *Oneglia*, fell (without any gainsaying) into the Princes hands: as did also all the weaker places, unless it were *Triora*, which being seated upon the top of a Mountain, held out, and kept still manfully for the Commonwealth, and defended it self manfully against many attempts. The Castle of *Ventimiglia* held also for the Commonwealth, which resisted for some days after the Town was surrendred, till the Prince having caused some Artillery to be brought from *Nice* by Sea, began to batter it, and also to make a Mine; whereupon the Captain who was but little experienced in the Militia, at the end of eight days surrendred it: whereby the Prince became absolute master of the River, which extends it self for the space of 70 miles, from *Pinale* to *Monaco*. The Duke, at the same time, notwithstanding the Constables backwardness, persisting in going for *Genoa*, made many provisions in *Gavio*, which were sent from *Piedmont*: he brought Artillery to *Ottaggio*, he caused Scaling-Ladders to be made, he assembled Pioneers to plain the ways upon the Mountains; and having taken many Fee-farms, which held of the Empire beyond the *Apenine*, from several Gentlemen of *Genoa*, in the Valley of *Scrivia*, he sent his natural Son, Don *Felice*, to take *Savignone*, another Fee of the Empire, a great Town, distant only six miles from the City, on the North side: by which way being able without any impediment to fall into the Valley of *Bisagno*, he made way to assault the City on that side which was thought the weakest. Don *Felice* succeeded therein happily, and without resistance; for the City being brought into great streights and anxiety, was wholly intent upon fortifying her self; and to keep off the danger which she saw drew (every day) neerer, she was very diligent in making Trenches, in furnishing the Walls with Artillery, in digging Ditches, in making Plat-forms, and Stockadoes, to fence the weakest places. Thus the Affairs of *Genoa* were thought to be brought to the last period: moreover, the City was at this time in great want of Moneys; for some Gallies being gone into *Spain* to fetch moneys durst not make the Voyage for fear of the Fleet at *Marselles*: they therefore made use of the Plate of private persons, which being turn'd into money did in part supply the need, but the expence being excessive came far short of what was requisite: there were not many men ready in the State of *Millain* to come into the Field, the Germans not being yet

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come: and some few that were already come were sent to defend *la Riva*, which was so necessary for the preservation of that State, and Don *Ferenymo Pimentello*, not thinking himself safe in *Tortona*, thought it better to retreat with those few men he had into *Alessandria*: at which the Genoeses were not a little astonished, who by the fear he shewed upon this occasion, were not well pleased to see him go further from the City, instead of drawing neerer to the relief thereof; and the like scarcity of money being there as was in *Genoa*, the Swissers, who were much in Arrear for former pay, seeing the great necessity of the Spanish Officers, and being set on by the Princes of the League, denied passage to the Germans who came to defend the States of *Millain*, and *Genoa*. The failing of the Genoeses credit insued the want moneys; for their State being given for lost, throughout *Italy*, and all Europe, it was thought that the private Fortunes of those Citizens would perish with the publick. The fear which was had in *Genoa*, of the English and French Fleets, was of no small consideration, and did much afflict the minds of all men; it being hourly feared that they would appear in those Seas, by reason of the continual news which they had of great preparations made both at *Marcelles*, and in *England*; and of moneys sent by the Duke, and his Son, when they were before *Ventimiglia*, to the Guisans, that they might put the Fleet in readiness, and appear as soon as might be in the River of *Genoa*: to which Fleets it was feared that 40 Frigots or men of War would joyn; which being come from forth of *Holland*, and it not being known whither they were bent, all men thought they were intended for the Enterprise of *Genoa*; great was the danger, lest taking *Savona*, or some of those Havens, they might fortifie it, and make it serve for a Bulwark against the State of *Genoa*, and there hinder the passage of shipping between *Spain* and the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*: the Genoeses were no less jealous of the Princes of *Italy*, who having room left them to be admitted into the League, it was not known how they stood affected to these present commotions: it being feared that either apprehending to share in the ruine of *Genoa*, they should not dare to declare themselves, or run the same fortune for assisting them, or that out of a tacite abhorrence of the Spanish Empire, they might not be sorry to see an alteration in the State of *Genoa*, which was so nearly joyn'd to the Spanish Grandezza, and that some out of a desire of bettering themselves in the ruine of that Commonwealth, might wish it; for a Rendezvous for Arms was made in the City of *Pisa*, and a great assembly of men, and preparations for War, and though it was said to be done under the colour of being ready upon all occasions to defend *Tuscany*, yet the Genoeses wanted not conjectures of danger to *Sirezzana* and *Serravalle*, belonging to the State of *Genoa* upon those Confines: which placed the great Dukes of *Tuscany*, under pretence of the *Florentine* Commonwealth, have always had an eye upon; and (sometimes) some secret practices: it was certainly known that the great Duke did at this time treat with the Duke of *Feria*, that he would suffer him to possess himself of them, and of the Gulf of *Spetie*, and to keep them) and defend them against the Confederates Army, lest when they should have taken *Genoa* they should take them also

also; and that answer was made, that neither by the King of *Spain*, nor yet *Feria's* self, that any one foot belonging to the State of *Genoa* should be possess'd upon any whatsoever pretence. The Genoeses were therefore much distracted, being forced upon these urgent occasions to lessen their own necessary defences, so to provide for the defence of *Corsica*, and of the two other places, of such concernment, whether they notwithstanding sent people, and provision for the maintaining of them: though the danger from the Duke of *Mantua*, (who was thought to be privately very partial to the French) were not so great, yet the jealousie was no less, by his giving free passage to the Confederates Army through *Monferrat*; and more by the offers made afterward by him in secret to the Commonwealth, to joyn with them against the same Army which was already past; promising to fall upon them in the Reer with 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse, if they would give him money to raise them, and to maintain them in the field: which offers, as contrary to the ends and proceedings of that Prince, were not only not accepted, but (as not too much to be trusted in these times,) they were rejected. The Venetians forgoing that so noble study and endeavour publickly profest by them upon all occasions, of the liberty of *Italy*, being now joyn'd with Forreigners against the Genoeses, were held to be little less then open enemies to them: they had no old quarrel against the Commonwealth, nor any new occasion of enmity or resentment to incite them to so hostile a resolution; but after the ancient emulation for Empire at Sea, the two Commonwealths had always kept upon fair terms: the uniformity of their Government, and their being both of them Italian Potentates, might have been sufficient to interest them in the reciprocal maintaining of each other: only the common end and desire of the Confederates, to abate the greatness of the Austrians, and of the King of *Spain*, which was more suspicious to the Venetians then to any others, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Germany*, was sufficient to work upon that Senate at this time, and to make them (together with the rest) plot the ruine of *Genoa*: it was commonly said, that this business being handled in the *Consiglio de Pregati*, and it being argued what disorder and inconveniences would insue to the common affairs by the ruine of *Genoa*, at that time particularly, when that Commonwealth was desired, in the Dyet at *Susa*, to joyn with the rest in the War against *Genoa*; Rainero Zeno, *a Senator of great sway and eloquence, should say, that the inconveniences were most apparent, but that the danger of their affairs, by reason of the great power of the Empire, and of the Crown of* Spain, *was such, so imminent, and so neer their State, as all other respects and considerations whatsoever being laid aside, it ought in good Government of State to be prefer'd before all things else; and that since all disorders could not be prevented, they ought, in so weighty and important resolutions, to have an eye upon the greater, and wink at the lesser, just as wise Physitians do, who (to preserve their Patients life) stick not sometimes at the amputation of a Leg or an Arm, which being preserved would be his death.* And though the Venetian Forces, being far from the Confines of *Genoa*, were not much to be doubted: yet being neer the Cremonese, and joyn'd with the French in the *Valtoline*, they kept the State of *Millain* imployed, and

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consequently were no little hinderance to the succours which might be brought from thence to the Genoeses; whose condition was now such in *Venice*, as the Merchants of *Genoa* durst not appear in publick, they were so generally hated; and great was the rejoycing of the Venetian Nobility and Commonalty, when they heard of the good success of the Confederates Army against the State of *Genoa*; and no less triumph and rejoycing was made in the Court of *Rome*, where the Genoeses through sinister news, spread abroad of their misfortunes, had lost so much reputation, as they mock'd, and publickly laught at them, as if they had already been quite vanquish'd; and were it either by reason of the great joy which great alterations cause, or were it that the Officers of the Palace were for the most part Florentines, or such as depended upon Florentines, they were not displeased to see the liberty of others lost, though their own was therein concerned: a thing which made some men argue that the Pope was not overwell affected to the Commonwealth, and which did much detract from the fatherly zeal which he profest to bear her, and from the words which he was used to say, when he heard ill news of the Commonwealth, wherein he was wont to deplore the ruine of so Christian and Catholick a State: to this miserable and ruinous a condition the Affairs and Liberty of the State of *Genoa* seems to be reduced.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book IX.

The Contents.

By relief of Moneys and Victuals sent from Spain, *and Men from* Naples, Genoa *is comforted in the midst of her troubles; she is incouraged by the wants of the Enemies Army, and through the disagreeing of their Commanders; and is at last wholly freed by Friends coming into the Field with a powerful Army. The Enemies Army retreats from the Enterprise of* Genoa, *and attemps* Savona; *but being overtaken by* Feria, *retires to* Piedmont. *Feria takes the City of* Acqui; *he goes afterwards to* Asti, *and from thence to* Verrua; *where he stays long to little purpose, leaving many of his men behind him; and being forc'd to give over the Enterprise, returns with his Army much lessened, into the State of* Millain: *many actions happen at the same time in the besieging and defending of* Riva di Chirvenna; *wherein the Spaniards have still the better of the French; they drive the French at last out of the* Valtoline, *and raise the Siege of* Riva. *The English Fleet falling upon* Spain, *is repuls'd; and having in vain endeavoured to take the Plate-Fleet which came from* America, *retires into* England, *torn by Tempests. A Discourse upon the quality and usual Navigation of the Plate-Fleet: the Apostolick Legate returns from* France *to* Rome; *and is sent from* Rome *to* Spain; *whither being come, he finds the Peace concluded between the two Crowns; and the Affairs of* Italy, *and of the* Valtoline, *composed. The Pope, and all the Princes of the League are very much displeased with this Peace; as also all the Princes, and the Court of* France

France. *Some of them do therefore conspire against the Kings person; In pursuance of the Peace, the Forts of the* Valtoline *are restored, and demolish'd. New occasions of disgust between the Genoese, and the Duke of* Savoy. *The Duke of* Guise *his Fleet goes from* Marcelles, *and comes to* Ligorne; *and returns from thence to* Marcelles, *without having done any thing. The Duke of* Mantua *dies; and long after, his Brother, who succeeded him in his Principality. The Genoese Factors, who were interessed with the Crown of* Spain, *are much prejudiced in their private fortunes, by reason of the alteration of Payments, and of other Decrees, made to their prejudice, by the King.*

BUt the troubles and dangers of *Genoa*, which were not much compassionated in *Italy*, met with more favour and benignity from the hands of God: whose anger, the Senators being desirous by all means possible to appease, publick Processions and Vows were added to the private Prayers and Processions which were privately made in Churches, and in holy places; their Piety seemed to be presently seconded by Gods goodnesse; for at the same time that the Doge, Senate and People, were pouring forth Prayers to Almighty God for publick preservation, a Galley entred the Haven which brought in her a Million of Ducates from *Spain:* a favour the more singular, by how much more necessary for the present need; and which was acknowledged to proceed the more from Divine mercy, in that it came when least expected; for two days before the arrivaly of this Galley, news came from *Corsica*, that the same Galley being gone from *Genoa* 15 days before, fearing to be discovered by the Fleet that lay at *Marcelles*, had lanch'd out into the Sea, and was driven by the wind upon that Island, where the Genoese thought her to be still detained by the same wind: the news was true, but the conjecture false; for the wind changed there, by favour whereof the Galley came seasonably to *Barcellona*; and receiving in the moneys, which lay ready there, return'd with great speed and success, to *Genoa:* soon after some other Gallies appeared, which brought with them six Millions more from *Spain*; whereby the Commonwealth abounding in money was largely inabled to supply her urgent necessities; and the private men of *Genoa*, to whom those moneys belonged, having redeemed their credit, were able not only to furnish *Feria* with moneys, to hasten the Levies of the Dutch, and for other necessaries for marching into the Field against the Confederates Army: but also, moreover, to provide for the Armies in *Flanders*, according to their obligations with the Court of *Spain*.

The Rivals of the Genoese grandezza were astonished, and not without reason, when they saw their Common-wealth, which they held to be in a perishing condition, not only able to subsist, and to maintain her self, but to administer help to Forreign Armies, and make them move to their prejudice who had plotted her ruine: Nor were her enemies less amazed, whose whole thoughts were set upon her extirpation; so as instead of flocking to so rich and plentiful a prey, they began to fall from their hopes of success; just as befel *Hannibal*, who whilst he was with an Army before the walls of *Rome*, understood that some Legions were sent out by other Gates, to recruit the Spanish Armies, sent into

that Province. They fell yet further from their hopes, when they heard that great succours of men were almost at the same time come to *Genoa*: For from *Millain* (to boot with those that were sent with *Guasco*) came the Cavallier *Pecchio*, after the loss of *Gavio* and *Ottagio*, with part of his own Brigade, and part of those of *Modena* and *Parma*, which did amount in all to about 3000 Foot; and the Marquess *della Croce* came about this time to the City with 33 Galleys, wherein were 4000 Foot, all very good men, and whereof 2000 were Veterane Souldiers, trained up in the Wars of *Flanders*; and a little before 1500 Neapolitans were come thither in some Galleons: The Sicillian Galleys came also thither with 600 Spaniards, which were sent by *Fanettino Doria*, Vice roy of that Island, at his own expence, in defence of his Country: Marquess *Bozzolo* came thither also with his three brothers, 800 Foot, and 200 Horse, besides Infantry, which came daily from *Naples*; so as with these, and those which *Guasco* brought from the State of *Millain*, those that were sent from *Lucca*, and those which came (though somewhat late) from *Germany*, the Commonwealth was in a short time provided with about 15000 paid Foot, for defence of the State and City, besides many Commanders, and people of Quality, and experience, who were brought thither from several parts upon extraordinary pay: By means of these Forces, and of her own people, who were very vigilant in defending their Country and Liberty, and with the Militia of the State, the Affairs of the State were prettily well secured, and almost brought into a condition of safety. The Popes Galleys, and those of the Great Duke, came along with *Sancta Croce*, which returning from *Marselles*, whither they had carried the Legate, and meeting with *Sancta Croce*, as he came from *Naples* to the relief of *Genoa*, turned back the same way, by Orders directed to the Captains from their Princes, which Orders *Sancta Croce* brought with him: it was not thought strange that the Great Duke should issue out such Orders, who profest himself a friend to *Spain*, and to the house of *Austria*; the Popes Concession came more unexpected, he being commonly held to be not only averse to the Spaniards, but to joyn in ends with their Rivals; and the French Embassadour Resident at *Rome*, did exclaim much against it; yet it was thought that the Pope to remove so great suspicions which were had of him, had done it at the perswasions of the Duke of *Pastrana*, who press'd very much for it. The first thing that was consulted of in *Genoa*, was, touching the whole matter of defence; they all joyn'd in opinion, That being now only to minde defence, their first care should be to defend the City, the Head of the State, and to defend *Savona*, a principal Member thereof, and hold them play till either the Enemies Army should grow less, which was said to moulder daily away, or till the Duke of *Feria* might assault them in the Field, and drive them out of the Common-wealths Territories. Seeing therefore that the loss of *la Riviera*, as long as *Genoa* and *Savona* should be preserved, did not at all concern the main business, they took not much care to defend it, that they might not disfurnish the City of a Garrison in a time of such danger, nor hazzard her safety never so little, to be insulted over by the Enemies Army, which being so neer, when they should see those who were come in to her succour imployed

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in defending *la Riviera*, might approach her Walls, and attempt an aſſault: howſoever, what ſhould be loſt would be eaſily recover'd, if *Genoa* and *Savona* ſhould be kept, by reaſon of the ſituation of *la Riviera*, which being naturally open and undefenſible is ſoon taken by any that will endeavour it; and when the danger of the neighbouring Army ſhould be over, it would be more eaſily recovered by the Commonwealth, then by any others, as well by reaſon of the peoples inclination, (who by reaſon of the intereſts they have in the City, and by their continual neceſſity of providing things neceſſary from thence, would deſire to return to their ancient obedience;) as alſo that the Commonwealth being maſter at Sea, it would be very hard for any who ſhould hold the Town to defend it againſt a Fleet at Sea; and yet though ſo many ſuccours, come ſuddenly, were ſufficient to ſecure the preſent condition of affairs, yet were they not ſufficient to free the Commonwealth wholly from the imminent danger of the neighbouring Army; and much leſs to free the Genoeſe from fear, who were troubled at the ſucceſsful proceedings of the Enemy in *Roßiglione*, *Ottaggio*, *Gavio* and *la Riviera del povente*; and being ſtill full of anxiety, could not be at quiet, whilſt they were ſtill ſubject to be moleſted by the Enemies Amry; and it being requiſite to expect the total freedom of the State of *Millain*, though it were hindred by many impediments, the Genoeſes were ſtill fearful, and full of troubles; for together with the want of people which the State was in, the Dutch not being yet arrived, the defence of *la Riva* (which was a great curb to the French and Venetians) not being to be abandoned, kept the Governour from thinking of relieving *Genoa*. Count *Jovanni Serbellone* was there (as hath been ſaid) well fortified on all ſides; and to keep the Enemy the further off, he had extended his Fortifications on the left ſide, by which you come from the *Valtoline*, even to the Town of *Campo*, (a Town upon the River of the Lake) wherewith he incompaſſed that Town and *la Nova*, which did almoſt joyn upon *la Riva*. The Count being paſt over (as hath been ſaid) to the other ſide, into the *Valtoline*, with the greateſt part of his men, was very intent upon freeing himſelf of that hinderance which croſs'd his deſigns and proceedings: being therefore reſolved to attempt the Town of *Campo* firſt, to keep it from being defended, he made *la Riva* be aſſaulted on the oppoſite ſide, by thoſe who he had left in *Chiavenna*, as he returned into the *Valtoline*: to the end that when he ſhould aſſault *Campo* with his whole body he might the more eaſily take it: he miſt of his intent, though his deſign ſucceeded; for thoſe few defendants who remained to defend *Campo*, when *la Riva* was aſſaulted on *Chiavenna*'s ſide, did ſo ſtoutly maintain the defence, as they got time to be ſuccour'd; for Count *Jovanni* leaving *Chiavenna* well defended, came himſelf in perſon with many men to *Campo*, where the Siege was more fierce: ſo as the defendants increaſing in number courage and valour, a ſtrong conflict was begun; which being often re-inforced by the French, *Coure* perceiving that his enterpriſe ſucceeded not ſo eaſily here, as in the *Valtoline*, againſt the Forts which were guarded by the Eccleſiaſticks; and remembring that he had left 400 of his men before that aſſault, and that many others were wounded, he withdrew into his Quarters: ha-

ving done but little harm to the defendants, whereof hardly 20 were slain; though they were plaied upon by the French Artillery, placed in fitting places.

After this Count *Giovanni* found that *Campo*, as being too far from *la Riva*, was dangerously defended; wherefore resolving to give it over, he made his Fortifications more inwards towards the Town of *Nova*; and the French, who could not take that Town by force, seeing it abandoned, went immediately thither, took it without any difficulty, and fortified it; and not satisfied with this, they would advance to the top of the little Hill, that they might go by that way to *Chiavenna*, and fight the Garrison that was there: but they failed of their intent by the gallant resistance which the defendants made, who opposing all their Forces, had always the better of them: wherefore *Coure*, who desired still to joyn with those that were at *Chiavenna*, and to make them come unto him, was forc'd to make them pass over hither, and come to *Campo* by a further way about, and over craggy Mountains: in which passage the French having possess'd themselves of the tops of the higher Mountains which over looked the little Hill of *Riva*, they threw down great stones into the Valley which lay under the little Hill, wherewith they did much annoy the Rampiers, and the Defendants, who would not have been able to defend that so important station long, had not Count *Giovan* sent a good many Souldiers to the tops of those Mountains to drive them from thence; and herein he succeeded happily, for the French being unexpectedly assaulted, threw away their Arms, and begg'd their lives: but their prayers prevailed not; for being made prisoners, and tied back to back with ropes, they were tumbled down the same precipices, which was a most horrible spectacle. *Coure* for all these unfortunate accidents would not give over the Enterprise, but fell from assaults to Siege: those of *la Riva* received Victuals and Succours by two several passages, the one by the Lake, the other by Land: by the Lake, by Boats, which past from the lower Lake into the lesser one; and by Land, by Conducts which were brought to the Territories confining upon *Chiavenna*, by the three Chappels of ease which lead to *Riva*. *Coure* possess'd himself of these ways, and placing part of the Garrison of *Chiavenna* to defend them, he block'd up that passage; and having the coming of Victuals by Land, he endeavoured to do the like by water: he, by the help of experienced Artificers, and Mariners, brought from the *Arsenal* of *Venice*, built certain Boats and Brigantines; and putting them armed into the water, he made himself master of the little Lake, and of the Channel by which Boats came with Victuals and Ammunition to those of *Riva*: remedies were found for both these inconveniences; for Count *Giovanni* sent men to *Riva*, who taking from the French the Fortifications which they had possess'd themselves off, made the way open, and rendred that pass free for Provisions and Succour; and the Duke of *Feria*, having also sent for experienced Ship-wrights and Mariners from *Genoa*, he also put other Barques and Brigantines into the River, which being well armed and man'd, and some pieces of Artillery being placed in fitting places upon the side of the Lake, kept the way open as well by Water, as by Land, for Victuals and other Provisions, and forth-

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with freed *la Riva* from being beſieged: but *Coure's* men being this mean while much recruited by more men and moneys ſent by the Venetians, who deſired to ſee that Enterpriſe ended, to the end that when the French ſhould fall upon the State of *Millain*, they might alſo aſſault it on their ſide; and new Regiments of Souldiers being come unto him from the Swiſſers and Griſons; *Feria* being very careful to defend that paſs, ſent 2000 of thoſe Dutch thither who came firſt to the State of *Millain*: which hapned very opportunely; for *Coure* being thus recruited would needs go to aſſault *la Riva*, and do his utmoſt to take it; and he found the Defendants alſo recruited, who marching into the Field encountered the Enemy in a little Plain, beyond *Nova*, and fought them; the Combate was very fierce and ſtoutly fought on all ſides; and the French being often times recruited the Fight continued till night; upon the coming on whereof, the French were forced to retreat with the loſs of many of their men; and could not only not come neer *Riva*, but forſaking *Campo*, withdrew into their Quarters about *Vico* and *Vercei*, which were lower, and farther diſtant from *Riva*. Theſe happy ſucceſſes afforded the Duke of *Feria* breath, he thought himſelf ſo ſafe from aſſaults on that ſide, as he might have more leaſure to think upon the affairs of *Genoa*, in the freeing whereof the Victory in all parts did depend: but the delay of the Dutch was a great hinderance to it, which did proceed not only from the endeavours to the contrary of the Confederates, and of the French, but alſo from the avarice of the Cantons who were to permit them to paſs; who being Creditors to the Crown of *Spain* for pay, denied them paſſage till they were paid their Arrears; and the Governour being in great want of money, much time was required to get the moneys wherewith to ſatisfie them, before the coming of the Gallies from *Spain* to *Genoa*: nor would they grant them free paſſage when they were ſatisfied, as they had granted to the French, but with many limitations, which cauſed much delay; and the Governour being much ſollicited by the Genoeſes, whom he could not pleaſe before the arrival of the Dutch, he made uſe of appearance, inſtead of effects; for making all things ready for marching, he went from *Millain* to *Pavia*, giving out that he would go to relieve *Genoa*; and here according to what was publiſhed, he was very diligent in making all requiſite proviſions for that ſuccour, and for the people who came daily from *Genoa*: a ſhew which was very ſeaſonable, and which was thought did much detain the Enemies proceeding, who ſeeing him ready to march, could not without apparent danger to themſelves, keep their Quarters, much leſs could they advance to their Enterpriſe; to the home and neighbouring proviſions which ſecured the Genoeſes, forreign and further diſtant accidents were added, which though far enough off, yet made much for their main buſineſs; Don *Frederico di Toledo*, who was gone with a powerful Fleet to recover *Braſile*, return'd at this time victorious into *Spain*, and Marquis *Spinola* after nine moneths Siege took *Breda*, in the defence and preſervation whereof, not only the Hollanders did labour with all their Forces, but the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Swethland*, and *Denmark*: ſo as the Fleet which was return'd from *Braſile*, was a ſtrong defence to the Mediterranean, againſt the Engliſh and the Flemiſh Fleets,

Fleets, if entring the Mediterranean they should make for *Genoa*; so also the *Flanders* Army, being freed from besieging *Breda*, might commodiously and without any impediment go whither it listed, and keep *France* in jalousie, which was then rent and disturbed with home discords; and when the affairs of *Genoa*, wherein that Crown was so concern'd, should require it, it was sufficient by molesting that Kingdom on that side, to divert *France* from offending the Genoeses; and the King of *Spain*, being quite of these two impediments, might imploy greater Forces in defence of the State of *Genoa*: to boot with these two Forreign accidents, whereby the conditions of the affairs of *Genoa* were bettered; three others which hapned neerer hand, did much impair the affairs of the Confederates Army: the one was, that the Victuals and Provisions in the English Fleet were corrupted, then, when it was ready to put to Sea for *Italy*; so as it was forced to tarry some moneths to take in new Provisions: another, that the Hereticks in *France* began again to tumultuate, and the King being necessitated to quench the fire which was kindled in his own house, could not furnish fuel to maintain combustion abroad: the third, that the Duke of *Guise*, who was to put with his Fleet from *Marcelles*, notwithstanding the 150000 Ducats taken from the Genoeses, and other moneys which the Duke of *Savoy* furnished him with upon this account, proceeded slowly in his preparations, and could not put to Sea, according to appointment: therefore the Duke of *Savoy* and the Constable failing in the chief ground-works of their Enterprise, and seeing the Enemies preparations to increase both in *Genoa*, and in the State of *Millain*, they were forced to think more upon their own safeties, then upon the ruine of others. The inward discords of their own Army was also a great break-neck to their affairs; which keeping about *Gavio*, *Ottaggio*, and the neighbouring parts, uncertain, and not resolved what to do, began to want Victuals, the Country being barren, and those spent which were in the Army at its first appearing, and at the taking of *Ottaggio*; for they could not hope for any from the State of *Millain*, now that it was provided of Souldiers; and very little came from *Piedmont*, by reason of the length of the Journey, the difficulty of the Guides and Conducts, and by the hindrances they met with by the Montferrians, who being irritated, and angred at the ill usage they received from the Army, as it passed through their Country, declared themselves fierce Enemies; hindring their Conducts, killing the Conductors, and all such Souldiers, who to get rid of the sufferings of the Camp retired either into *France* or *Piedmont*. The troubles were no less which they received from the Pozzeveraschy: these are those that inhabit the Valleys and the Mountains of *Pozzevera*, a Torrent, which falling from the *Apenine*, and running for the space of ten miles through the Valley which lies beneath, falls into the Sea two miles Westward from *Genoa*: they are men for the most part given to Husbandry, but very fierce and strong, who having no well-ordered Militia, whereof they are altogether incapable, prove (on the contrary) excellent at scattered Enterprises which require neither Discipline nor Order; and particularly in the defence of Passes, and of the neighbouring Mountains, by reason of their experience and practise in those Valleys, and by their being

being well vers'd in those craggy Mountains: these men appeared, divided into Troops, on all sides, taking all such of the Enemies party prisoners, who fled from their Quarters for prey, or driven by any other necessity: which hapning often times, did so terrifie the Enemy, as none durst stir from the Camp, for fear of being slain, or taken prisoners: so as being in a manner beseged in their Camp, they were forced to keep in: and as by reason of this, and of famine, and other sufferings and sicknesses which began to increase amongst the Souldiery, and by the running away of many the Camp grew daily less; so by the disagreement of the Commanders their main enterprise grew still less prosperous: a manifest disagreement appeared between the Duke and Constable; which arising at the first out of sleight occasions and jealousies, did daily so increase, as did totally destroy the common resolves. The Constable came into *Piedmont*, inflamed with high desires, and almost as fervent as the Duke in the business of *Genoa*: being come neer the Genoese Confines he cooled in his ardour, and seemed (as hath been said) to weigh the condition of the war with too much caution: so as being much perplext, and unresolved in point of advancing, he proposed the enterprise of *Alessandria* to the Duke, as being by all the reasons of war, necessary to proceed that of *Genoa*, wherein he appeared to dev ate from his former resolutions, and desirous to busie himself in new wars, and greater troubles, against the State of *Millain*; which the Duke being hot in the enterprise, and in his resentment against the Genoese, did absolutely abhor: but the Constable making objections against advancing into the Ligurian Mountains, without having first made sure their retreat; which he said could not be done without taking some strong place, and capable to receive them; the Duke having removed so many difficulties, did by the happy success at *Rossiglione*, *Ottaggio* and *Gavio*, tacitely accuse the Constable of coolness and delay; several were the debates and contestings between them touching who should be master of *Gavio*, and many other things, whereby they came little less then to an open breach: Yet the Duke, lest lesser respects might spoil their greater ends, was content that the Constable should put a Garrison into *Gavio*, till such time as the King, to whom they both writ, should decide the business; the King return'd an Answer, but in favour of the Constable; at which the Duke was highly scandalized: but the Duke was most of all troubled, for that he did firmly believe the Constable was bribed by the Genoese Gold to delay the business; for to his jealousies which he had in this behalf, even since when he was in *Asti*, other conjectures were added which made his suspicion the more probable: one amongst the rest; that *Stefano Spinola*, who was one of the prisoners at *Ottaggio*, was sent by the Commonwealth to try the Constables mind, by the means of *Claudio Marini*, who was Embassadour from the King, with the Duke, and whose Wife was *Spinola's* Sister; and to bargain with him, upon the receit of a great sum of money, that he would forgo the Duke, and give over the business. This jealousie was occasioned by its being known, that the day before the taking of *Ottaggio*, *Spinola* had obtain'd by *Marini's* means, a safe conduct from the Constable to come to the Camp, and speak with his Brother in Law: nor wanted there secret advertis-

vertiſments ſent craftily from *Genoa* to the Duke, whereby he was fully informed of theſe proceedings: he who was naturally ſuſpicious, and prone to give ear unto ſuch informations, and who made himſelf believe he had many adherents in *Genoa*, who did privately favour this his enterpriſe, began to believe that to be undoubtedly certain, whereof he had formerly had ſome deep impreſſions; eſpecially ſince the Conſtable was known to be naturally covetous, the Duke began to impute this his ſo great change of will, and reſolution, to manifeſt corruption; and to complain freely enough that he was couſened in this Enterpriſe; and the news which he affirmed he heard from *Piedmont*, of the continually paſſing of French Souldiers through thoſe parts, who returned into *France* from the Camp, with the Conſtables Paſs, increaſed theſe his complaints: from hence (were theſe relations and ſuſpicions true or falſe) began reciprocal detractions; and little reſpect or intelligence was had betwen the Courts of theſe two great Commanders; and in this interim, the Supream Magiſtrate of *Genoa* who was Superintendent in the Government of Affairs, was informed that about 500 Oxen were grazing in the Enemies quarters, which ſerved for the Train of Artillery; and he conſidering that without thoſe it was impoſſible for the Enemy to approach the City, and give battery; gave order to the Pozzeveraſchy, who by their ſucceſs were become bold, and formidable to the Enemy, that they ſhould uſe all means to ſcatter them; the Pozzeveraſchy betook themſelves courageouſly to the buſineſs which was hard enough otherwiſe to be effected: nor was their fortune inferiour to their courage; for coming in the night ſeaſon to the Enemies quarters, they ſlew the Sentinels, and came to the *Corps de guarde*, and entring thereinto, ſlew many, and many of them endeavouring ſafety by flight abandoned the Oxen, giving the Pozzeveraſchy means not onely to diſperſe them, but to lead them alive through unuſual ways, but which were well known to them into *Pozzevera*, and from thence to *Genoa*, to the great joy of the City, and no little praiſe unto themſelves, entring as it were in triumph for having done ſo generous an action: whereupon the ſafety of not ſeeing the Enemies Artillery planted againſt their Walls did much depend; ſo as being made unable to move, they could neither come to *Genoa*, nor return to *Piedmont*: they were therefore forced to expect carriage Horſes from *France*, which were ſuddenly given order for; which preparations were afterwards imploied in *Italy*, for other more neceſſary occaſions of that war: this loſs was ſucceeded by the like of *Savignone*, which was taken by the ſame Pozzeveraſchy, and by other Mountainers of thoſe parts; where Don *Felice* was ſaid to be with 200 Foot, but ill provided of Victuals or Ammunition. The Pozzeveraſchy went thither with 200 Foot which were ſent them from *Genoa*, and being accompanied with many others of the neighbouring Villages, they ſat down before the Caſtle, hoping rather to take it by keeping them from Victuals, then by aſſault; and they would have ſoon regained it, and have taken Don *Felice* priſoner, had not the Duke, apprehending his Sons danger, reſolved to free him: he therefore choſe 500 of his beſt Foot, and 50 Horſe, and having overcome the aſperity of the Mountains, he came ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon

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the assailants, as quitting their stations, they afforded the Dukes men free access unto the Castle, and conveniency to take the Dukes Son and the whole Garrison out, and to return with them: yet this retreat was not without some trouble and loss unto the Duke; for the Pozzeveraschy keeping behind him in those rocky Mountains; slew some of his men, amongst which, *Crotti*, the Dukes chiefest Secretary. The Duke of *Feria* kept still in *Pavia*, idle and irresolute; for though a great many of the Dutch were already come; yet could he not march out for want of moneys to pay the Souldiers, and for want of other Provisions; and the fear of breaking with the Crown of *France* did so perplex him, as he knew not what to resolve upon; especially since he had received Orders from the Court, to be very cautious in what he should therein do.

The Duke and Constable being aware of these delays and perplexities grew more encouraged to persevere in the Enterprise; and being sure that *Feria* would not second his threats with effects, they were daily less afriad to be assaulted in their quarters; and not having wholly given over their hopes of succour by Sea, and of being recruited from *France* by Land, they thought they might have more leasure to expect them. The Commonwealth, on the contrary, which had the Confederates Army still within their Dominions; and which was not yet out of fear of the Fleets by Sea, could not be free from apprehension of danger: wherefore being afflicted with their so long expectation of succour from *Millain*, they resolved to put it to a push; and sent *Jovan Vincenzo Imperiale*, Son to *Jovan Jacomo*, to *Pavia*, who had been Doge a little before, to the end that by his Reasons, and by moneys, whereof he carried good store with him, he might facilitate the Governours coming into the Field: the resolution was very seasonable, and the expedition very acceptable; for *l' Imperiale*, being come unto the Governour removed all impediments by his present moneys, and wan so much credite by the efficacy of his perswasions and counsels, as he was admitted into their most secret Consultations, where he wrought it so, as, the Governour laying aside all other respects, resolved to go to the delivery of *Genoa*: he therefore went with those of *Pavia* into *Alessandria*, and prepared to march into the Field, and to fall upon the Confederates with a powerful Army: the Dutch who were come, and who were to come into *Italy*, were 16000, divided into four Regiments: one under Baron *Papenhaim*, another under the Count *di Solmes*, the third under Count *Sultz*, and the last (which was not yet arrived,) under *Charles* Count *Mansfield*. Besides these, many Horse were come from *Polonia* and *Croatia*, to the number of between two and three thousand; to which the Neapolitan and Lombarde Horse being added they made up 5000: but because so many Forreigners in the body of an Army, went accompanied with danger of Sedition, Mutiny, and other greater mischiefes; the Governour who had but few home Forces to counterpoise the Forreigners, resolved to take out all the Spaniards and Italians who were in Garrison at *la Riva*, and send thither a greater number of Dutch in their places: he sent *Papenhaim* thither with his Regiment, consisting of about 6000 Dutch, to which he added 500 Italian Foot, and 500 Horse; and sent

back for Count *Jovan Serbellone* with all his Spaniards and Italians, and kept them in his Army: The Duke and Conſtable grew fearful when they ſaw ſo great a body of enemies ſo neer; (for it was calculated that the Governour, leaving all his Towns well Garriſon'd, was to march into the fields with above 20000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe) and their hopes of the Engliſh Fleet, and of new ſupplies from *France*, being vaniſh'd, they began to ſee plainly that the buſineſs of *Genoa* grew daily more deſperate; and that it became them better to think of retreating then of advancing any further. Leaving therefore *Novi* and *Gavio* well munited, and in the latter 19 of their greateſt Cannon for Battery, which they could not poſſibly carry along with them for want of Oxen; and firing *Ottaggio* they reſolved to return into *Piedmont* by the ſame way they were come, not having with them above 8000 Foot in very ill order, and 2500 Horſe, and ſome ſmall pieces of Ordnance: It is true they were met in the County of *Neice* by Prince *Victorio*, with part of the Garriſons that were left in the Town *della Riviera*: This was the iſſue of the ill-undertaken Enterpriſe of *Genoa*, meted out rather by vaſt thoughts, and ardent deſire of revenge, then by any civil or Military wiſdom.

When they departed, to the end that their Retreat might be the leſs diſhonourable, they reſolved to go to the taking in of *Savona*: The ſame, nay greater difficulties oppoſed this deſigne, then had done that of *Genoa*; the ſame ſterility of ſoil; the difficulty of the ways, unproper for the bringing of Artillery; the weakneſs and ſmall number of thoſe they brought, which were unfit for Battery, eſpecially of ſuch new Fortifications and ſtrong Rampiers as were made to defend the Town; the many Souldiers and Commanders which were gone thither from *Genoa*, (for *Genoa* being freed from danger, they turned all their thoughts and forces upon defending *Savona*) the ſmallneſs and weakneſs of their Army: whereas on the contrary, that of *Millain* was multiplied, and ready to march; ſo as if when their forces were entire and freſh, ſome of theſe reſpects kept her from proceeding againſt *Genoa*, whilſt the Governour was unprovided, and whilſt relief from *Naples* was not come to *Genoa*; what could they hope for in ſo great an alteration of Affairs? But the Duke thought it too great a ſcorn to be forc'd to return to *Piedmont* weakened in forces and Reputation, not having done any thing worthy his threats and preparations: He therefore for the honour of their joint forces, and for the performance of what they had agreed upon at *Suſa*, propounded this advancing towards *Savona* to the Governour; who having been never to be mov'd in what concern'd the enterpriſe of *Genoa*, ſuffered himſelf by the Dukes importunities and reproaches to be perſwaded unto this.

This Enterpriſe appeared to have two foundations; one, That they had diſcovered new and preciſe Orders ſent from *Spain* to the Governour, whereby he was abſolutely forbidden to come to a Battel; wherefore ſuppoſing that all the Forces in the State of *Millain* would ſtand idly looking on, they thought any enterpriſe feaſable: The other, for that they had received new advertiſement that the Fleet at *Marcelles* being come from out that Haven ſhould appear in thoſe Seas with Recruits of men, victuals and munition, at the ſame time that they ſhould come

come to *Savona*; and that landing a great many men, they would keep between *Savona* and *Genoa* out of a double end; The one, to keep relief from *Genoa*; the other, that they might play upon the City with their great Guns from Sea, whilst it should be assaulted by the land Army; and so to facilitate the surrender of *Savona*: And to this purpose Prince *Victorio* had given the Duke of *Guise* 40000 Ducates, when having taken *La Riviera* he was in *Ventimiglia*: Upon these so sleight and weakly-laid foundations they would once more try their fortune: Thus leaving their Quarters they marched through *Montferrat* towards *Acqui*, whither they came within a few days without any disturbance; For the Genoeses being more desirous to preserve *Savona* then to fall upon them in the Reer, sent all their men thither: Nor could the Governour of *Millain*, who was come to *Alessandria*, fall upon them as they retreated, though he intended so to do: For being got on Horseback to that end, and being ready in Arms with his forces, as he was saluted according to the Military manner, by a Dutch Company, his Horse rose up on end at the noise of the Musquet shot, and threw the Governour, who was somewhat corpulent, down, so as he was forc'd to keep his bed for some days. Thus their Retreat proved fortunate, though between two enemies Armies; yet as the Reer was bringing up some small pieces of Artillery, with about 800 Horse, they had a bickering with some Troops of Horse which were quartered in *Sesse*, a Town of *Alessandria*, which is upon the way by which the Reer passed: The Encounter was gallant and stoutly fought; the Spanish Horse were fewer in number, but coming to blows had the better of the enemy, with little loss unto themselves; for the French Horse had only breast-plates on, and the Spaniards were armed at all pieces; so as they slew and wounded the enemy without being hurt themselves: Being at last dis-in'angled and got loose, they retreated commodiously. The Army being come to *Acqui*, and persevering in their intended march to *Savona*, they destin'd *Acqui*, though it were very weakly walled, for a Rendezvouz for their Arms, and for a safety on their backs: wherefore leaving 3000 of their best Souldiers there in Garison, with all the Ammunition and provision they could bring from *Gavio*, they m rch'd on with the rest, which were not above 8000, towards *Savona*. When they were come to *Spigno*, a Town which stands in the mid-way, they made Prince *Victorio* and Marshal *Crickey*, advance with part of their men to *Cairo*, which was defended by 250 Neopolitans; and playing upon it with some small Pieces of Artillery, they after having made two shot, took it upon Articles: But the Governour having recovered his fall, and finding that they march'd on still towards *Savona*, held it now no longer time to stand idle, nor to suffer that Town to be taken whilst he and his Army looked on, which being of such importance to the State of *Genoa*, was also a great concernment to the Crown of *Spain*: Setting therefore all other respects aside, he went out of *Alessandria* with 22000 Foot, all very good men, and with 5000 able Horse, and marched towards *Acqui*; whether being come, he forthwith possest himself of all the eminent parts thereabouts, and planted his Batteries; which caused such terrour in the French, who saw how weak their Rampiers were, and that the Citizens would not for their sakes

run the hazard of being sack'd, parleyed presently; and agreeing to march out, the Souldiers only with their Swords and Daggers, and the Officers with their Horse and Baggage, but upon obligation to return into *France* by the Mountry of the Vallesani, lest they might return to the Army: 2300 Foot marched out, many who through great weakness were not able to go, staying behind: They found 17 Banners left there, 500 Barrels of powder, many Sacks of Victuals, many Cannon Bullets, Arms, and artificial Fire-works; and which was more remarkable, the Dukes Wardrobe, wherein were rich Liveries for Pages and Foot-men, Saddles, Bridles, and other Furniture for Horses, all very richly wrought; and Moveables to a great value, which the Duke had provided, thinking assuredly to enter in triumph into *Genoa*: So far had this Prince suffered himself to be transported by his aspiring imagination.

The Duke and Constable, finding by the loss of *Acqui* (which they heard of in *Spigno*) the falshood of the Report that the Spanish Forces would not move for fear of disturbing the union and friendship of the two Crowns, they were astonished, seeing in what danger they were of being assaulted by two enemies Armies, being inclosed between them amidst those Cliffs: The Duke hearing the news, got immediately on Horse-back, and leaving the care of all things wholly to the Constable, went with some few Gentlemen towards *Piedmont*. The Constable, seeing himself abandoned, termed the Dukes departure down right running away, and complained of his being left to manage the business himself alone; and speedily calling back the Marshal from *Cairo*, with whom came also Prince *Victorio*, they went altogether to *Bistagno*, where there being a Garison, they were received without any withstanding: But being aware that the Governour did advance with part of his forces to fall upon them in that place, and that he had sent another part thereof to hinder their retreat and victuals, they resolved to get out of those streights, and to get into the open fields of *Piedmont*. The Retreat being thus resolved upon, the Constable and the Marshal, heading the Van, wherein were about 2000 Foot, and almost all the Horse, they parted early in the morning; and marching apace, they came without disturbance to *Canelli*: The Prince kept in the Reer, where were the best men; and making the Artillery advance, he also retreated, leaving the place to the enemy; who ere he was well got out called *Bistagnone*, and pursued him without any intermission, so fast, as being got near unto him upon the going to of the day, in the Valley of *Manisere*, they faced one another within Musquet shot: Some small Skirmishes passed here, which the night parted, without much loss or advantage to either side: The mean time, the Prince being careful of the Artillery and other incumbrances (which he had much ado to get up the Mountains) made great diligence be made in the climbing up; and at the same time minded his own defence against the enemy, who were at his heels: But hearing that at last the Artillery was got to the Mountains top, he also retreated thither without any trouble; for the enemy having no order to fight, nor to advance, retreated to *Bistagno*, and suffered them to retreat quietly into *Canelli*, where he was received by his Father, and by the Constable, with great applause, who had been

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in great anxiety for him. The Governour would have made use of the present occasion, and would have assaulted the Reer, and taken away all the Artillery and Baggage; But Don *Ferotimo Pimentello*, Don *Lewis di Cordua*, and Don *Francisco Padiglia*, took him off from so seasonable a resolution; first by perswasions, then by protesting against it; who out of private emulation, envying (as it was thought by many) the glory of so happy an atchievement, proposed unto him *the precise Orders of the Court to the contrary; the danger and assured ruine which would insue if things should not succeed well; which if they should do, the good thereof was not to be paralell'd with the danger: For what more can we expect*, said they, *if we should get the Victory, but the routing of the Reliques of a miserable Army, which being already consumed of themselves, cannot prejudice us: but say we should be worsted, what danger would thereby result to the Kings affairs, both from the Venetians who are ready to make war in the* Cremonese; *from the French in the* Valtoline, *and from the Duke and Constable, if they shall have the better of the Conflict? Besides, that the Confederates party, who were now quite overthrown, if they should get heart again by any the least encounter, they would for certain become more fierce and fervent then ever.* The Governour, who was better vers'd in State affairs then in what belonged to war, suffer'd himself to be perswaded by those who were better experienced in war then he, and so let slip a signal occasion of putting an undoubted end to all the present war with one little action: The like advice being given to the Marquess of *San Croce* in *Savona* made him keep from marching out of *Savona*, and from falling upon the enemy on the Reer in their retreat from *Cairo* and *Spigno*; it being certain that if *San Croce* and the Governour had known how to make use of the occasion by inclosing the enemy in those difficult places, they would undoubtedly have ruined them: And yet the remainders of this Army, ruin'd as it was, which the Spanish Commanders thought not worthy their destroying, did within a while after ruine the Governours intire Army; and not long after the Spaniards needed to be protected and defended against those weak remainders: Thus doth Fortune often vary the condition of humane affairs; and the loss of opportunity doth oft times carry victory to those who in all likelihood would have been overcome.

The Genoeses being thus freed from fear of the enemies Army; the first thing they did was to think of recovering what they had lost, and of what the enemy were yet masters: The first Town that returned to the obedience of *Genoa*, was *Novi*, wherein was a French Regiment under Monsieur *della Grange*; partly by means of the *Pozzeveresehi*; partly by the means of the Towns-men and other inhabitants of those parts, who being dispers'd by the war went wandering up and down about the neighbouring Towns. About 300 whereof met at the Capuchins Covent, not far from that Town; part whereof entring by night, by a Vault under ground, into the Town; and being assisted by some of the Burgers who were acquainted with the Plot, first slew the Sentinels, and then forced the Gate *della Valle*, and let in their Companions by the Portal which they opened with their Axes; who going jointly to the Gate *della Strada*, where most of the French Garrison were, they put them to the Sword, and made themselves masters

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of the Gate: Then running about the Town, and putting it into an Alarm, they slew all the French they met with; and then going to the Castle, whither the greatest part of them were with their Governour retired, they begirt it on all sides, threatning to kill them if they did not immediately surrender the Castle: The French being astonished at so sudden and unexpected an accident, yielded before the Sun rising upon discretion of the enemy: About 300 of them were slain in this conflict, amongst which the Governours Son; a young youth, who contrary to his Fathers Example, chose rather to fall manfully with his Sword in hand, then to purchase his life upon base conditions: The number of the Prisoners were twice as many; the chief whereof were the Governour Monsieur *de la Grange*, his Lieutenant, *il* Signior *di Bellagrada*, and his Brother, who was a Knight of *Malta*; Monsieur *Bonneville*, the Baron *Latte*, nine Ensigne-bearers, and four Lieutenants. The recovery of *Ovada*, *Rossiglione* and *Campo*, succeeded that of *Novi*, which were abandoned by the enemy; who flying so to shun death, met with it, by being miserably slain and cut in pieces by the country people: The recovery of *Gavio* proved somewhat harder; wherein were about 1800 Souldiers under Monsieur *di Sonsi*. About this time the 2000 Dutch came to *Genoa*, commanded by *Verrema*, who, together with Monsieur *Bozzolo's* men, and some others were sent by the Commonwealth, under the Baron *Batteville*, to recover the Town. Being come to the Town they took up their Quarters, planted their Batteries, and fell to work; but first they try'd the defendants, and began to treat with them upon surrender upon Articles: whereupon they quickly agreed; so as the Town remained in the power of the assailants, but not the Castle; they therefore planted their Batteries against the Castle, and plaid upon it for some days; and though by reason of the far distance they could not prejudice it much by their shot, the defendants yielded it upon agreement to the Common-wealths Commanders, who recovered it in less time, and with fewer men by much, then the Duke and Constable had taken it, with so powerful an Army. There were therein 19 great Pieces of Artillery, great store of Arms and Powder, of artificial fires, and other warlike preparation, which were left there by the enemy, and were taken by the Captains of the Commonwealth; 17 Colours were likewise therein taken, part belonging to the King of *France*, part to the Duke; which were all brought to *Genoa* in a kind of Triumph: All the people and Citizens ran with great joy to see it; who could not satisfie themselves with seeing those Tools brought captive to the City, which were but a little before destin'd to make them Captives. The Duke and Constable could not relieve these places, as they faithfully promised the Commanders whom they left to defend them when they went from thence; and as so noble a Train of Artillery left behinde them obliged them to do, in regard of the Governours unexpected coming out against them, and of the necessity of their retiring from *Canelli*; from whence they afterwards recovered *Asti*, where they consulted rather how to defend what remained, then to keep what they had gotten.

Feria was at this time come from *Acqui* to *Rocca d' Arazzo*, and from thence to *Occimiano*, a Town in *Montferrat*, four miles distant from *Cassal*;

Caſſal; whither Don *Gonzallo di Cordua*, a Captain of good account came to him by order from the King, out of *Flanders*, to be aſſiſtant in Counſel to the Governour, and in the managing of the preſent war; wherein the Governour who was not over well experienced, and who had Captains and Counſellors about him, rather Rivals then Confidents; had need of a Counſellor and Moderator, who might not only be experienced, but faithful: And Don *Gonzallo* was allied unto the Governour, wherefore he had reaſon to confide in him. They conſulted of all things in *Occimiano*; wherein the Conſultors differed in their opinions; to attempt *Aſti* or *Vercelles*, ſo to open their way into *Piedmont*, would be long and labourſome Enterpriſes, and the event uncertain; wherein, together with the ruine of their whole Army, their Honour was much hazarded, without any apparent ſigne of profit; for if peace ſhould be made they muſt be neceſſitated to reſtore them: And it was already ſuppoſed for certain, that the King was not inclined to poſſeſs himſelf of any thing belonging to the Duke, with an intention to detain it: To what purpoſe would it be then to take ſo much pains, to ſhed ſo much blood, and ſpend ſo much money, in taking a place which was afterwards to be reſtored? It was therefore agreed that it would be better and ſafer by making In-rodes into the open Towns of *Piedmont*, and by deſtroying and burning them; and ſo to afflict the Duke by thoſe means, as that he might be quiet for the future; and that he might not afterwards think it lawful to diſturb the peace of *Italy* upon any ſleight occaſion: Thus they thought that without danger of waſting their men, or hazarding their reputation upon the uncertain taking of a Town, they might ſafely enter *Piedmont*, and overcome it with a freſh and numerous Army, and with the *Polack* and *Croat* Cavalry, which were naturally good at In-rodes and the laying of Countries waſte: For that the Confederates Army being weakned, and almoſt annihilated, would not dare to fight, nor appear againſt them in open field; which reſolution being divulged infuſed ſuch terror into *Piedmont*, as not only the Inhabitants of the weaker Towns, but even the very Citizens of *Turin*, not thinking themſelves ſafe within thoſe walls, nor under the ſhelter of that Citadel, they fled towards the Alpes with all the beſt things they had; in ſo much as the Duke began to taſte of that fright and fear in his own Territories, which he had a little before occaſioned in *Genoa*: But this reſolution, which undoubtedly was the ſafeſt, was out-voted by another; which was, to attempt the taking of ſome Towns in *Piedmont* firſt; and this, not ſo much out of good reaſon of war, and for ſecuring their entry, which they reſolved to do howſoever; as out of Ambition; thinking it not becoming the Grandezza and Reputation of ſo numerous an Army to do nothing but make In-rodes, and lay the Country waſte; They were the more eaſily induced to give way to this, for that they thought they might ſecretly, and without much difficulty, effect their deſires: Fixing their eyes therefore, according to wont, upon the Cities of *Aſti* or *Vercelles*, or upon the Towns of *Verrua* or *Creſcentino*, they kept ſtill in *Occimiano*, a place almoſt equally diſtant from thoſe four Towns; providing Bottoms to throw a Bridge over the *Poe* at *Ponteſtura*; giving out that they would paſs thereby over either to *Vercelles* or *Creſcentino*; to the end that the Duke not being able for want

want of men, to furnish all those Towns at one and the same time, might by betaking himself to defend some one of them, afford them opportunity of turning upon that which should be worst provided; which thinking they might easily take, it might open the way for them to prosecute their resolution of prejudicing *Piedmont*.

But this design, which by speedy execution might easily be effected, was hindred by the accustomed, and almost natural slow proceeding of the Spaniards; for though the throwing the Bridge over at *Pontestura* made the Duke bethink himself of *Crescentino*; and that therefore he came with the rest of his men to the Banks of *Poe*, leaving Prince *Thomaso* with only 2000 men in *Asti*. *Feria* went immediately towards *Asti* with his Army, out of a double intent; either to draw the Duke thither with all his men, and so leaving the rest of his Towns unprovided, and as it were abandoned, *Feria* might make use of the occasion, and turn upon some other of them, and take it easily; or else, if the Duke, not to leave his other Towns abandoned, should not come to defend *Asti*, he might possess himself of the ways about *Asti*; and keeping it from being relieved by the Duke, might easily make himself master of it: but being come to the *Osteria della San Croce*, where he kept idle for some days, and suffering his Horse to scoure the Field only, without passing over *la Versa*, he afforded the Duke opportunity to send the Marshal first thither with 3000 Foot, and to go afterwards thither himself with the rest: failing therefore in his design of taking this City unprovided, he fell to his other design, to go to some one of the other three Towns, which by reason of the necessity of defending *Asti* were abandoned. *Verrua* was that which was pitch'd upon, as being neerest, more commodious, of more profit and consequence; for by taking it he should so divide *Crescentino*, and all the County of *Vercelli*, from the County of *Asti*, as the one should not be able to assist the other; nor did he fear the taking of it, as well by reason of the littleness thereof, as also for that it was only guarded by 300 Country people: but the same slowness, and irresolution of the Spanish genius, ruin'd this designe also, which required haste in execution; for if the chief of the Army, without stirring from the quarters where they were, had entertained the Duke in the defence of *Asti*, and had at the same time sent a flying Squadron of Horse with Musketeers *en croupe*, they might easily have taken it at the very first, or at least have possess'd themselves of the Passes thereabouts, and have block'd up all succour so, as it must soon fall into the possession of the Army which was to come soon after: but either not loving to divide their Forces, as being too contrary to that security which they so much studied, (so thinking that whatsoever diligence the Enemy could make, they could not keep that little Castle from them;) they will go thither with their united Army. Thus parting from the Banks of *Versa*, without having attempted any thing against the City of *Asti*, they went with all their Forces to *Verrua*. Prince *Thomaso* and the Marshal march'd out with 800 Horse, part French, part Piedmontese, to fall upon the Reer; and seeing some Troops of the Dutch Cavalry, which march'd under Colonel *Lillo*, far from the body of Horse, they assaulted them; and having the better of the business, they dis-

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pers'd them, and wounded *Lillo* very ſorely; and had utterly routed them, had not ſome other of their friends Horſe come in to ſuccour them; who charging the French and Piedmonteſe Horſe, ſlew many of them, and amongſt the reſt two Captains, the Baron *d' Hermanza*, the Dukes Commiſſary-General of Horſe: ſo as being repuls'd, the Spaniſh Army might quietly purſue their March; and yet neither this, nor any other impediment which they met with, which retarded the proceeding of the Army, nor yet the Caſtle of *Rubella*, which being in the mid-way would not yield till it was batter'd, would have hindred the taking of *Verrua* much; the Army not finding it any way better provided with Garriſon, or better fortified, then it was when they went from their firſt quarters to take it: ſo as they might have done the ſame thing which they might have done before *Aſti*, with their flying Squadron; for though the Duke, when he was free of the danger of *Aſti*, went with ſuch of his men as were readieſt into the Field, and coaſting along by the Enemy, intended him no good; yet becauſe the way by which he ſaw them march led both to *Cheri* and to *Verrua*, and that he knew not whither of the two they meant to go to; he was forced to ſuſpend his reſolution, and be ready to go whitherſoever he ſhould ſee them bend: moreover, when he ſaw them incline towards *Verrua*, he muſt if he would ſuccour it, go to *Creſcentino*, which was on the other ſide of the *Poe*: and not being able to paſs to the other ſide, but by the ſtone Bridge which was neer *Turino*, he was fain to take a large compaſs to paſs his men over it, to *Creſcentino*: ſo as the Governour had conveniency enough to have found that Town unprovided, and to have done what he pleaſed with it: but neither he nor Don *Gonſallo*, who then order'd and provided all things under the Governour, being able to make uſe of ſo happy an occaſion, loſt it by theſe and other negligences; and by the deſtruction of that flouriſhing Army, made that little Burrough, which was not otherwiſe conſiderable, famous to poſterity; and with no little loſs of honour, raiſed up the Dukes almoſt quite loſt reputation. *Verrua* is a little Town, upon the right ſide of the *Poe*, not of any conſideration but for the ſeat thereof: it ſtands upon the top of a little Hill, ſtony and broken on all ſides except on the South, wherein ſomewhat a gentler deſcent it ſuſtains a little Suburbs, which cover almoſt all the deſcent of that Hill: on the North ſide the *Poe* enlargeth it ſelf, leaving a little plain in the midſt, full of Trees: it hath not any Fortification, except a little Caſtle upon the top of the Hill, from which if you take away an ancient Tower, it is more like an old ruine, then a Fortification: the Suburbs which lies upon the deſcent of the Hill is begirt with an old weak Wall; the Country about is full of Hills which inviron the Hill whereon *Verrua* ſtands.

The Governour incamp'd himſelf upon theſe little Hills on the Eaſt ſide, to the end that *Monſerrat* being on his back, and the *Poe* on his right hand, he might receive Proviſions both by Land and Water: afterwards extending his quarters towards the Weſt, inſtead of falling to aſſault the Town at his firſt arrival, and of preſently poſſeſſing himſelf of ſo weak and ill guarded a Town, he (as if he were to beſiege a great Town, in the face of a powerful Enemy-Army) began to fortifie his Quarters with Trenches and other Works; and wai-

ting for provisions, which were but slowly brought, he took no care to block up the *Avenues*; insomuch as soon as he saw the Enemies Army bend towards *Verrua*, having sent the Marquess *di San Rerano* thither with his Regiment of a thousand Foot, there was not any one that moved either to stop him by the way, or to hinder his coming into the Town: which he did at full noon, and in sight of the Enemy by the Gate of the neighbouring Suburbs, neer the Enemies Quarters, with no little note of infamy to those that suffer'd it. The Duke whilst the Governour minded nothing but making of Baracadoes and Rampiers, sent to the Marshal, who was left with Prince *Thomaso* to defend *Asti*, to come after him, and joyn with him in *Crescentino*, whither he speedily marched; and coming with his men first thither, whither the Marshal came also within some days after with 5000 French, he betook himself wholly to defence: being past by the *Poe* from *Crescentino* to *Verrua*, he found that the Enemy, having quitted the Banks of the River, and the Plain, minded nothing but fortifying himself upon the little Hill; and thinking that it made much for the defence of *Verrua*, to make himself master of the Plain before it, he presently past over some of his men in boats, and quarter'd himself there without any gainsaying: being then advised by some of his Officers to defend *Verrua* on the upper side, and to abandon the Suburbs which was upon the hanging of the Hill, as that which being weakly walled was not tenable, nor was the main business much concern'd therein; he contrary to their opinion undertook the defence thereof, thinking that any whatsoever opposition would either abate the edge of the Enemies Forces, or else weary them, and occasion delay: which afterwards proved much for the defence of the Town: he therefore began to perfect a Raveline before the Suburbs, which was formerly begun by the Towns folk, which did partly cover, partly flank the Wall on the Front; and placing a sufficient Garrison, he Plat-form'd the Wall it self, and afterwards cut thorow the very Suburbs with a threefold Trench, at equal distances: to the end that those who should assault the Raveline; and the front of the Suburbs, should not only be annoyed by those Trenches which arose as did the Suburbs; but that if the defendants should be repuls'd at the first onset, they might have more advantagious places to retreat unto behind them; from whence reassuming the defence they might make head again, and driving the assailants from what they had first taken, might recover it with more ease: he likewise placed some Artillery in fit places of the highest Hills, which served not only to defend the Raveline and the Suburb, but to offend the Enemy who were incamped on the opposite Hills; and (which made the defence more safe) he threw a Bridge of boats over the *Poe* between the Banks of *Crescentino* and the Plain before *Verrua*; by meanes whereof those who were quarter'd in *Crescentino* might communicate with those of the Plain, and those who were in *Verrua*; and the latter might be relieved and refreshed by the former, whereby the defence might be made more easie, and consequently might last the longer: nor herewithall content, for the greater security of the Bridge, and of the Garrison which lay in the Plain, he erected a great Trench between the point of the Hill towards the East, and the Banks of *Poe* which did shelter almost all the Plain and the Bridge. Things being thus

thus ordered, the Governour who not making any oppoſition was this mean while preparing how to offend the Town, found the buſineſs harder then he at firſt imagined it to be; for to fall abſolutely to aſſault the Town with all his Forces, as he was adviſed to do by many, though it might peradventure have proved the ſhorter, and more efficacious courſe, yet was it too ſevere, eſpecially for him, there being ſo many Souldiers to make defence, and he being naturally averſe to hazard himſelf; for the aſſailants being commanded by the Hills, by the Trenches which croſs'd through the Suburbs, and by the Batteries which were placed upon the Hills, they would not have been able to advance, nor without much danger have continued the aſſault; and when they ſhould have made ſome advancement they would have found it very difficult to intrench themſelves, and ſhelter themſelves from the imminency of the ſituation; ſo as they would have been repuls'd with much loſs, and would have been forc'd at laſt to forſake their ſtations, which they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of with much labour and loſs of blood: to drive the Enemy from the Banks of the River, though at firſt it would not have been very hard to have done, yet when the great Trench was made, it was thought impoſſible, by reaſon of the continual ſuccour which might be had by the Bridge, and of their being plai'd upon from the higher places: which was ſoon known in ſome attempts which they made, wherein the aſſailants were with no ſmall loſs repuls'd: to deprive them of the uſe of the Bridge, which would have been the moſt advantagious and ſafeſt courſe, was not eaſie to be done; for being ſhelter'd partly by the Hill, and partly by the great Trench, it could not have been eaſily beaten down by their Artillery; though two of the Boats were ſunk, and the Bridge looſned by a Battery planted againſt it by Don *Philippo*, Son to the Marqueſs *Spinola*; for they being ſupplied by the diligence uſed in faſtning of Boats together, and in ſubſtituting others in the places of thoſe that were ſunk, the wanted conveniency of paſſage was ſoon provided for; and to the end that it might not be ſubject another time to the ſame chance, the Duke made it be drawn a little lower, where it was wholly ſhelter'd from battery by the Wood in the Plain, which kept it from being ſeen: the like proviſion had, for another diſaſter which a few days after was occaſioned by the fullneſs of the River, which driving a Mill broke the Bridge, and diſordered the Boats, did ſeaſonably repair the loſs which was received: the leaſt of evils, ſince all other ways was held impoſſible, and deſperate, was to begin with expugning the Suburbs, which being won by little and little, would make way for them to get to the top of the Hill, where the Town and Caſtle ſtood: but here they would alſo have enough to do; it being to be oppoſed not only by the Raveline, and by other Fortifications made by the Duke, but by the very ſituation of the place; for the riſing of the Hill whereon the Suburbs ſtand, being on both ſides rocky, and hard to climb, it was unacceſſible on any of thoſe ſides; they muſt therefore neceſſarily attaque it on the Front; which being very narrow, a ſmall number of defendants, would be able to make it good againſt a much greater number of aſſailants; and hence it was that the Duke was not prejudiced by the ſcarcity of combatants, nor the Governour advan-

taged by numbers thereof; and notwithstanding the oppugners being confident that their labour and diligence would overcome all difficulties, thought they might prove greater then they expected; and because it was necessary at last to do something, they made some Trenches against the Front of the Suburbs, and making their approaches at the same time, they came to an assault; which being given by Don *Lewis di Cordua*, and by Count *Sultz* his Dutch, was stoutly withstood by those within; for though they were twice entred, they were twice beaten back: the third assault made the assailants masters of the Suburbs but they were forced to quit it that very night by the Marshall, who was sent by the Duke to recover it: he coming out of the Raveline, made himself master of some of the Enemies Trenches and Approaches: this Raveline may be said to have been, for a while, the stumbling-block against which they oft times gave; and the business was brought to such a condition, as it being often times taken and recovered, at last, as being a place too prejudicial, and too much controverted, it was abandoned by both sides; and served for a while for nothing, but for a Stocado for the encounters, and for a Scene or Stage, on which these valiant Souldiers did alternately by death Triumph. The assailants finding themselves more prejudiced then advantaged by assaults, fell to play with their Cannon and Musket-shot, not upon the Rampiers or Fortifications, but to beat down the Houses, and kill the Souldiers who defended the Trenches; and though the Houses which were but weak were at last thrown down; yet knowing that those ruines made nothing for the main business, they began to make Mines, hoping thereby to effect their work with less prejudice and loss of men: but neither did they succeed better therein, by reason of the extraordinary diligence and vigilancy of those within; who having very cunningly made counter-mines, sometimes made them play against the Enemy, and by disturbing the Enemies proceedings rendred them vain and unefficacious: the defendants becoming this mean while more hardy; and not being content to stand upon their defence, made some sallies out upon the Enemies Quarters; but fared not so well therein, as whilst they stood upon their defence; for they were much prejudiced thereby; and more particularly in a Camisado by night, made by 1500 French, led on by Monsieur *di Vallentienes*, who went to fall upon the Italians Trenches; which lying utmost towards the West were quartered fartheſt off: but the assault being valiantly sustained, and the assailants beaten back, *Vallentienes* remained prisoner there, and 400 of his men were slain upon the place; which causing the defendants to betake themselves to defence only, wherein they were advantaged by their Situation and Fortifications, they durst not sally out any more; but minding the motions of the Enemy, were content to keep them aloof off from their Ammunition: on the contrary, the assailants finding the business grow daily worse and worse began to doubt the effecting of it; finding how far the Dukes diligence, industry and wariness, accompanied with the strength of the situation, and the condition of his Quarters, did exceed the greatness of their Forces: Affairs were brought to that pass, as they were not now to think barely of the expugning of *Verrua*, unless they did first,

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or at the same time beat the Enemy from their Quarters at *Crescentino*; which was impossible to do without dividing their Army; and to boot, that this dividing of the Army was contrary to the Governours genius, and to the mind of the chief Commanders of the Army, who desired to proceed warily, these Quarters were as hard to be taken, as was *Verrua*; having *Crescentino*, a strong place, on their backs, the River before them, and beyond the River the Quarters of *Verrua*, which was joyn'd by the Bridge to those of *Crescentino*; on the right hand the *Dora Baltea*, with a Bridge of Boats, by which all Provisions and necessary Ammunitions were brought to the Camp from *Piedmont*; and this Bridge was at both ends very well munited with two small Forts; on the left hand, which was the place the Duke doubted most, because of the Bridge which the Governour still kept at *Pontestura*, it was shelter'd by a long Trench flank'd with Bulwarks, which beginning from *Crescentino* reached to the Rivers side: the banks also on *Crescentino*'s side, as well above, as below the Quarters, were secured by several *Corps de guarde*.

These difficulties which were thought not to be overcome being considered, doubtlesly the best course would have been to have quitted the Enterprize, chiefly at a time when the Army was not afflicted with sickness, which ensued afterwards, and when the Season was proper for them to betake themselves to some other Enterprize; for to persevere obstinately against so many difficulties was no better then to bury so gallant and powerful an Army before so ignoble a Castle: But the first building of the bridge at *Pontestura*, where it was given out that they would go either to *Crescentino* or *Verrua*, the change of this afterwards to the Enterprizes of *Asti* and *Vercelles*, their not persevering therein, but betaking themselves to that of *Verrua*, would not suffer them so much as to think of such a resolution. The Governour and other Commanders thought themselves too much obliged to persevere before *Verrua*, lest it might be conceived, that so flourishing and numerous an Army changing their Sails so oft should go wandring up and down here and there, as if they were not resolved what Enterprize to fall upon, nor minde to do any thing: To the fear of losing too much reputation, if in this condition of affairs they should rise from before *Verrua*, was added their expectation of more men which were shortly to come to the Camp. Four thousand Foot came very soon from *Genoa* of those who were under *Guasco* and *Pecchio*; new Levies of Foot were made in *Naples*; and *Charles* Count *Mansfield* was to come speedily into the State of *Millain* with his Regiment of 4000 Foot and 1000 Horse: And these recruits being added to the Army, enabling them to make two Camps, one whereof might fall upon the Quarters at *Crescentino*, and the other keep still before *Verrua*; it was held that the Duke being assaulted at one and the same time on two sides would be worsted at least in one, and the victory in one part did secure the victory on the other. They were yet more invited hereunto by the diversion which they expected from the maritime parts; for the Marquess of Sta *Croce* was to enter *Piedmont* with 8000 good Foot of the Kings and Genoese, and to this purpose 500 Horse were appointed to him under *Manfrine Castiglione*, which together with 200

which

which the Commonwealth was to pay, were to be a safeguard to the Foot, whilest they should enter into the Plain of *Mendovi*: In which case the Duke must either be forced to abandon *Verrua*, and to relieve that other part which was wholly destitute of defence, or, that he might maintain *Verrua*, leave that other part to be prey'd upon by the Enemies Army: To which so e're of these the Duke should betake himself, the Spaniards would assuredly have the victory, either on the one or on the other side, and peradventure on both; and the victory in either side would have satisfied the Kings intention, which was not, quite to ruine the Duke, but to keep him under: Moreover, the Dukes Forces were not such, nor so many, as that they could of themselves make any long stay or resistance at *Verrua*; and the less, for that being deprived of almost all external helps, he had not so much as reason to hope for any, by reason of the continual troubles of *France* which totally cut him off from any. Out of these hopes, and out of these probabilities of succour, the Governour persevered in the Enterprise of *Verrua*; and the Duke kept constant, and undaunted in the defence of this little Burrough, against so great Forces, and so many preparations, and upon so many disadvantages; and he succeeded therein; for the Governour failed not only in his hopes and calculations, but the affairs of his Camp grew daily worse and worse: the sickness which was begun in the Camp did so increase, as not only many of the common Souldiers, but even the chief Officers were infected with it, and many of them died: three Camp-masters died, and all the rest fell generally sick; as many Serjeants, Officers, Commanders, and persons of Quality, who were neer about the Governours owne person; nay, he himself being infected with the Disease was carryed to *Pontestura* for cure; leaving the charge of the Army with Don *Gonzalo*, rather in a posture to retreat, then to continue the Enterprise.

This so sore sickness was not occasioned only by the influence of the intemperate air which was excessive hot this Summer, and which in those boggy and plashy parts became pestilential, but the great labour and hardships which the Souldiers endured, and chiefly the scarcity of victuals, of which those that were brought by the *Poe* were often intercepted by the Dukes men, who scowred up and down on the opposite Shore, hindring Navigation, and sometimes seized on the boats which brought provision, and those that came by *Montferrat* were stopt by those of that Country; either out of the hatred they bore to the Spaniards, or, as some would have it, by private Orders from their Prince, who would never declare himself for the Spaniards, but hated them extreamly, though the King of *Spain* had spent, and fought so much to protect him against the Duke, who would have suppress'd him. Hence also arose great scarcity of Fodder for the Horses, which having wasted all that was neer hand, went far off to fetch it, not without great weariness and danger: the want of moneys added much to all these mischiefs, whereof very little or none came from *Spain*; and their former Provisions were already spent: Pay being therefore wanting, the Souldiers were brought to so miserable a condition, as not being able to provide for covering their nakedness, they could neither fence themselves from the excessive heat of Summer, nor from the cold of Winter

ter which drew on: as one evil therefore draws on another, many miſchievous accidents proceeded from hence in the adminiſtration of the War; ſtreightneſs and difficulty in Ammunition, want of Military Diſcipline, contumacy and diſobedience amongſt the common Souldiers; the Officers who were half ſick, and half amazed, not being able to make their Souldiers obey them, who were tatter'd, famiſh'd, and ill paid: ſupply came in very ſlowly and ſcarely; very few Souldiers, and far ſhort of the need and expectation, came from *Naples*; and *Mansfields* Souldiers, who came late into the State of *Millain*, refuſed to go into the Field till they had received their Pay. *San Croce's* diverſion, whereupon they did chiefly relie, proved alſo vain: he was to have entred *Piedmont* with thoſe Forces which were in *Savona*; and with *Manfrino* his five Horſe, by the way of *Savona*, ſuch an expedition at that time and by that way would have produced three very good effects. Firſt, entring the enemies Country, which did abound in Victuals, wanting Forts and Ammuniiion, and which was bereft of all defence, he might have eaſily poſſeſs'd himſelf of it, without any gainſaying; by this diverſion if made in a ſeaſonable time, have very much helped the buſineſs of *Verrua*; and laſtly, the River of *Genoa* being by the interpoſition of this Army cut off from *Piedmont*, and (conſequently) deprived of all hopes of ſuccour, it would at the very appearance of the Gallies have been abandoned by the Garriſons of *Piedmont*: ſo as, of it ſelf, it would have faln to the Commonwealth. *San Croce's* genius, who was better vers'd in maritime affairs then in Land ſervice, and loved not to go far from the ſhore, oppoſed this reſolution, which certainly would have been the moſt commodious and beſt for the common cauſe: it was oppoſed alſo by that which ſerves always for an excuſe to any Commander, for either not beginning, or not proſecuting an enterpriſe, the ſcarcity of proviſions; wherefore being reſolved that the recovery of *Riviera* ſhould precede his entrance into *Piedmont*, it was conceived that private emulation between him and the Duke of *Feria* bore greater ſway with him, then any reſpect of the common Cauſe: wherefore not caring for the good ſucceſs of the enterpriſe of *Verrua*, he was not diſpleaſed that his rival might reap but little honour thereby: parting therefore about the midſt of *July* from *Savona*, accompanied by two Senators, *Jovan Battiſta Saluzzo*, and *Ageſtine Centurione*, who were choſen Commiſſaries by the Commonwealth, at whoſe expence, and in whoſe name the whole buſineſs was carried on; and carrying with him 8000 Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, they betook themſelves to the recovery of *la Riviera*; the firſt in order was the City of *Albenga*, which being firſt aſſaulted came firſt into the power of the Commonwealth, though it were recruited but ſome days before both with Men and Victuals by the Gallies of *Marcelles*: the battery began from the Gallies, which by their Cannon beat down the Houſes; for the City ſtood within Muſket-ſhot of the Sea-ſhore: but that battery doing but little harm, the people were that mean while landed, and two great Cannons, which being level'd againſt the Gate and Wall which were towards the Sea; after having play'd upon them a while, the defendants began to apprehend the aſſault, which they ſaw was preparing

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to be given: ſo as beginning to parley, they yielded within a few hours, upon Articles; that the Captains ſhould march out with Arms and Baggage, and the Souldiers with their Swords, as alſo they were not to ſerve for that Summer againſt the King of *Spain*, nor the Commonwealth. *Albenga* being taken, all the Towns till you come to *Porto Mauritio*, *Oneglia* being therein comprehended, moſt of them being without Walls, and abandoned by the Dukes men, return'd under the obedience of the Commonwealth: from hence they went to *Porto Mauritio*, a place ſtrongly ſituated, munited with Artillery, having a good Garriſon in it, and abundantly provided of Ammunition; it ſtands upon a great Rock, which being for the greateſt part invironed by the Sea, is as it were a *Peninſula*: their Men and Artillery being landed, they had no little labour to draw them up thoſe craggy cliffs, for many neceſſary things were wanting for the train of Artillery, and the weather was then very hot. *Thomaſo Raggio*, *Jovan Battiſta Adorno*, and *Jacomo Moniglia*, three of thoſe Gentlemen who had raiſed and maintained ſeven Companies at their own expence, and had continually ſerved the Commonwealth with them very affectionately, had the care thereof given them; who not only by their Authority, but by their example, brought them in a ſhort time to fitting places: they raiſed three Batteries, two on the Flank, and one behind; and the Defendants ordered their defences very fittingly againſt theſe Batteries: by two days continual battery a breach was made, fitting for an aſſault; and the three forenamed Gentlemen were ready, with their Companies, to give an aſſault; when the Defendants, who had inriched themſelves by booty taken at *Ottaggio* and *Pieve*, being loth to adventure what they had gotten, parlied, and on the third day ſurrendred the place upon the ſame terms that *Albenga* had done: but the Kings Souldiers miſſing the prey which they thought they ſhould have had if they had taken the Town by aſſault, turn'd upon many of the neighbouring Towns, plundering and ſacking them, to the great grief of the Commiſſaries, who could not bear with ſo great miſchief done to the Subjects of the Commonwealth, or with ſuch an affront to themſelves; and finding that the Kings Captains took no care to prevent ſuch an inconvenience, *Thomaſo Raggio*, a man of a great ſpirit, who upon all occaſions had ſhew'd much zeal towards the affairs of the Commonwealth, offer'd to remedy this inconvenience by force of Arms; which offer being accepted of, he was ſent with many Companies of Souldiers, to ſuppreſs this prejudice done unto the Country by the Kings Souldiers; who hearing of his coming joyn'd together in a body; and yet he had the good luck to make them ſoon retreat; and imbarquing themſelves in the Gallies with *San Groce*, they went ſome of them to *Savona*, ſome to *Genoa*; for *San Croce*, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat, and of the ſickneſs amongſt the Souldiers, would not continue the enterpriſe, which he might eaſily have proſper'd in; for after the ſurrende of *Porto Mauritio*, all the Towns as far as *Ventimiglia* being abandoned by the Dukes Garriſons, return'd to the anti nt command of the Genoeſes; ſo as when he ſhould quickly and happily have diſpatched this buſineſs, he might have facilitated the taking of *Verrua* by diverſion: but that ſo much time might not be ſpent in vain, the Commonwealth gave order

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that *Pigna*, a great Town belonging to the Duke, lying above *Ventimiglia*, should be gone against, where they understood that many of those who were gone out of *Albenga*, and the rest of the Towns which were recovered were got together; and it was feared, that (contrary to the Articles of surrender) they might be a great disturbance to the Enterprise of *Ventimiglia*, which upon the ceasing of the excessive heats, and the amendment of the Souldiers, was preparing for: This business was committed to the Baron *Batteville*; who coming thither with about 3000 Foot, and having long batter'd the Trenches which joined to the houses, and served for a wall or Rampier; at last the defendants fearing an assault yielded upon Articles; which being agreed upon and perform'd, they delivered up the Town to *Batteville*; in the delivery whereof the Ammunition fell on fire, which occasioned much mischief to many; amongst the rest to *Jovan Antonio Sauli*, General of the Common-wealths Artillery, Son to *Lorenzo*, who had been Doeg, he being therein burn'd to death: And at last the weather growing cooler, and the 3000 Dutch who were raised by *Philippo Spinola*, being arrived, they went with all their forces, about the midst of *September*, to the taking in of *Ventimiglia*; which was reduced with little labour: For the City being after some Cannot shot abandoned by the Garrison, who betook themselves to defend the Castle, fell into the Genoeses hands. The Castle being plaid upon on three sides, held out a little longer; but the assailants being gotten under the Counter-scarfe, and the defendants fearing to be undermined, which they saw they were begun to be; they after eight days Battery yielded upon Articles, *That only the Officers should march out with their Swords, and all the rest without Arms*: The little Marquesate of *Zuccarello*, the first beginning of so many evils, was yet in the enemies possession: A 1000 Foot were sent thither, to whom all the Towns were instantly surrendred, except Castle *Vecchio*; which was longer ere it was taken then it deserved to be, for that it was requisite to bring Artillery to batter it, which by reason of the roughness of the way, and height of the situation, was not without much labour and expence of time effected; but at last, all difficulties being overcome, the Cannon being presented, and the Castle somwhat batter'd, it was also surrendered upon Capitulation, to *Jovan Ambrosio Castlia*, a Senator, and Commissary of the Commonwealth, who succeeded *Centurione*. Thus in the space of few Months the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, which was assaulted by powerful forces, and partly abandoned, partly fought against, partly plotted against in private by Italian Princes; being solely protected and defended by the King of *Spain*, kept not only unprejudiced from the fury and hostility of so many forces raised against her, and from so many Princes which conspired against her; but preserving her natural Liberty, did in a short time recover all that the enemy had taken from her; and entring the assailant Dukes State took some of his Towns, and indamaged him as much as he had done her; For to boot with the Towns of *Oneglia* and *Pigna*, which were taken at the same time that *La Riviera* was recovered; *San Croce* having regained *Ventimiglia* sent some Foot to *Maro*, a Town appertaining to the Duke, which lies above *Oneglia*; and without much difficulty took it, and all the Valley of *Prelà*: When *La Riviera* was recovered, the same

forces of the King and Commonwealth, which entring *Piedmont* should have helped to raise the Siege of *Verrua* by diversion, as the Duke of *Feria's* Army had facilitated the recovery of *La Riviera*, by lying before *Verrua*, kept a good while, partly in *Savona*, partly in *Albenga*: and afterwards being come from *Albenga* to enter *Piedmont*, *San Croce* would first take the Town of *Ormea*, one of the Dukes Towns which confined upon the Common-wealth; which though it were great, and well peopled, yet made not much for the main concernment of the war; and which for the badness of the ways by which the Artillery was to be brought, did much delay the entrance into *Piedmont*: The forces drew near that Town, but without Artillery, which was not yet come, but was speedily expected: And this Town standing in a Valley between two Mountains, through the which the *Tannaro* runs, which takes its rise from a little above, it was impossible for the Horse to quarter very near it; they therefore quartered two miles off, which was the cause why they could do but little service upon an occasion which happened not long after they were quartered: Don *Carlo*, the Duke of *Savoy's* natural Son, and the Marquess *di San Trinità* coming from *Garrissio* with about 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, endeavoured to relieve *Ormea*; but falling upon the Neapolitan Quarters, under Don *Antonio Tuffo* their Camp-master, though they charged home, yet two Troops of Horse coming in under Captain *Spura*, and other assistance with them from the neighbouring quarters, the Piedmontese were beaten back with great loss, which would yet have been worse if all the Horse had been there, which (by reason of their being quartered so far off) could not be present at that action: When the Artillery was come, they raised two Batteries, and having made a sufficient breach, an assault was given, which was stoutly fought on both sides; but the assailant getting the better at last, the Town was taken, with much ruine, and effusion of blood; and was afterwards sack'd, to the great inriching of the Souldiery, who got as much booty there, as the Piedmontese did at *Pieve*: The Town being taken the Castle yielded the next day, and both of them were freely delivered up to the Senators, who were in the Camp; who receiving them in the Common-wealths name, placed 600 Foot in Garrison there, under *Mark Antonio Brancaccio*, who upon that occasion was chosen Camp-master to the Common-wealth.

From hence they went to *Garrissio*, another great Town of *Piedmont*, wherein there was a good Garrison under Monsieur *di Flescè*; but the fierce assault and taking of *Ormea*, which happened with so great mortality, did not terrifie the Towns-men of *Garrissio* only, but the Garrison also; who abandoned the Towns-men before the enemy appeared; wherefore they sent the Keyes of the Gates to *San Croce*, in signe of surrender; yet the Castle held out nine days, which whilst it was plaid upon by the Artillery, and undermined, the Horse over-ran those parts even to *Céva*, plundering and much prejudicing the Campagnia: wherefore those of *Bagnasco*, being wise at the cost of others, sent also to surrender to *San Croce*; and the Castle of *Garrissio*, which was at last surrendered, was sleighted by *San Croce*. It was now about the midst of *November*, when they went to *Garrissio*; and the season grew daily more obnoxious by reason of rain and cold; it was also given

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out about *Garriſsio* and the Marqueſate of *Ceva*, that there was an aſſembly of men, and that the Duke himſelf was ſpeedily advancing with all his forces: It was true that the Prince of *Piedmont* was come into the field with a Body of Foot and Horſe, to defend thoſe parts; and that joining with his Brother Don *Carlo*, and the Marqueſs of *San Trinità*, he thought to oppoſe *San Croce*: But the news of the Dukes coming himſelf in perſon was the more confirmed in the Spaniſh Camp, by the news of the Governours withdrawing from before *Verrua*: wherefore *San Croce* was the more perplex'd what to do; but this difficulty was eaſed by a Letter which (as it was ſaid) came to him from the Governour; wherein he was advertiſed, that it being impoſſible for him the Governour to continue longer before *Verrua*, (which had cauſed him to riſe from thence) it was ſuperfluous for him to advance any further on that ſide: Fitting Orders being therefore given upon this advertiſement, they reſolved to return towards the Maritime parts; which being divulged through the Army, the greater part thereof believing the report of the Dukes coming, thought that the retreat was occaſioned by the certain knowledge thereof: So as overcome with too much fear they retreated in very little order, almoſt in a flying poſture; leaving part of the prey they had got at *Garriſsio* behind them, and one great Piece of Cannon, which they could not bring over thoſe rocky Mountains.

This was the ſucceſs of *San Croce's* entring *Piedmont*; and the Prince, when he was gone, went to before *Feliz̃ano*, a Town belonging to the Marqueſate of *Finale*, and ſubject to the King; but with no ſucceſs; for *San Croce* having ſent forces to defend that place, the Prince retreated alſo into *Piedmont*: At the ſame time or a little before theſe things happened, the Camp before *Verrua* not having by all their Aſſaults, Mines, and Batteries, been able to get above twenty two foot into the Suburbs, grew daily more afflicted with ſickneſs and mortality; ſo as being reduced to a very ſmall number, it was not only not longer able to continue that enterpriſe, but neither to retreat without danger of being loſt; eſpecially for that the ways ſo ſunk by the fall of rain, and the dirt was ſo deep as the Foot could not march without much ado, nor the Artillery and other incumbrances be carried along: But this was ſeaſonably helped by the coming of *Mansfield* with his Dutch-men, who were at laſt ſatisfied in point of pay; and theſe men being freſh proved very fit to back the Army in its Retreat: which being thus ſecured by the aſſiſtance of theſe new men, Don *Gonzallo* made the Artillery be removed from his Quarters, and be brought to the Rendezvouz for Arms. The Conſtable, who being recovered of a long ſickneſs was returned from *Turin* to the Camp, ſeeing this, did not let ſlip the occaſion of aſſaulting the enemies Trenches, which wanted defence and Artillery, and were negligently looked unto by the Souldiers, who minded more their retreat then making defence: So as upon the change of the Guards which was made in the Dukes Trenches in the plain before *Verrua*, he aſſaulted them ſo furiouſly, as poſſeſſing himſelf of the foremoſt, he came almoſt to the Dutch Quarters; which he would likewiſe have taken if he had not been firſt ſtoutly reſiſted by Count *Salma's* Lieutenant (who was ſlain in the fight) and afterwards

terwa'd by the Count *di Solis*, who did not only repulse the enemy from the assaulted Quarters, but made them forego the Trenches which they had already taken. The next night the Governour began to remove quietly, without the beat of Drum or sound of Trumpet; yet this stol'n Retreat was not so silently performed, but that the Duke, who was aware thereof, early in the morning went after the Army, which marched but slowly: His men, though they were repuls'd by *Mansfield's* Dutch-men, slew many of those who not being able to follow remained behinde upon the way, besides two Spanish Captains, who resisted valiantly in the Reer: This Retreat was very seasonably made; for a Recruit of 6000 Foot was at last come from *France* into *Piedmont*, under Monsieur *di Vigvoles*; who at the same time that the Army removed, came to the City of *Issurea*. The Governour was afraid that these forces being joyn'd to those of the Duke and Constable, passing through the Vale of *Sesia*, and the Principality of *Messerano*, might go to prejudice the Territories of *Novara*; he therefore went with his Army, which was reduced to a very small number, to *Novara*; but the Winter coming on, and finding himself free from that danger, he returned to *Millain*.

The Duke of *Feria* was not he alone who did partake of the misfortunes wherein the this years Enterprises miscarried; for it was observed that some sinister influence of the Heavens opposed it self against the good success of the Armies, and Enterprises of this Year. The so flourishing Army of the Duke and Constable was unfortunately lost amidst the Mountains of *Liguria*, not having effected any thing worthy the greatness of their forces and designes: That of the Marquess *di Coure*, back'd by the Venetians, and maintained by their monies and provisions, was likewise unfortunately lost in sitting down before *an Inne*, a woful Harbour for Mules and Muletiers; at the taking whereof having more then once offer'd, he did not only return worsted, but being assaulted in his own Quarters he received much prejudice, and was dishonourably affronted; for *Papenhaim* (who succeeded *Serbellone*, as hath been said, in defending *Riva*) having been content to keep there loytering for a few days with his Dutch-men; finding at last that *Coure* despairing of doing any thing of moment was retired into the *Valtoline*; and that leaving Garrisons only in *Vico*, in *Vercè*, and in *Susso Corbe*, he had distributed almost all his men in the *Valtoline* and in *Chiavenna*; and being impatient of so long idleness, he resolved to assault those Quarters, which being fortified only on the Lake, and on *Riva's* side, were not at all fortified behinde, the height and ruggedness of the neighbouring Mountains being esteemed a safe defence. *Papenhaim* having therefore learn'd by certain men whom he had sent to discover those Mountains, that people might be brought to fall upon them by that way, he sent a thousand Foot by that way; and he, having armed his Barques and Brigandines, went to assault those Quarters by water at the same time that the thousand Foot should fall down by the way of the Mountain upon them.

The event suited with the resolution; for the Defendants being set upon unexpectedly on the back fled towards the *Valtoline*, abandoning their Quarters and Fortifications, which were presently taken by

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Papenhaim, together with eleven pieces of Artillery, and much Victuals and Ammunition; nor there withall content, he purſued them into the *Valtoline*; and coming to the Fortifications of *Troana* and *Morbegno*, he thought to have aſſaulted them, whereof he writ to the Duke of *Feria*; who being with ſmall hopes before *Verrua*, would not by any new enterpriſe hazard the defence of *Riva*, which was of ſuch importance to the State of *Millain*: ſo as *Papenhaim* being maſter of all the Fortifications which the French had upon the leſſer Lake, was conſequently maſter of all the upper Lake. Thus ended this enterpriſe, no leſs unfortunately for the French, then did that of the Duke of *Feria* before *Verrua*, and that of the Conſtable and Duke of *Savoy* againſt the Genoeſes: nothing elſe of moment hapned this year, unleſs that the Engliſh Fleet, going from that Kingdom about the beginning of *October* with 93 Ships, wherein were about 10000 fighting men, appeared in the beginning of *November*, in the Spaniſh Seas, and entring the Bay of *Cadiz*, landed ſome of their men in the Iſland, and five pieces of Artillery, intending to fortifie themſelves there, and wait for the Plate-Fleet, which was ſhortly to come from *America*. The Souldiers were three or four days buſied about taking the Fort called *Puntale*; and having gotten it upon Articles, they endeavour'd to make themſelves maſters of the Bridge, which joyns the Iſland of *Cadiz* to the Continent: but being hindred partly by the rain that fell, partly by thoſe who came to defend the Bridge, they could not effect their deſire. Don *Ferrante Girone*, who was there in defence, after he had well fortified the City, iſſued out; and coming to blows with the Enemy, a ſleight Skirmiſh inſued, with ſome prejudice to both ſides: at laſt the Engliſh finding that they could do no great good neither there nor in any of the neighbouring parts, which were all well munited, they reſolved to be gone; and making towards the Weſt, the Spaniards were afraid (as they had learn'd by ſome Priſoners) that they were bent for *Cape San Vincent*, the utmoſt promontory of *Spain* toward the Weſt, to intercept the Plate-Fleet; wherefore very much apprehending ſome adverſe fortune, they ſent out ſome Carvels into ſeveral parts, to find out the Plate-Fleet, and to advertiſe them how neer the Engliſh were, and in what danger they were of them; and that therefore inſtead of coming to *Cape San Vincent*, they ſhould enter into *Corogna*, the utmoſt Haven of *Gallitia*: one of theſe Carvels light upon the Engliſh Fleet, which hearing of the Orders ſent to the Plate-Fleet by ſo many parts, ſteered its Courſe towares *Corogna*, ſuppoſing that the Plate-Fleet would undoubtedly light upon ſome of thoſe Carvels, and would, according to their Orders, make towards that part: a wonderful accident hapned, which becauſe it exceeded all humane foreſight and providence, may deſervedly be called a miracle; not any of the Carvels met with the Plate-Fleet; ſo as the Orders which were ſent to them falling into the hands of the Engliſh, was the occaſion of turning the Engliſh out of their way; for the Plate-Fleet, which coming from out the Channel of *Bauma*, doth uſually ſail Northward till it come to the 45 degree of the elevation of the Pole, and then declining towards the Eaſt and South, comes into the *Terzere* and into *Portugal*, and to Coaſt a long the *Cape San Vincent*, not being able this year, by reaſon

reason of the great Northerly winds, to enter between those Islands and the Continent, was forc'd to pass on the out side, and to run along *Africa*, even to the shores of *Morocco*, at the same time that the English Fleet lay before *Cales*: but when the English Fleet going from *Cales* went to find the Plate-Fleet out, the wind blowing very briskly from the South, it hapned that as by the favour thereof the Plate-Fleet came successfully from the *Morocco* shores to *Cales*, so the English Fleet leaving *Cales* behind them, the more they thought to meet with the Plate-Fleet, the English being driven by the same winds towards *Corogna*, the further were they from it, and consequently left the entrance into the Streights, and the Spanish Seas, free to the Plate-Fleet, whither it was bound.

Now because often mention is made of the great Treasure and Riches which this Plate-Fleet brings every year to *Spain*, it will not be much from the purpose, to make here a particular Discourse thereof: lest the Narration of that which is now so well known, being not spoken of by us, may peradventure leave the like obscurity to posterity, as we find in the Holy Writ, touching the Land of *Ophir*, from whence we read that Gold was brought every third year to *Solomon*. The King of *Spain*, as he is King of *Castile* is Master of the great Kingdoms of *America*, which is now called the new World, and which being totally unknown to the Ancients was first discovered and found out by *Christophoro Colomba*, a Citizen of *Genoa*, in the year 1492. and as King of *Portugal* he possesseth many Towns, Havens and Maritime Provinces in *Africa*, *Asia*, and in the Indies, and more Eastern Islands; whereinto by long endeavors and dangerous Navigation he had penetrated a little before *Colomba*: from these Oriental and Occidental Regions infinite Riches and Treasures are yearly brought into *Spain*: but particularly from *America*, as more abounding then any other Region in the unexhaustible Mines of Silver: between the midst of *March* and beginning of *April*, eight great Ships fraught with Merchandize, and eight well-armed Galleoons, do usually go every year from the City of *Sivil*; which sailing towards *America*, steer their Course towards that Province which is commonly called *Terra Firma*: and putting to shore first at *Carthagena*, the chief Haven of that Province, eleven degrees distant from the Line towards the North, and 315 degrees in Longitude; do there unload part of their Merchandize, and pass forwards with the rest towards *Porto Velo*, the chiefest place for Trade, in that *Istmus*; which dividing the uppermost Sea, which they call the North Sea, from the nethermore, which they call the South Sea, joyns the two chief parts of *America* together, just as *Africa* is joyn'd to *Asia* by the *Istmus* of *Egypt*. *Porto Velo* is a place of receipt for all the Merchandize which go to and fro from *Peru*; and for all the Gold and Silver which is brought in great abundance from the unexhaustible Mines of the *Potosi* in *Peru*; and from the others of those parts; for as all that passes from *Peru*, and from those Provinces by the South Sea into the North Sea, to be convey'd into *Spain*, puts in at *Panama*, another noble Haven and place of Merchandize, on the opposite side of the *Istmus*, which lies upon that Sea, and are carried cross the *Istmus* upon the backs of certain creatures not unlike our Rams, to *Porto Velo*,

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ſo thoſe which are deſtined for *Peru*, and thoſe other Regions which lie towards the South, from *Spain* and the other American Provinces which lie Northward, are unloaded at *Porto Velo*, and are carried upon the ſame creatures to *Palma*, from whence they are ſent in Ships deſtined for *Peru*, and thoſe other Provinces: the ſame Ships when they have unladed the Spaniſh Merchandize in *Porto Velo*, are preſently fraught with thoſe which are come from *Peru*, and thoſe other Provinces, except it be the Gold and Silver, which for the greater ſafety are for the moſt part put into Galleoons; which are very great and capacious Veſſels, each of which carrying 36 pieces of great Cannon, and 300 ſelect Mariners, may be ſaid to be the Plate-Fleets Garriſon: theſe being loaded with Gold and Silver depart in company with the Ships of Merchandize from *Porto Velo*, to *Havanna*, a Haven which for capacity, ſafety and Fortification, may be accounted the chiefeſt, not only in *America*, but peradventure, in the whole World; which being ſituated in the Iſland of *Cuba*, juſt under the Tropick of *Cancer*, turns towards the North, and is oppoſite to that part of *America* which is called *Florida*: whither when they are come, they find about 35 other Ships, which coming from *Spain* about the end of the preceding *June*, paſs to *San Jovan di Lua*, which is the landing place of *Mexico*, and of that Province neer *America*, which is commonly called *Nova Spagna*; and having here unladed the Spaniſh Merchandize, and taken up thoſe of *Nova Spagna*, they endeavour to be in *Havanna* at the time that the Galleoons and other Ships uſe to come thither; which is juſt about the beginning of *September*; to the end that, guarded by thoſe Galleoons and other Ships, they may purſue their Voyage with more ſafety, and leſs danger of Pyrates; to boot with theſe, other Ships of the neighbouring Kingdoms uſe to come thither at the ſame time: ſo as the whole *Flotta*, as they call it, amounts to between 60 and 70 Veſſels; when they part from *Havanna*, they muſt by the Streight of *Beama*, a very dangerous Streight between the Iſland *Beama* and *Florida*, fall into the open and immenſe Ocean, whither when they are come, they give fire to all their Artillery, in ſign of joy for that they have eſcaped ſo dangerous a paſſage; and calling a Councel, they open a Packet which is brought from *Spain*, wherein there are Orders and Inſtructions from the King, how they are to ſteer their Courſe in their return; and in what height they are to keep from Climate to Climate: to the end, that their Enemies may not know what Courſe they ſteer, who oft times lie in wait to ſurprize them: theſe Ships which are called *la Flotta d' America* come uſually into *Spain* in *November*; and entring the Gulf of *Cales*, goe to *Sivil* by the great River of *Guadalquivir*; where the Merchandize and Treaſure are brought to the Kings Officers, and are by them delivered out, according to their ſeveral proportions. They bring with them commonly to the value of eleven Millions of Gold; whereof two Millions conſiſt in Merchandize, the reſt in Gold and Silver; the fourth part whereof is calculated to belong unto the King, the reſt to particular Merchants: the Merchandizes are *Cochanel*, *Indico*, *Campeggio* or *Campeche*, a medecinable wood, *Tobacco*, and beaſts hides tan'd, to make ſhooe-ſoles withall, which they call *Covir*: of the Ships when they go from *Spain*, thoſe which go firſt

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away with the Galleoons carry Silks and Woollen-cloath, Cloath of Gold, and other things of value: the rest, which are intended for *Terra Firma*, carry great quantities of Linnen, Wine, Oyl and Olives: in which things those Countries which stand in need thereof do abound; for the King, to keep those Provinces united, and dependant upon his Kingdoms of *Spain*, requires (upon rigorous and severe penalties) that two things be by them observed: the one, that neither Vines nor Olives be planted in *America*, though that soil be very capable thereof: the other, that the Exchequer-rents and Kings Revenues of those Provinces, may not upon any terms be sold to private men; and hence it is, that those Inhabitants being in a possibility of being besieged by *Spain*, for as much as belongs to Wine and Oyle, they are necessitated to keep Commerce with *Europe*, and to tolerate the Sovereignty of a far distant King, to the end that they may be provided thereof: and not having elsewhere, where to imploy their Riches, they must send them into *Spain*, to purchase annual revenues out of the forfeitures of those Kingdoms, which by a Spanish word drawn from the Latine, they call *juri*: whence it is that almost all the ready moneys of *America* being transported into *Spain*, raises the rates of the *juri*, and occasions plenty of ready money; and which is of greater importance, the same *juri* serves the King as a pledge and surety of their fidelity and vassallage: so as they can the lesse easily Rebell.

Nor were the Portugueſe leſs fortunate in their Maritime Enterprises, who some years before *Columba's* Navigation, undertook by Maritime Art and Study, Navigations no leſs uncertain, dangerous, unusual, and (in mans opinion) not to be achieved; for the ancient Mathematicians and Cosmographers holding that the torried Zone was uninhabitable, thought that that part of *Africa*, which being wash'd by the Western Sea extends it self from the Streights of *Gibraltar* towards the South, did enter into that Zone, and that therefore it was in vain to sail any further that way, or to coast along there, without evident danger of their healths who should come to the Precincts of the Zone: so as it was impossible to penetrate, by Navigation, from the Occidental African Ocean into the Oriental, which washeth *Asia* and *India*: but the Portugueſes endeavouring to advance further, did first discover the great Promontory of *Capo Verde*, and the adjoyning Islands which the ancients called *Hesperides*; and then advancing much further, when they had past the Equinoctial line, they arrived at the Kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*; then passing the Tropick of *Capricorn*, they at last compassed the enterprise which was before held so desperate; and discovered the furthermost Promontory of *Africa*, which they called *Capo di buona Speranza*, or the *Cape of good Hope*; and sailing from thence through the open Ocean towards the East, they coasted so far along *Africa*, which turned about thitherwards, as discovering the mouths of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, they came at last to that of the great *Indo*: where laying the foundations of so great an Empire upon friendship made with some of those Barbarian Kings, by the sole Trafick of Spices, and other *Levant* Merchandiz, they began to interpose themselves in the Wars which they made one against another; adhering

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ring to some with their Arms, suppressing some others, insomuch as having gotten some Towns, partly by agreement, partly by force, and fortifying themselves very well therein, they laid some better grounds works of Empire in the midst of that Nation, which from nothing, or from very little, increased so fast as exceeds all their Neighbours, if not in greatness and union of State, at least in Worth, Maritime Forces and Civil Policy: which by (peradventure an unheard of example) proceeding from so far distant parts, curbs almost all the Kings and Potentates of those Regions; for being either Tributaries, adherents or Vassals of the Portuguese Empire, they either by force or by private interest, are become dependants upon the King of *Portugal*: nor have they kept their Navigations and Acquisitions only within the Confines of *India*; but as it one afforded materials for an other, they still advanced, till having gotten to the head of *India*, which they call *Comorina*, and hath on its Front the ancient *Taprobana*, they entred into the Gulf of *Bengala*, and from thence into the *Moluca* Islands (the fertile Mother of Spices) and to the great Kingdoms of *China* and *Japan*; and so bold and fortunate have they been, as overcoming the Seas, and finding them navigable, they have gone about the whole World, and joyning the East unto the West they have rendred the opinions of the Ancients, fabulous and foolish, who denied that the World was round, the possibility of the Antipodes, the peopling of the *Zone*, and the conjunction of the Seas.

The Kings of *Portugal* govern'd this Empire; and now the Kings of *Castile*, in succession to those of *Portugal*, by a Viceroy, to whom (retaining unto themselves all that is on this side of *Capo di buona Speranza*) they give all Supream Arbitrement, and disposal of all that belongs to them from the said Cape to the utmost part of the East: upon this Viceroy, who usually resides in *Goa*, all the Kings who are Vassals, Tributaries, Friends and Confederates, all the Government of Civil, Military and Maritime Affairs, doth depend: they keep possession of these Seas by four Fleets, distributed into fitting places and Havens: insomuch as none of those Kings or People may sail thereon, without leave and authority from the Viceroy, no not so much as upon occasion of Traffick or Merchandize. A singular thing, and which was never pretended to, nor put in execution by any Roman Emperour, or other King: the Kings of *Spain* reap many advantages by this Navigation; for to them belongs all the Spices which are carried away in Ships, to boot with many other Merchandizes and Jewels which are carried from the Indies to *Portugal*: by reason of this so great wealth, which comes every year to the Kings hands, the Crown of *Spain* is held to be of the richest Monarchies that ever was known, or at least which are at the present; and yet the Wars of *Germany* and *Italy* have so exhausted him, and brought him into such streights, as to boot with all the Kings Revenues sold and engaged, *Spain* is now the poorest of any Kingdom in *Europe*, in point of Silver and Gold, in so much as brass money runs current through all the Kingdom of *Castile*, which they call *Moneta del Vegliom*, instead of Gold or Silver, which occasioned disorders of great importance to that Crown.

Now to return to where we left, and to reassume the thread of our

former History. The same English Fleet being deprived of all hope of prey, whilst it return'd for *England*, ran great shipwrack by a cruel Tempest which arose, which driving many of the Ships on shore, & splitting them, the rest return'd torn and rent, and in very bad order, without having done any good, home to *England*: so as this powerful League proved no less unfortunate at Sea, then it had done at Land: the Negotiations, Treaties, and conclusion of peace which succeeded afterwards, as shall hereafter be said, were more unfortunate, and less worthy so great preparations. Cardinal *Barbarino* return'd about the end of *February*, in the year 1626, to *Rome*, from his French Embassie; who got nothing by it, but an acknowledgement *that the King had aided the Duke of* Savoy *(who had been haineusly offended by the Genoeses) not so much in respect of his alliance with the house of* Savoy, *as to keep the Spanish Forces imployed in defending the State of* Genoa, *so as they might not oppose his men in the* Valtoline; *that it might be supposed that when the business of the* Valtoline *should be decided, to the satisfaction of all, and in conformity to the Articles of* Madrid, *he would forbear offending the Genoeses, whom he had neither reason, nor will, directly to injure.* But the orderly disposing of the affairs of the *Valtoline* pretended unto by the King seemed to be such, as that they offer'd to restore all the Forts that were taken in the *Valtoline*, to the Pope, upon condition that they should be immediately demolished, and that being demolished the Valtolinians should return to their ancient obedience of their Lords and Masters the Grisons, the Kings ancient Confederates: the Pope would not consent to such hard conditions, as repugnant to the Catholick Religion, and to the Popes endeavours: so as the Legate departed from the Court, and returned towards *Rome*, little satisfied with the King, and less with Cardinal *Richelieu*; the Pope intending to send him upon the same Embassie to *Spain* found great resistance amongst the Spanish Agents, who thought they should suffer too much in their reputation, if the Embassie of *Spain* should seem to depend upon that of *France*; wherefore protesting that the King should not receive him, the Pope sent for his Nephew back to *Rome*, thinking to send him, as with a new and different Embassie, from thence into *Spain*: but neither were the Spanish Agents pleased with this, who liked not that in the same Negotiation the King of *France* should have the precedency given him before the King of *Spain*: after many debates this accommodation was found; that the Title of the Embassie should be from the Pope, relating to the Baptism of a Daughter of the Kings who was born about that time, and that the Negotiation of peace should come in the second place, as depending thereupon: but for all this new Embassie, the Pope forbare not to prepare for Arms, in case he could not effect peace by his Embassie; for thinking that he should not suffer a little by the worlds opinion, in his own dignity, and in that of the See of *Rome*, by the usurpation of the *Valtoline*, which had been done with so little respect to his Men and Ensigns who defended it; and being moreover scandalized that his Embassie was not received with such esteem in the Court of *France* as became the Grandezza of the See of *Rome*, and his deserts; he took it also ill, that the King of *Spain* did not readily restore what he had usurped, but did stand upon unreasonable, and impossible

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conditions: he therefore reſolved to reſent himſelf by force of Arms; and after having uſed friendly and benigne endeavours to little purpoſe, he would ſhew that animoſity and reſentment which the world had deſired to find in him, from the beginning of theſe commotions; and would ſend men to recover the *Valtoline*, and the Forts thereof, which were poſſeſs'd by the French: ſo as the Spaniards continuing their former offers, of aſſiſting him with Men and Arms, he ſent 6000 Foot into the State of *Millain*, commanded by *Torquato Conti*, Son to the Duke *de Poli*, to the end that joyning with the Spaniſh Forces they might go to the recovery of the *Valtoline*: but the Duke of *Savoy*, and the other Confederates, prepared forces for the next ſeaſon, as well as did the Pope; thinking to renew the war more fortunately, and with greater forces then they had done the year before; and news was likewiſe heard in *Italy*, of great preparations which were made in that Kingdom to the ſame purpoſe; wherefore the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, not willing to be found unprovided, let what would happen, willingly liſtned to Propoſals made by the Marqueſs *di San' Croce*, and the Marqueſs *di Caſtagneda*, of making League with the Crown of *Spain*, in defence of their common Dominions; to which purpoſe an Army of 8000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, ſhould be by them joyntly raiſed; two thirds of them to be maintained by the King, and the reſt by the Commonwealth; and this Army was to be commanded by *Franciſco Delfo Brancacchio*, with title of the chief Commander of the Commonwealths Forces, which together with many Germans and Italians, entertained at her own charges, cauſed two Brigades to be likewiſe raiſed, the one by *Philippo Spinola di Giulio*; the other by *Hettore Ravaſchiero*, Prince of *Satriano*; who raiſed them upon his own charges: but theſe and the Popes preparations, as alſo thoſe of the Confederates, proved vain, as did likewiſe the Embaſſie ſent into *Spain*: private Negotiations of peace began at this time to be had between the two Crowns, which were happily concluded, and with incredible ſpeed. The King of *France*, moved the reunto either by the unfortunate ſucceſs of the League, or by the troubles of his own Kingdom, (or were it that he ſaw that he muſt be forc'd to make a new war in *Italy*, touching the *Valtoline*, and other concernments with the Pope, who was irritated and incens'd and joyned with the Spaniſh Forces;) and conſidering how coſtly and how little advantagious the Confederates Counſels proved, conceived it better to ſecure his own affairs, then to buſie himſelf in thoſe of other mens: laying therefore aſide all the ends and intereſts of the Confederates, he thought it beſt to cloſe upon any terms with the King of *Spain*; and the Court of *Spain* hearing no more welcome muſick, then the ſound of peace in *Italy*, willingly liſtned to the endeavours that way tending; the concluſion whereof, with the ſame eaſineſs and good inclination of all parties, was appointed to be made on the ſixth of *March*, the year 1626. in *Monſone*, a Town in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, where the King was gone to keep the Courts of that Kingdom: ſo as the Popes men, who were come into the State of *Millain*, at the ſame time almoſt that the unexpected news of peace came thither, ſerved only to receive peaceful poſſeſſion of the Forts which in conformity to the Articles of peace were delivered up unto them, in

the name of the Apoſtolick See; the chief Articles whereof were: *That the Roman Catholick Religion ſhould be preſerved in the* Valtoline, *and in the Counties of* Bormio *and* Chiavenna: *That things ſhould be reduced to the ſame condition as they were, in the year* 1617. *That notwithſtanding the people might chuſe their Magiſtrates, and Governours, by whom they were to be ruled, without any dependency upon the Griſons: That the confirmation of thoſe that were to be elected ſhould belong unto the Griſons; who if they were not confirmed within eight days, they might adminiſter Juſtice, and exerciſe their Office and Juriſdiction: That if the Griſons ſhould fail twice in this confirmation, they ſhould be underſtood to have for ever forfeited this their power of confirmation: That the Valtolinians and their companions ſhould pay unto the Griſons, in recompence for the juriſdiction which was confer'd upon them, a certain annual ſum of money to be agreed upon between themſelves; wherein if they ſhould not agree, it ſhould be decided by the two Kings: That the Griſons ſhould approve of theſe Articles, and ſhould ſwear to obſerve them: That ſuch Forts as were held by either of the two Kings, in thoſe parts, ſhould be put into the Popes poſſeſſion; who upon reſtoring the Artillery and Ammunition which ſhould be therein at the time of depoſiture, ſhould immediately demoliſh them; but that the demoliſhing ſhould not be delay'd, for fault of conſignation, ſince the King had paſt his word they ſhould be conſigned: That in caſe the Pope ſhould defer the demoliſhing, the two Kings ſhould jointly intreat it at his hands, ſo as they might be effectually demoliſhed: That the Griſons ſhould not enter armed into the* Valtoline, *nor the Spaniſh Agents keep any more armed men then uſual in the Confines of the State of* Millain: *as touching the differences between the Commonwealth and the Duke of* Savoy: *That their two Majeſties, and either of them, ſhould procure a Truce with their Colleague for four moneths; and ſhould chuſe two Arbitrators, who ſhould end the differences within the ſaid prefixt time; in caſe the differences ſhould not be terminated within four moneths, their two Majeſties ſhould undertake to determine them, and cauſe each of their Colleagues to obſerve them: That their two Majeſties ſhould jointly end any differences which ſhould ariſe between the Griſons and Valtolinians, and ſhould not permit them to take up Arms one againſt another: That if any differences ſhould happen in* Italy, *between the Friends of either Crown, their Majeſties ſhould not adhere with arms unto their Colleague, till ſuch time as one of the Kings had treated in the other Kings Court, and procured an amicable agreement.*

This was the ſubſtance of the chief Capitulations of Peace, at *Monſone*; then which more honorable, or more advantagious, could not be expected, nor hoped for, for the Crown of *Spain*; ſince the King got in this buſineſs of the *Valtoline* all that he therein pretended to, as well in the Catholick Religion which was there very well ſetled and ſecured; as in reſpect of the ſtate and liberty of thoſe people, who were thereby alſo freed, from the yoke and ſlavery of the Griſons; for though it was agreed that the condition of affairs ſhould be reduced to the ſtate they were, in the year 1617, (in which the Rebellion not being yet begun, the Valtolinians were under the Griſons obedience) yet was it more in ſhew, then ſubſtance; for the election of Magiſtrates, the neceſſary confirmation of them, the free and independant exerciſe of their juriſdiction, were ſuch exceptions to the condition of

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the year 1617, as they did almost totally alter it: and the Valtolinians, having shaken off their ancient yoke, which made not only for the benefit and freedome of the King of *Spaine*, for the neighbourhood of Fort *Fuentes*, and for the necessity of Commerce which those people stand in with the State it self, they were constrain'd to keep united to the Crown of *Spain*, and to depend upon the Governour of *Millains* authority: so as the passage thorow that Country, which was the most important point, was kept shut up, and open at the free will and pleasure of the King of *Spain* and his Agents; for the Crown of *Spain* having concluded peace upon so advantagious terms, after having so fortunately defended *Spain* against the English Fleet; after the safe arrival of the Plate Fleet; after the recovery of *Brasile*, after the defence and preservation of *Genoa*, did gloriously triumph over the League, and over so many Forces, and Plots contrived by her Rivals and Enemies, to suppress the Grandezza of her King; and truly, we have not these many years read or heard of any peace made with such advantage and honour to that Crown; especially in a time when by the fame which was given out of so great preparations for war made by the Confederates she was thought to be furtheſt off it, and that she was likely to enter into longer and more dangerous wars then the former: but the confusion and astonishment of the Confederates was as great, as was the glory, and satisfaction, which the Spaniards received by this peace; for finding themselves abandoned by the King of *France* when they least expected it, and that by the dissolution of the League their ends and interest thereby pretended unto were lost, they fumed and complained of the King of *France*, not so much for that he had made that peace without their knowledge, as for the prejudice of the common affairs, which, being by him abandoned, were totally ruined: the Grisons who were chiefly concern'd in the prejudice of the *Valtoline*, could not tolerate, that after having run so many dangers in point of liberty, and suffer'd such calamities, they should be deprived of so noble a part of their Dominions; nor that their Protector, the King of *France*, should after his publick profession made to the contrary, have consented so far when they did most believe to be restored by his Arms: so as they complained bitterly, and did openly refuse to accept of those Articles by which they were inforced to renounce their own interests: the Venetians were mad, seeing themselves deprived of that advantage which they thought themselves sure of, after the expence of so much Treasure, after having undergone so many Troubles, after so many Plots and Artifices, whereby, for their own safety and the safety of *Italy*, they had turned the world upside down: the Pope was variously spoken of herein; those who minded the reality of affairs thought he had reason to be very well satisfied with this peace, since he had thereby vindicated his reputation, by the restitution of the Forts, which were to be put into his hands again; and might pretend that his taking up Arms had been a great cause why the King of *France* had been brought to more moderate conditions: on the contrary, those who were more speculative, and who were already sufficiently ill conceited of the Pope, thought that as he had with so much dissimulation suffer'd the King of *France* to enter armed into the *Valtoline*,

line, ſo, to ſecure *Italy* from imminent ſlavery, and to abate the Spaniſh Grandezza; ſo likewiſe that he took it very ill, that the King of *France* ſhould have ſtood upon ſo hard terms with his Legate in compoſing the affairs of the *Valtoline*; and if he were not ill ſatisfied for theſe reſpects, they thought he could not be very well pleaſed, finding that his neutrality which he had ſo publickly profeſs'd, and the courſe which he had ſteered upon theſe preſent occurrences, had not only not made him Arbitrator of the preſent Controverſies, but that the two Kings had agreed them without his knowledge, and not without ſome prejudice to his authority; and the Duke of *Savoy* was no leſs impatient at this, then were the other Confederates; for conſidering that inſtead of the reſentment which he pretended unto againſt the Genoeſes, inſtead of the acquiſition which he had hoped to have made in their Dominions, he had loſt many of his Patrimonial Towns, loſt his Artillery left in *Gavi*, and his Galley with the Sea-Standard; he thought that being to re-have them by agreement, and not by force, was to acknowledge that he had been a loſer by that war: ſo as he knew not well what to do: to this was added, that the peace being proclaim'd in *France*, juſt at that time that the Prince, his Son, was in *Paris*, and was gone thither to keep the King and that Court ſtedfaſt to the League, and to procure new and greater preparations for war to be reaſſumed the next year; which preparations, that they might be the more certain, and more dependent upon the Dukes authority, and that he might have no occaſion to contend with the French Captains and Officers, as he had done with the Conſtable; the Prince had deſired, and (as it was afterwards reported) obtained from the King, the charge, with title of General of the King of *France* his Forces in *Italy*; wherefore the Duke being become proud, as thinking himſelf grown formidable to his enemies, and more regarded by the King of *France* then any of the Confederates, now that he ſaw himſelf faln from ſuch an height of expectation, and abandoned by the French Court when he leaſt expected it, he held himſelf to be highly affronted, and that the world would laugh at him: but it was in vain to complain; for the two Kings were firmly reſolved to ſee their determinations effected; and the Confederates not being able to do any thing without the King of *France*, were forced to ſuccumb, and patiently to ſwallow down ſo bitter a pill, and of ſo hard diſgeſtion; and the King of *France*, who had no excuſe for what he had done, cared not much for their being unſatisfied: his Agents, ſheltering themſelves under the Kings greatneſs and authority, alledg'd not any thing in defence of what their King had done, but that the intereſts of the Kingdom required it ſhould be ſo; with which (they ſaid) it behoved and was neceſſary that the Confederates ſhould comply; ſometimes ſuffering it to eſcape out of their mouths, when they were ſtrait put to it, that the Confederates not being any ways to be compared to their King, they muſt look upon him as their ſuperiour: The Princes of *France* were no leſs ill ſatisfied with the peace it ſelf, then were the Potentates of the League, wherefore hating the King, as well as him who had been the chief cauſe of concluding the peace, ſome who were diſcontented with the preſent condition of affairs, and deſirous of novelties, and pretences to conſpire againſt

againſt the Kings perſon, and againſt *Armand du Pleſſes*, Cardinal *di Richelieu*, the Kings chief and moſt intimate Counſellor and Favorite; and it not being known what the true cauſes were which cauſed the King to be ſo ſollicitous in procuring this peace ſo ſpeedily, and with ſuch ſecrecie, ſome would have it (and it was afterwards publickly ſpoken) that the ſigns of the dangerous conſpiracy which was diſcovered in the Court of *France* againſt the Kings perſon, forc'd him to compoſe buſineſſes abroad, upon any conditions, that he might the more ſecurely provide againſt home conſpiracies; but the buſineſs being diſcovered in *Nantes*, four moneths after the peace was concluded, does totally exclude that conſideration: but whatſoever the matter was, were it that the peace were the effect of the Conſpiracy, or the Conſpiracy of the peace, ſome Princes of *France*, taking the unhappy conduct of the Kings affairs, by the unfortunate ſucceſs of war, and by the diſhonourable peace, as pretence for their Conſpiracy; and finding that they could not pull down the Cardinal, by reaſon of the conſtant belief the King had in him, plotted to pull down the King himſelf: many were thought to be complices in this Conſpiracy; the Duke and Cavalier *di Vandoſme*, natural Brothers to the King; many were impriſoned upon this account: the Count *di Soiſſons*, Prince of the blood, his abſenting himſelf from the Court made him be ſuſpected to be guilty: many ſaid that Monſieur *d'Orleans*, the Kings Brother, and heir to the Crown, together with ſeveral other chief Officers who were very inward with the King, were held to have a hand in it. The Plot, was that the King ſhould be kil'd or depoſed, and that having no Sons, the ſaid *Orleans* ſhould be made King; upon whoſe genius, as being more tractable and conformable to their humours, thoſe laid their foundations, who endeavoured new reſolutions in the world, and the ruine of the League, in prejudice to peace: the Duke of *Savoy* was held not only to be conſcious of this Conſpiracy, but the chief Author and Compoſer thereof, out of anger that the peace had been ſo concluded; and that the Abbot *Alexander Scaglia*, a chief Agent of the Dukes, and then Reſident in that Court, was not only a great Contriver thereof; but that being ſent from thence by the Duke into *Holland* and into *England*, he ſhould treat of novelties with that King and with thoſe States, in the behalf of the Rebels and Rochellers, who were at that time beſieged and in great ſtreights: in relief of whom the King of *England* ſent forth three Fleets, which were all repuls'd: the Duke of *Savoy* did alſo foment the Duke of *Rohan*, head of thoſe that were riſen up againſt the King: he received and entertained Count *Soiſſons* in *Turin*, who was gone from the Court; and offer'd the Duke of *Orleans* ſafe reception, and the command of his State, when for fear of the King he ſhould retire thither: by which accidents, ſeeing himſelf in open breach with the Court of *France*, and fearing that lying in the midſt between the two Crowns he might be equally hated by them both, he began to endeavour to joyn again with the King of *Spain*; to the end, that if he ſhould be aſſaulted by the one King, he might be ſuſtain'd by the other: this buſineſs being brought into the Court of *Spain*, and there diſcuſſed, met with many difficulties, as (for the moſt part) new and great affairs do; for though at the firſt view, it was well

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and willingly listned unto, as an excellent means for the good of the affairs of *Italy*, whereby to remove the inconveniences which had happned by the Dukes alienation, yet it missed not some contradictions: some inclining to embrace the examples of *Charles* the Fifth, and of *Philip* the Second, who by rewards and alliance had always studied to keep that Prince their friend; others were troubled at the Dukes genius, who was various, unquiet, naturally a friend to novelties, hard to be govern'd before he were broke, harder afterwards; when all respects being thrown aside, and the reins given to resentment, he had already troubled the affairs of the Crown so many several ways: so as they thought his reconciliation would be unsafe and costly, and which could hardly be integral, after so many injuries done and received; it being impossible to reduce him to his former obsequie and observance, wherefore he was likely rather to trouble and perplex the Kings affairs, then to secure them. The *Conde Duca's* authority prevailed: he being desirous to signalize his inwardness with the King, before that of his predecessour the Duke of *Lerma*; who suffer'd in his fame for having been too severe in depriving the Crown of this Prince his adhesence, by whose alienation such prejudice, and so many troubles had resulted: so as thinking his reconciliation would prove as advantagious, he was of opinion that if it should succeed in his time, and by his means, it would adde as much to his reputation, as his alienation had detracted from that of his Predecessour: the execution thereof was therefore out of good respects put off till the conclusion of peace between the Commonwealth and the Duke. The mean while they went forward with the peace of *Monsone*, by vertue whereof the Forts of the *Valtoline* were restored to the same condition they were in before they were taken from *Torquato Conti*, in the Popes name, after many delays interposed by the Marquess *di Coure*, who would have had the Forts demolished before restitution, which the Pope did constantly deny: but did forthwith demolish them, together with all the Fortifications of *la Riva* and *Chiavenna*: so as the peace was ratified on that behalf fully, with satisfaction to all men: but the peace between the Genoeses and *Savoy* met with greater and more inextricable difficulties; the Duke would have his Towns that were taken, his Artillery, together with the Galley and Prisoners, restored, before the Truce, and that they should proceed to decide differences; to which purpose he nominated *Claudio Marini*, for his Arbitrator; and the President of *Grenoble* came from *France* to *Piedmont*, by direction from the King, to be assistant, together with one who should be named by the King of *Spain*, in the Arbitrement which was to be made by *Marini*, and by an Arbitrator to be named by the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, on the contrary, would have the Arbitrators first chosen, who should determine the differences before any restitution should be made: nor did they allow of *Marini* to be an Arbitrator, as being formerly accused by them, for that he had been in the Confederates Army in the present war, and that he had, as Embassadour from the King of *France* to the Duke, intervened in the Consultations and Wars against the Commonwealth: but the Duke being resolved not to consent to the Truce whilst the Genoeses should hold his Towns, and the business being thereby

thereby intangled, the Marquess of *Castagneda* found out this accommodation; that without passing any express formal word, each party should keep armed in their stations, but with Orders to their Captains, that they should stand only upon their Gard, and that in case any contention should fall out between the Country people and the Inhabitants, none of them should interpose themselves in the behalf of their friends; and having agreed with the Commonwealth that this should be observed by them, he by Letters acquainted the French Embassadour who was at *Turin*, with what he had done; who writ back, that the Duke had made the same agreement, and had sent such Orders and Commissions to his Captains and Officers. Thus the business seemed to be conveniently adjusted, rather by reciprocal intelligence, then by any express Truce, or any formal word given or received for suspension of Arms.

In this interim, the term of four moneths, prefix'd to the Arbitratours by the Capitulation of *Monsone*, being expired, the Treaty of Peace was turn'd over to the Court at *Madrid*; where the *Conde Duca* was for the Genoeses, and the Marquess of *Rumbolietto*, being gone to that Court upon an occasion of the birth of one of the Kings Daughters, was detain'd there too, by order from the King, for this Affair. The difficulties were many; the Commonwealth refused to restore the Artillery and the Galley which were demanded by the Duke, as things which being taken in open fair War are never restored in peace: but the French pressing this point much, who were desirous to appease the Duke, he being offended and angry at the peace made at *Monsone*; and the Spaniards desirous to gratifie him the most they could, in what was more of shew then substance, that they might thereby draw him over to them, conformable to the endeavours which were had of reconciliation; they desired the Commonwealth to give way to this, at the request and for the satisfaction of the two Crowns, whose aim was to settle a good and a secure peace. The Commonwealth considering that restitution doth increase and not lessen the glory of what is gotten, prefer'd the increase of reputation before the advantage of retention: whereunto they were perswaded by their no want of Artillery nor Gallies; and chiefly, because the Duke had shewed the like respect to them in the Artillery which were taken in *Riviera*: greater difficulties remained about the principal point of *Zuccharello*, the Duke requiring that it should be restored to him, as a thing bought by him before, or else that he might be recompensed with as much Land elsewhere; and the Commonwealth refusing both these, the difficulty was reduced to be decided by moneys; wherein the Mediators at last agreeing, they disagreed in the sum: The Duke did not only demand what he had disburfed, but the interest, which amounted to too immoderate a sum; wherefore, and because the French demanded reparation should be made to *Claudio Marini*, for the prejudice he had suffer'd in having his house pul'd down; whereunto the Commonwealth not consenting, the French Embassadour departed speedily for *France*, and left the business undecided: but whilst the business concerning peace was thus negotiated in *Spain*, affairs did not pass with that quietness and safety in the River of *Genoa*, as was hoped for by *Castagneda's* Negotiation.

Mark Antonio Brancacchio, Camp-master and Governour for the Commonwealth in *Ormea*, went by leave from his Uncle the General with 600 paid Foot, and as many of the Militia, to surprise and sack *Briga*, a great Town not far off, belonging to the Duke of *Ormea*; being come to a Bridge neer the Town, which, contrary to his opinion, he found well munited, he met with stout resistance; which spun out the business to such a length, as though the Genoese had possess'd themselves of the Bridge and of some neighbouring Houses, yet some Souldiers coming from *Tenda* to defend it, they worsted the Assailants, and slew a hundred of them, so as the rest were forced to sit down by their loss, and to retreat to *Ormea*, from whence they were come: the Duke pretending that this was done in time of Truce, exclaimed much against it; without whose knowledge this disaster had hapned; and being desirous to know how it came to pass, found that *Mark Antonio* by License from his Uncle, General *Brancaccio*, before he had received Orders from the Senate to abstain from doing any offence, had done this, the General having forgotten to recall his License: a trivolous excuse, and which would not have kept the Fact unpunished, had not the Dukes Captains violated the suspension of keeping from doing any injury made by *Castagneda*, a little before; for one of the Dukes Gallies going from *Villa Franca* had given chase to a Barque of *Genoa*, and had taken it neer *Albenga*, and brought it to *Villa Franca*, the Masters of the Merchandize, nor of the Barque, never having received any satisfaction: but the Duke impatient of affront watched for revenge; and having had private intelligence with the Captains of the Garrison in *Zuccharello*, he sent 600 Horse, with Musketeers *encrouppe*, to *Garessi*, a Town neer *Zuccharello*, with intention that being let in by the Conspirators in the evening, privately, by the Conspirators, and killing as many of the Garrison as should resist them, they should make themselves masters of the Town, which being done, they should go that very night, being guided by one that was of the Plot, to *Albenga* about six miles off; where General *Brancaccio*, relying upon the Garrisons of *Pieve* and *Zuccharello*, did carelesly reside; and as if he were to acquaint him with somewhat of great importance, whilst he could not have advertisment of what had hapned at *Zuccharello*, he should beat down the Gate of the City, and let in his companions, who should not be far off, take the General prisoner, make himself master of the City, and make way for the taking of *Pieve*, and of all the Towns till you come to *Porto Maurizio*; which Towns were not likely to make any long resistance, when *Albenga* should be taken. The design had prospered, had not the Conspiracy which was very neer being effected, come to light: but it being suppress'd, and the Author and Complices thereof imprisoned, they according to Military custom, were made to pass the Pikes; and the Garrisons being changed, and the places of greatest importance re-inforced, the Dukes men were forc'd to give over the enterprise, and to retreat. The peace of the Commonwealth was likewise disturb'd by the Duke of *Guise* his sudden coming from *Marcelles* with seven Galleoons, amongst which was *l' Almirante*, a Vessel of great burthen, and very well munited with Artillery: the end thereof was never known, for *Guise* meeting with a tempest whilst he

he was under ſail neer *Corſica*, he was driven by the violence of the wind to within ſight of *Genoa*. The Commonwealth ſent ſpeedy Orders and Advertiſment to *Corſica*, where it was thought the blow was aimed; and preſently Rigging out 12 Gallies, part her own, part the King of *Spains*, and furniſhing them with excellent Souldiers and with all warlike preparations, they put to Sea two days afterwards, conducted by Don *Carlo d' Oria*, who upon this occaſion was choſen General of the Fleet: but it being preſently known that *Guiſe*, being forced by tempeſt, was got to *Ligorne*, where he ſtaid to make ſome repairs for what he had ſuffered by the violence of the Seas, Don *Carlo* made thitherward, and came to Anchor at *Marzocco*, a ſafe Habour within two miles of *Ligorne*; after two days, *Guiſe* put to Sea again, and made ſtrait for *Marcelles*, being ſtill purſued by *Doria* within Cannon-ſhot, till going out of the Liguſtick Sea he came into that of *Provence*, and ſo retreated to *Marcelles*. Many men thought that he had only made this ſhew of coming out, wherein nothing of hoſtility paſt, except the making ſome ſhot to no purpoſe afar off at the Gallies which purſued him, to ſatisfie the Duke of *Savoy* for the moneys he had received from him.

The year 1626 paſs'd over with theſe petty accidents; about the end whereof *Ferdinando* Duke of *Mantua* died, who having no Sons, was ſucceeded by his Brother *Vincenzo*, the third Son to *Vincenzo*, the only iſſue that was left of the Line of his Grand-father *William*, and of his Brothers. The year 1627 inſued, a year which proved very calamitous to many private Gentlemen of *Genoa*, in their fortunes; for thoſe that did Traffick with the Court of *Spain*, having about ten millions of moneys owing them, which they were appointed to have received out of the moneys which were to come in the Plate-Fleets; the King alter'd their payment, giving them ſatisfaction in lieu thereof in *juri*: with irreparable prejudice and loſs of the Contract; for theſe particular Genoeſe, owing great ſums of money to other men, ſince they were not paid in ready money by the King, could not ſatisfie others, but with the ſame *juri*, or with much delay of time, when ſelling thoſe *juri* they might pay them in ready money. The *Conde Duca* was the chief cauſe of this great grievance to the Genoeſe; whereby the Crown of *Spain* reaped ſo much diſcredit, as the Kings Revenues nor the Plate-Fleets Treaſure, being able to ſupply ordinary proviſions, the King could not find any afterwards who would ſupply him upon any the moſt urgent occaſions; and whereas formerly all the Gold of *Europe* was ready at his ſervice by reaſon of his Credit and Correſpondency with the Genoeſe, the Contract failing, and the King and Genoeſe failing both of them in their Credit, all Nations called in their moneys, and would no longer truſt them who negotiated with the Crown of *Spain*: ſo as the King inſtead of the wealth and affluence of Gold which he hoped for by his Decrees, found extream penury and incredible ſcarcity of ready moneys. The Court Affairs were yet more intricated, for that the *Conde Duca* through his hatred and abhorreſcence of the Genoeſes, reſolving not to make any more Contracts with them applied himſelf to the Portugueſes, and drew them to Contract and exalting them with extraordinary favours, profeſs'd that for the future

he would make use of them instead of the Genoese; to the end that they being for the most part such as are descended from those, who turning from Judaism to the Catholick Faith are treated as servants or slaves in that Kingdom, he might the better manage them, and winde them at his pleasure, and make use of their means and substance with less respect, and force them to Contract upon any conditions: but failing in this his new counsel and course (for the Portugeses were not sufficient to undergo so weighty a business, neither by their own Wealth nor Credit, nor by their correspondency with other Nations) he was aware, though too late, that by one sole Decree he had irreparably prejudiced the Kings affairs, and had destroyed that well-adjusted frame, which as the chief ground-work of the enterprises and strength of that Crown, whose Grandezza was envied by her Corrivals, the Leaguer, nor Forces of so many Confederate Princes could not beat down, the late preceding years: nor was it long ere he reaped the fruit of so unfortunate a resolve; for no means being found to send moneys into *Flanders*, the Kings business was greatly indangered; the Army not being able there to go that year into the Field; so as he did not only not make any progress in his affairs that year, but the Hollanders took *Groll*, with but indifferent Forces, a strong Town, and of great consequence, in the County of *Zutphen*; and the next year, not fearing the Enemies Army, they turned all their Land-preparations, to the like at Sea; for raising 80 Men of War, they sent them towards *America*; and entring the Gulf of *Mexico* they took the Merchants Ships, which parting from Don *Fernando di Sa* went to *Havanna*, to joyn with the Galleoons; and moreover, took many other rich Vessels in several parts of the Ocean, which past from the Indies and from *America* to *Spain*: which losses were the occasion of yet greater mischiefs, not only for what the Spanish and Portuguese Merchants suffered, by the interruption of their Traffick in the Indies, and in *America*; but also for that the Hollanders being inriched by so great booty were able to increase their Forces the next year, and made greater acquisitions, of *Wesel* and *Bolduke*, places of great concern in *Gualderland* and in *Brabant*; and on the contrary, the Spanish Army entring *Holland* by the *Velen*, was forc'd to retreat without doing any thing. The losses and calamities which befell some Gentlemen of *Genoa* in their private fortunes, was succeeded by another publick calamity; which though it hapned the insuing year 1628, had its rise, as the Duke professed, from a petty accident which fell out this year: the Town of *Pigna*, being taken, as hath been said, by the Genoese, paid obedience to them, though there was no Garrison in it. General *Brancaccio* thought it fit, after the Peace to quarter some Companies of Dutch Souldiers there, who for their greater satisfaction, and for the safety of the Town, made Trenches round about it; where having kept quiet for some moneths, it so fell out, as some of them going upon their private occasions to *Busso*, a little Village under the jurisdiction of *Pigna*, not above a mile off, which formerly had rendred willing obedience to the Captain of *Pigna*, they found a Garrison of the Dukes men in it: which being told to the Captain, and by him to General *Brancaccio*, order was given to drive them from thence: the Dukes men defended themselves; but not being able

to

to reſiſt, the moſt of them, together with ſome of the Town Inhabitants, both men and women, were ſlain. The Duke who had not forgot what had hapned at *Briga*, was very much ſcandalized with this ſecond accident, which ſeemed to be another attempt againſt that entercourſe which had been wrought by the mediation of *Caſtagneda*; and exclaiming ſufficiently againſt the Spaniards both in the Court of *Rome*, and to other Princes, he publiſh'd a *Manifeſto*, wherein he accuſed the Genoeſes as infringers of the Truce, and of the agreed upon ſuſpenſion of Arms; for having retaken *Pigna*, which they had formerly abondoned, he hereunto added the aſſault at *Briga*, the ſpoiling of the Country, the extortions and damages occaſioned to his Subjects by the Souldiers of the Commonwealth; that they had attempted to ſuborn his vaſſals, cut down many Cheſnut-trees in *Ormea*, and that, laſtly, by what had been done at *Buſſa*, they had manifeſted how little they valued the Spaniſh Agents, their Faith, their Word, and the ſuſpenſion of Arms made by the Spaniſh Agents; wherefore he demanded ſatisfaction, if not, he threatned revenge: to this purpoſe he ſent the Abbot of *Virgis* to *Genoa*, to treat with the Marqueſſes of *San Croce* and *Caſtagneda*: the Commonwealth appointed proceſs to be made againſt thoſe who had uſed ſuch cruelty towards women and children at *Buſſo*; and none being found guilty but ſome few Corſicks, who were fled, only one of them that hapned to fall into the hands of Juſtice, was hang'd: but the Duke continuing his threats, ſeemed as if he would once more aſſault the Commonwealth. The Duke of *Feria* was at this time ſent for back into *Spain*, who till further proviſion ſhould be taken was ſucceeded by Don *Gonzallo di Cordua*, who fearing ſome novelty to be made by the Duke, and thinking himſelf by the new League made with the Commonwealths obliged to defend her Territories, he ſent Count *Luigi Taxis* to the Weſtern River with his Brigade, againſt which the Duke did likewiſe greatly exclaim in the ſame *Manifeſto*; pretending that the King ought not to aſſiſt thoſe who by the breach of Truce had given him juſt reaſon of reſentment; nor could he do it without expreſs breach of the Convention at *Monſone*, by which it was agreed that if any tumults ſhould ariſe in *Italy* between the Colleagues of either of the Crowns, none of their Majeſties ſhould aſſiſt his Colleague, till the occaſion of difference had been diſcuſt in the others Court, and there compounded: whilſt theſe things were in debate, *Vincenzo* the new Duke of *Mantua* died, which occaſioned greater commotions in *Italy*, and ſeemed to divert the Duke of *Savoy* from his new threatned reſentments againſt the Commonwealth, upon theſe ſleight occaſions.

The End of the Ninth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book X.

The Contents.

The Duke of Nevers *succeeds* Vincenzo *in the Dukedom of* Mantua *and* Montferrat; *he is oppoſed by the Emperour, King of* Spain, *and Duke of* Savoy. *Don* Gonzallo di Cordua, *the new Governour of* Millain, *having divided* Montferrat *with the Duke of* Savoy, *goes with his Army to before* Caſalle; *which whilſt he endeavours to take, the Duke takes* Alba, Trino, Montcalvo, *and many other Towns belonging unto him by the diviſion. A Conſpiracy is diſcovered in* Genoa, *whereof the Duke of* Savoy *being found the Author, he pretends the impunity of the Conſpirators. The Spaniſh Agents being deſirous to ſatisfie him, favour this pretention; which occaſioneth ſome diſtaſtes and jealouſies between the Commonwealth and the Crown of* Spain. *Succours fall into* Italy *from* France, *in behalf of the Duke of* Nevers; *but being oppoſed by the Duke of* Savoy *are ſoon diſſipated. The Spaniards take* Nizza, Ponſone, *and other Towns in* Montferrat; *and finding it too hard to aſſault* Caſalle, *they fall to beſiege it; they are forc'd to forſake it by the Kings coming with great Forces into* Piedmont. *Which whilſt the Duke endeavours to oppoſe he is beaten by the Kings men, in a conflict neer* Suſa, *wherein the King being victorious, takes* Suſa; *and forces the Duke and the Governour of* Millain *to an agreement; by which* Caſalle *is freed, and the States of* Mantua *and* Montferrat *ſecured to* Nevers. *The King returns to* France. *Marqueſs* Spinola *is made Governour of* Millain, *goes from* Spain *into* Italy, *to provide either*

by

by War or Peace, for the Affairs of Spain *which are in a bad condition, by reaſon of the preceding accidents.*

BY the death of Duke *Vincenzo*, who died in *Chriſtmas*, the year 1627, the States of *Mantua* and *Monſferrat* fell to *Charles Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, Son to *Lodovick*, who was youngeſt Son to *William*, Grand-father to the three laſt deceaſed Dukes; there was none of the legitimate male line of the *Gonzagli*, who were to precede him; (for the legitimate male-line of *William* ceaſed by the death of *Vincenzo*) who the day before his death did therefore command his Subjects of *Mantua*, to ſwear allegiance to the Duke of *Retell*, eldeſt Son to *Charles*, who was abſent, in the name of his Father *Charles*. This *Retell* was ſent for to *Mantua* by Duke *Ferdinando*, and was kept there during his life, and after his death, in conſideration of the future ſucceſſion: the ſame Duke, a little before his death, for the better ſecurity of ſucceſſion, would have this Duke *Retell* Marry the Princeſs *Maria*, Daughter to Duke *Francis*, and Niece by the Mother ſide to the Duke of *Savoy*; (ſhe of whom ſo much hath been ſpoken in the beginning of this Book) and to this purpoſe a diſpenſation was already privately procured from the Pope. The Duke of *Savoy* was not a little troubled at this Marriage; nor were the Spaniſh Agents leſs troubled then he: both parties complained grievouſly, that this young Lady ſhould be diſpoſed of without the participation of the King or Duke (who had ſo much intereſt by way of Alliance in her) not ſo much as waiting for their approbation; and profeſſing much amazement at it, they had well nigh threatned publick reſentment: but the outward ſhew of this diſſatisfaction differ'd from what lay conceal'd in the boſom; the Duke of *Savoy* intended this Lady for Wife to the Prince Cardinal of *Savoy*, ſo to add by this new title to his antient pretences of *Monſferrat*, the acquiſition whereof he thirſted more after in this preſent conjunction of times, then ever he had done formerly; and the Spaniſh Agents (who abhor'd that *Nevers* ſhould ſucceed in thoſe Dominions) hoped (as it was thought) if they could have effected it, to make uſe of this Princeſs, whereby to exclude him totally; nor was it long ere both theſe parties diſcover'd their averſion to *Nevers* his ſucceſſion; for though falling into the *Valtoline* by the Swiſſers and Griſons, and from thence being come to *Mantua* thorow the Venetians Territories, he was readily received by all the Mantuans, and obeyed as their Prince; yet the Spaniſh Agents refuſing to receive him, or to call him Duke of *Mantua*, and the Duke of *Savoy* profeſſing to proceed, and do in this buſineſs, as the King of *Spain* ſhould do, and that he would totally depend upon his authority; the Orders of *Germany* and *Spain*, whither theſe advertiſments were ſpeedily ſent, were expected: from whence they hoped and undoubtedly held that orders and reſolutions would be ſent, to croſs the ſucceſſion of the new Duke, becauſe they knew that this had been diſcus'd and almoſt reſolved there, before the death of Duke *Vincent*. The Emperours intention was that the ſucceſſion of theſe States being to divolve upon a croſs line, and that many would pretend to this ſucceſſion; the poſſeſſion thereof ſhould be delivered up to him as to the Supream Lord and Sovereign

Judge,

Judge, that he might afterward dispose thereof to those who should have most clear title thereunto: this, he said, the peace of *Italy* required, and this was wont to be done by the Imperial Chamber; that it was thus observed in the succession of *Montferrat*, when it was ventilated by many Competitors, after the death of *Jovan Georgio Palleologo*. The Duke of *Savoy* did not concur alone with the Duke of *Nevers*, in his antient pretentions to the Dukedom of *Montferrat*, but also *Margaret*, the Dowager Dutchess of *Lorrein*, eldest Sister to the three last Dukes, pretending by her proximity of relation, not to exclude the Duke of *Nevers* only, but also Princess *Mary*, her Brothers Daughter, respect being had to Duke *Vincenzo*, last dead; whose succession was now the thing disputed, and not the succession of Duke *Francis*, Father to *Mary*, who was succeeded by her, *Ferdinando*, and since by *Vincenzo*; and as for the Dukedom of *Mantua*, whereof women are made incapable, Don *Ferrante Gonzaga*, Nephew to that so famous Captain, Don *Ferrante*, who was younger Brother to *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua*, the new Dukes Grand-father by the Fathers side, did concur: he grounded his title upon the interpretation of certain words of the ancient Investment; and upon *Nevers* his incapacity (as he alledged) of succeeding in those Dominions, for that both he and his Father had born Arms against the sacred Empire, whereof those States are ancient Fees. Pretentions which were thought to be willingly listned unto by the Emperour and by the Court of *Spain*, that they might thereby exclude *Nevers* as they intended to do: nor were those of the house of *Gonzaga* against Don *Ferrante's* pretentions, thinking that by *Nevers* his exclusion, their succession grew neerer; and therefore some of them were suspected to have had private dealing and treaties with Don *Ferrante*, presently upon the death of Duke *Vincenzo*, to put him into possession of that City, and to cry him up Duke; and when he died there were some Souldiers ready to do it, who being suppress'd more by dissimulations seasonably, and by provision taken to the contrary, then by punishment or by being publickly taken notice of, their endeavours proved vain: *Nevers*, on the contrary, pleading the clear and undoubted meaning of the Law, by which the next Heir to the last Lord is to be admitted into possession of the Fee, not only against those who lay in wait for the succession, but against the Soveraign and lawful Lord, (when laps or the devolution of the Fee should be pretended) said that the Decree of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, made against the Duke of *Savoy*, being passed between the Ancestours of either of them; since which the said Duke, not having gotten any new pretences, he could not prosecute his former claim, as long as it continued in the possession of *Nevers* his Ancestors, otherwise then in the awarded manner; and for the Dutchess of *Lorrein*, that she was excluded either by the male-kindred, though never so remote, as it had been formerly practised; or by her Niece, who was in a neerer degree to succession: but as for Don *Ferrante*, who was clearly descended from the second Son of him by whom they all laid claim, what colour of reason had he to pretend to the ancient investment, whilst the line of the eldest Son was not yet void: which Investment prefers the first born, and those that do descend from them, before all others, by ex-

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press order of Birth-right; and as for the incapacity that was objected against him, he denied that either he or his Father had ever carried Arms against the Sacred Empire; and shewing the scars, yet remaining in his Breast, of the wounds which he had received in *Hungary*, wherein he had fought in behalf of the Cesarian Majesty and of the house of *Austria*; he said, that no incapacity could be objected against him, for any peace that had since insued: in the Articles whereof a full and ample pardon was granted to any of the contrary party, who had drawn their swords in that war: but the strong endeavours to the contrary made by the Spanish Agents prevailed more with the Emperour, then these solid and evident Reasons; who knowing that this Prince was bred up in *France*, allied to the blood of *France*, joyn'd in Kindred to the King, (who was Fautor to that Crown, by the great incomes which he possessed in that Kingdom,) thought it to be too dangerous for them to permit a Lord of two Dukedoms, and a master of several strong holds upon the Confines of *Millain*, so to be placed in the bowels of *Italy*; lest being upheld and adhered unto by *France* he might afterwards raise up new parties and factions in *Italy*, by which their Kings authority might decline from that preeminency, in which he did more easily and more securely maintain himself, without any fear of the French, who had not one foot of Land in *Italy*: a danger which the present condition of time made to appear very probable, by the desire which, upon many of the Occurrences, was discovered in the French of getting greater power in *Italy*, then the Spaniards had; and by their being fomented by many Italian Princes, to the end that they might, for their own interest, set the authority of *France* prevail over that of *Spain*, or at least stoutly counterpoise it. The Spanish Agent did therefore fervently endeavour that the Emperour (who to keep the house of *Austria* in chief authority amongst all Christian Princes, was concern'd in the same ends and designs,) might readily lend his hand, and joyn with them in excluding the new Duke; and the Spaniards authority was greater at this time with the Emperour then usual, for the late merit by powerful aid both of men and money afforded by the Crown of *Spain* in the troubles of *Germany*, added to the community of concernment, without which he could hardly have made his party good against the Rebellions and contrary Factions of *Germany*; and the continual need he stood in of the like assistance, for that those flames were not yet quite extinguished: so as it becoming him to second their interest, he to please them had given them order, whilst Duke *Vincenzo* was yet alive, (but not likely to live long,) that if the Duke should die, they should possess themselves of those States; which when the time came, they forbare to do, not thinking the time yet proper, nor affairs well prepared; and though the Emperor seemed, when the Duke was dead, to continue in the same mind, yet he appeared somewhat cooler in the manner of proceeding, claiming therefore the possession of those States by publick Decree, as due to him, he sent Count *John di Nassau* into *Italy*, with the title of Cesarian Commissary, to take possession of them in a civil manner, if the new Duke should willingly assign them up; and if he should refuse to do so, then to proceed by Cautions and Declarations, and afterwards by Imperial Proclamation, and so by

force of Arms: the Spaniards who upon the first Orders had betook themselves to the business, and who were most and neerliest concern'd in the danger, appeared more hot and fervent; for thinking it would be more easie to drive a new Prince suddenly out of his State, then to tarry till he should be consolidated therein, and might by making Provisions and Fortifications make the enterprise harder, they admitted of no delay; and the rather for that the King of *France* (whose opposition they only apprehended) being busied with all his Forces before *Rochel*; and therefore not able to apply himself much to the affairs of *Italy*, nor to send succours to the new Duke; they thought they should lose time, if they should not readily imbrace so opportune an occasion. The Duke of *Savoy* invited them much thereunto: who professing that he would keep firm to that Crown, promised many things on his part in favour of the new enterprise: but the instigations and relations of Don *Gonzallo di Cordua* prevailed more with the King and Court of *Spain*, then any thing else; who desirous to have the free and absolute Government of the State of *Italy*, being Governour there now (as hath been said) till a new Governour might be provided; as soon as he heard of Duke *Vincenzo*'s death, began to hold intelligence in *Cassalle*, to have one of the Gates of *Cassalle* delivered up unto him; and having agreed the business, he inform'd the Court by Letters of the intelligence he held in that City, and how easily it might be gotten; which being done, he said that the acquisition of the rest would with the same facility follow: in fine, not only he, but all the rest of the Spanish Agents laboured to exclude the new Duke. But the Court, which long before Duke *Vincents* death had foreseen this accident, and perhaps had resolved not to permit the French to get such power in *Italy* by *Nevers* his succession; yet being declined from moving therein, in consideration of the unjustness of the fact, or weary of their unfortunate success in the late Wars of *Italy*, it abhorred to have to do in so scandalous a novelty; and therefore did at first put on the more just and favourable resolution, not only of consenting to *Nevers* his new succession, but to receive him into the protection of the Crown, and to be his friend: and in conformity to so holy and wise a resolution, dispatches were already sent out of the Kings Chancery; which not being yet come to *Italy*, the Dukes Letters and the Advertisments of Don *Gonzallo*, and of the other Spanish Agents, arrived at the Court; whereby they acquainted the King with what intelligence they held in *Cassalle*: whereupon the mind of the Court was soon alter'd, and the justice of the Cause being born down by the apparent advantage of the new acquisition, and of the assured safety which would thereby redound to the affairs of *Italy*; they resolved to oppose the new Duke, with might and main, and by open war to keep him from the succession of those States; and the charge of this new enterprise, together with the absolute Government of the State of *Millain*, (which was the thing he aspired unto,) was given to Don *Gonzallo*, the chief Author and Promotor of so unhappy and unfortunate an advice: in the execution whereof, though the Emperour had not as yet absolutely consented thereunto, Don *Gonzallo* began to declare war in the Emperours names: and for his better preparing of Men and Arms, he alledged the Emperours

Decree of Advocation for the ground-work of the Enterprise, and ſaid, That whereas the Duke ought to have been put into poſſeſſion of thoſe States by the Emperour, he had actually, and of his own Authority intruded thereinto, contrary to the ſaid Decree: He alſo gilded over this new Commotion with endeavours for the publick Peace of *Italy*, and for the ſafety of the Affairs of the Crown of *Spain*. And laſtly, but rather by way of complaint, than of any lawfull occaſion of new War, he added the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, concluded without any reſpect to the Kings Alliance or Authority. Theſe were the reaſons alledged for this preſent War, which being but little allowed of by the tacit conſent of moſt men, and as they rendred the Spaniſh Forces but little juſtifiable, and *Ceſar's* reſolutions not correſpondent to the fame and univerſally conceived opinion of his Piety and Religion; ſo did they, on the contrary, reconcile, through commiſeration, the general favour to the new Dukes Cauſe; as if being oppreſs'd meerly for reaſon of State, he had been ſuffocated only by the covetouſneſs and force of a more powerful Adverſary: But it being apparently known, that the Emperour proceeded herein, more as forced by the urgent and importunate inſtigations of the Spaniſh Agents, than by his own genius and will; as it did in part excuſe him from mens ſiniſter opinion, ſo did it lay all the odium and blame upon the Spaniards; which appearing naked in the Field, unaſſiſted by the Imperial Name or Authority, which they carried in their foreheads, written in golden Letters, they did appear to men what they intrinſecally were, not bent to favour the rights of any of the pretenders, nor to the maintaining of the Ceſarean Authority, but to the new acquiſition of Territories, and to the further enlarging the Kings Empire in *Italy*, by the ſuppreſſing of that Prince; ſo as the Inſurrections of the *Valtoline*, ſuſteined and fomented by the Spaniards, had fill'd *Italy* with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and rendred their name odious; ſo their preſent betaking themſelves to the manifeſt uſurpation of a Principality, without any the leaſt colourable reaſon, forc'd the Italian Potentates to privide for their private and for the Common ſafety, which, if the Spaniards ſhould obtain their ends, they foreſaw would be much endangered. The Duke of *Savoy's* reconciliation to the King of *Spain* did accelerate the Enterpriſe againſt the new Duke; for the Kings Agents, to make the buſineſs eaſie to themſelves, and to lay the way open for the taking of *Caſſalle*, which they did ſo exceſſively deſire; and firmly believing the Duke would not ſtand idle upon ſuch an occaſion, nor ſuppreſs his ancient pretences; and on the other ſide, the Duke ſeeing that he could not better advantage himſelf in the preſent conjuncture of times then by help from *Spain*; therefore all other reſpects being laid aſide, they thought neither of them could do better than to haſten the concluſion of the Agreement, which had been treated of long before, touching the diviſion of *Montferrat*; by which *Trino*, *Alba*, *San Damiano*, and many other Towns of *Montferrat*, being aſſigned over to the Duke (which being more incorporated with *Piedmont*, was very advantagious for the union of that State;) the Spaniards were to put themſelves into the poſſeſſion of the reſt, wherein was comprehended *Caſſalle*, *Pontestura*, *Montcalvo*, *Nice*, *Acqui*, *Ponzone*, to-

gether with the adjacent Towns, which, as being annex'd unto, and confining upon the Marquesate of *Finale*, and the River of *Genoa*, made much for the accommodation of the Spaniards. It was agreed upon by colourable pretexts, *That each of them should prosecute the Enterprise in Cesar's Name*; *That it should not be lawful for the Duke to fortifie any place he should take*; *and, That neither of them should be a hinderance to the possessing of what should fall to them by the Division.* So the Duke, that he might get part, since he could not get the whole, was content that his Niece, the Princess *Mary*, should be quite bereft of the whole; and the Spanish Forces, which till now withstood the Dukes pretences, for their own interest, began now to protect him therein. The French had long before this endeavoured to disturbe this reconciliation; and to this end it was thought, that in the Negotiation of Peace between the Duke and the Common-wealth, they held the Dukes pretences very high, not so much to gratifie him at the Genoeses cost, and to mitigate the injury done him by the Peace of *Monsone*, as for that Peace remaining unconcluded by reason of the Dukes high demands, the reconciliation should not be effected; and not herewithall content, that they might keep him to side still with them, they, during Duke *Vincent's* life, held Treaties of Alliance between the Cardinal of *Savoy* and Princess *Mary*; and between her Mother the Dowager Infanta, and the Duke of *Nevers*, with some settlements touching the pretensions to *Montferrat*; and Monsieur *Sanchiamond* being to this end sent Embassadour Extraordinary from the King to Duke *Vincenzo*, after Duke *Ferdinando's* death, by the usual way of condoling and congratulating, he, as he pass'd through *Turin*, and went afterwards to *Mantua*, treated thereof with them both in the Kings Name: But Duke *Vincent* dying not long after, the no sincerity of the Negotiation appeared, by the sudden match which was concluded, not without satisfaction and joy to the *French*, and to the same *Sanchiamond*, (who because he was in *Mantua* when the Duke dyed, and when this match was made, was thought to be conscious of all things that had past) wherat the Duke was very angry, and held himself to be much injured, and complain'd grievously thereof to the same *Sanchiamond*, who was at this time returned from *Turin* to *Mantua*, and to Monsieur *di Guron*, a Gentleman sent by the King of *France* to keep him from the new Reconciliation, with new offers, not only touching his new pretensions, but of assured and powerful assistance against the Genoeses, for recovery of the Towns upon the River, which were allotted to him by the Articles of *Susa*; for the King of *France*, being sufficiently imploy'd and intent about the business of *Rochel*, did not omit any indeavours whereby the Affairs of *Monsferrat* might be friendly compounded between the two Dukes: This was the Auge or Vertical point of this Princes Greatness; he being at one and the same time sued unto in his own Court, and Idolized, as a God on Earth, by the Agents of two great Kings, and tempted by most advantagious conditions to joyn with them, as if all their actions did depend upon him, and as if the whole Foundation of the safety of the present Affair did in him consist. And as it often falls out in humane affairs, that when things are come to the highest point they begin to decline, so fared it with this Duke; for not being able

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to mount higher, and not being able through the volubility of Affairs to continue long in that pitch, he was forced afterwards to stoop from that exaltation, and was brought to lose a great part of his State, and almost to his utter ruine. Being amidst so many Proposals, and finding himself, together with the former offences, injured by the French, by the duplicity of this Matrimonial Treaty, and being conscious to himself of the fresh injuries done to the King and Crown of *France*, he gave no beliefe to his Agents great offers; and thinking that he might build more safely upon the favour of the Spaniards, by reason of the community of Interests, and by the advantagious bargain which he should get from them, in the dividing of *Monferrat*, he rather chose to joyn with *Spain* than with *France*; and afterwards acquainting the French Agents with this his resolution, he tacitely pleaded the Peace of *Monsond* (made by their King) for his defence, without acquainting his Confederates with it, nor making any the least account of their concernments, and in a gibing manner added, That he had learnt of their King to joyn readily with the Crown of *Spain*, which being now so faithfully united to that of *France*, as might be seen by the helps which *France* received from *Spain* in the businesse of *Rochel*, it shew'd that it was not to be doubted, but that he being also joyned to the Crown of *Spain*, would never be able to disunite it from that of *France*, nor be any prejudice to it. The French Agents being therefore dismist with small satisfaction, as also the French Souldiers who were under his pay; but keeping *Marini*, the French Resident in *Turin*, till such time as his own Resident should return from *Paris*, his Reconciliation with *Spain* was perfectly established, but unhappily, as it proved by the great prejudice which (contrary to their supposals) befel both him and the King of *Spain*.

By the conclusion and exclusion of these practises the new Dukes affairs were brought to a very bad condition, both in hopes and opinion; for the King of *France*, who was his chief Protector, not being able to sustein him, either by authority or force, he had little help to expect elsewhere, against the Emperour, King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Savoy*, who joyn'd all together to drive him out of his State, the latter two by force of Arms, and the first by Judicial Authority and Edicts; so as none of his other Friends, who wish'd him well, could assist him, without indangering themselves, since he wanted the strong support of *France*: And the Princes of *Italy*, though they were much troubled at this Prince's prosecution, for the example and consequence thereof, yet were they forced to proceed very circumspectly in declaring themselves, and much more in assisting him: nay, it was to be feared, that, if required, they would have declared against him. The Emperours Authority was at this time very great and formidable, having gotten the upper hand of the Prince Palatine, and of his abettors; all the Princes and Hans Towns of *Germany* rendred him exact obedience, not so much for fear of his powerful Army of above 100000 fighting men, which being distributed into several parts of *Germany*, were ready at hand, as for that by his happy Successes, and continued course of Victory, he seemed to be miraculously favoured by the Heavens: And truly he was in his actions the most formidable of all his Predecessors;

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and undoubtedly had he turned his Forces upon *Italy*, he would have found ready obedience; so as the Pope and Venetians, in whom all *Nevers* his hopes did rest, were forced to proceed with great caution in these present affairs, which did not directly appertain unto them. The Venetians, that they might keep from provoking him, by adding new injuries to the ancient enmities contracted with this very Emperour, when upon the *Createi* account they assaulted *Gradisca*, and endeavoured to deprive him of his Patrimonial Estate in *Friuli*; and the Pope, for that Peace between him and the Emperour, making much for the good of Christendome, it became not him to break it upon the score of the new Dukes succession.

Cesar's Authority was likewise augmented by the Peace made by him at this time with the Turk and Transilvanians, and by the advantagious offers which were made unto him by his Rebels, and by the Head of them, the King of *Denmark*, who being several times routed by him in Battel, and bereft of a great part of his Kingdom, desired Peace: wherefore it was to be doubted, that these Commotions being appeased, which were those which did only disturbe the Affairs of *Germany*, the Emperour, to maintain his Authority and Command in *Italy*, should have made good his threats of passing into *Italy* with powerful Forces, when the Proces should be ended which was then begun against *Nevers*; and that War should be publish'd against him, in case he obeyed not the Imperial Edicts or Bande. Reason was added to these respects, which ought to detain the new Dukes friends from declaring themselves to favour nim: For the Emperour being Supream Lord of these States, and of the new Duke, none could or ought legitimately to interpose between him and his Vassal, nor reprove or correct any Judgment that should pass, there being none to whom recourse was to be had in point of grievance: And yet *Nevers* thinking, that to quit his possession willingly was the worst of evils, resolved to keep it till the last; he therefore betook himself to munite *Mantua* and *Cassalle* the best he could, both of them being very strong places, the last by Art, the other by Nature, and stood prepared to receive so great a storm; he notwithstanding offered (since the King of *France* could not assist him) several Proposals of accommodation to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the King of *Spain*, desiring the King that he would receive him into the accustomed protection of his Crown, as he had done his Predecessors, and professing to be willing to depend in all things upon his Authority: Moreover, to the end that he might not appear contumacious to *Cesar's* Decree, and to the end that the Citadel of *Cassalle* might not keep the Spaniards in perpetual jealousie, he of himself offered to receive Dutch Garrisons, which should depend upon his Cesarean M jesty, and to set up the Imperial Ensigns, into all the Towns of his Dominions, except the City of *Mantua*, which was not (as he said) a Magazine of Arms, and *Cassalle*, where in lieu of receiving in a Garrison, he offered to beat down the Walls and Bulwarks, which divide the Citadel from the City, to the end that being both joyn'd in one Body, the / might be the more easily taken; which Proposals not being accepted, they did not at all retard the going on of the Enterprise, nor were they sufficient to keep off the Proces and Citations of the Imperial Bando or Edict,

which

which were intimated unto him, and threatned by the Cesarian Commissary, who was at this time come into *Italy*. The Marquess of *Canossa* was Governour of *Montferrat*, and the Marquess *di Rivara* was Governour of the Citadel; the latter a Montferrian, the other a Veronese; but the Chancellor *Traiano Guiscardi*'s authority was Superintendent in the conduct of publick Affairs; one who was very well vers'd in the Affairs of the world, quick witted, very vigilant and careful of the new Prince his interest, and partial to *France*. These providing all things necessary for the defence of these and all other places of *Montferrat*, did attentively observe the proceedings of the Governour of *Montferrat*, and of the Duke, who growing daily more fervent in the business, prepared for offending: *Nevers* did the like in *Mantua*; and the Governour, nor other Spanish Agents, not having been any ways diligent, after *Vincenza*'s death, in keeping either Subjects or Forreigners from entring to defend that City, many Souldiers came by threeves into *Mantua*, through the *Valtolins*, through the Venetians Towns, and those of the Genoese; and many French who were cashiered after the Duke of *Savoy*'s reconciliation and declaration, were got into *Cassale*: so as before the war began, the new Duke had got about 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horse into *Mantua*, part of the same Nation, part Forreigners, and of those, most French; and in *Cassale* there were about 4000 Foot, and 400 Horse, all of them Montferrians, unless it were 500 French, who being cashiered by the Duke of *Savoy* had listed themselves under Monsieur *di Guron*. There came hither also, after the Enemy was incamp'd before it, the Marquess of *Beverin* in disguise, who was come from *France* to serve in that war, that he might be re-admitted from banishment, which he had a little before incur'd for fighting a Duel. A gallant Gentleman, and well vers'd in arms: these two Towns being strong and abundantly furnish'd with Garrisons, it was probable that both the Sieges might prove long and difficult; and that therefore the oppugners, who were but few in number, might not come off with honour from that Enterprise, as being either weary or wasted by time, by warlike actions, by sufferings and hardships, or forced by French succour, or by some other strange, unthought-of accident. Besides *Cassale*, two other Forts were to be expugned, *Nizza* and *Montcalvo*, and two Towns, *Ponzone* and *Pontestura*. The taking whereof, they being reasonably well munited, would require length of time, and more men: on the contrary many things made against the Duke of *Savoy* and against the Governour, whose eyes were chiefly fix'd upon *Cassale*; scarcity of men, there not being then in the State of *Millain* above 2000 Horse and 12000 Foot; 2000 whereof were to be kept in *Como*, for the necessary defence of the passes towards the Swissers and Grisons: 4000 others, and 800 Horse, were of necessity to be kept in the Quarters of *Cremona* upon the Mantuan Confines, against the new Duke; whose numbers being increased threatned many things: so there were no more then 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horse to march into the Fields. True it is, that a Truce for six moneths being agreed upon between the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, he obtained 5000 Foot from the Commonwealth, wherewith having sufficiently garrison'd the Towns *della Riviera*, he seemed to have no want

of

of men during the Truce: some men, but not many, were likewise expected from *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Sardigna*: to the want of men were likewise added the want of Victuals, by reason of the great barrenness of that years Harvest; and the want of ready moneys, by reason of the suspension of payment made the King, as hath been said; and these were necessarily accompanied with the want of credit amongst the trading Genoeses, and of the Court it self: so as the chief sinews of war being wanting, it was impossible to raise more men, or to make much provision for the Enterprise. It being impossible to sit down upon so many disadvantages, and upon so ill grounds, before *Casale*, a place strong of it self, but much stronger by the Citadel, very capacious, and of a large situation, flank'd by six Bulwarks, begirt by large and deep Ditches, and which being wholly planted and fortified by all the rules of modern Fortification, was deservedly thought, and commonly held to be a royal Fort, and the strongest that was in all *Italy*, except *Palma* in *Friuli*: it would have been more wisely done to have defer'd the Siege till a more fitting time; and though the desire and haste of this new acquisition did exceed all other considerations, it had been more to the purpose to have taken first some of the Towns about it, and putting 500 Foot, and 200 Horse into each of them, and to have cleared the ways with them, to the end that neither Victuals, Men nor Munition might have been brought thereinto, and whilst they should have thus besieged it at a distance, to have gone with the rest of their men to before *Nizza*, and from thence to *Montalvo* and *Pontane*; and having reduced the weaker Towns, to have gone then with all their Forces to besiege *Casale*, and streightening the Siege, to bring it to a necessity of either surrending it self, or of being stormed. But this being a business of length, and the Governour being desirous, according to his promise made to the Court of *Spain*, to end the business in a short time, he preferr'd the taking of the place before any other resolve, being thereto invited not so much by the small quantity of Munition, which (as they say,) he was made believe was in it, and by the intelligence which he had therein, as building his belief upon the small experience and resolution which he thought to be in the defendants, (who were (for the most part) Montferrians, common people, who being affrighted and terrified by the loss of their Houses and Fields, when they should see them ruined by the Enemy, would not in likelihood persist long in defending *Casale*. But their Calculations proved false, and their designs vain; for the Munition and Provision did far exceed opinion; and the Montferrians proved not only more valiant, but more faithful and constant, then Subjects use to be to a Prince who was hardly known to them: the intelligence wrought no effect, either through the diligence of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Captains and Officers, or out of the diffidence and fear of those that treated therein. The Governour, notwithstanding, coming into the Field about the end of *March*, and passing over the *Po* at *Valenza*, came with his Army to *Frassinero*, the first Town of *Montferrat*, two miles distant from *Casale*, where making a Magazine for Arms, for Victuals and Ammunition, he mutter'd his men; wherein he found not above 8000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, wherein were comprehended 2000 Neapolitans, who were first of all come from the State of *Genoa*, under *Antonio dal Tuffo*.

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The City of *Caſalle* ſtands upon the Banks of *Po*, in a Plain on the left ſide of the River: the form thereof is irregular, but rather round then of any other ſhape: it is begirt with Walls, unleſs it be on the North ſide, where the *Poe* coming almoſt up to the Wall ſerves for a Ditch: on the South ſide, where the Plain extends it ſelf, is the Citadel, within half a mile whereof the Hills draw neer, and ancient Caſtle defends it. It was thought very fit by many to make themſelves maſters of the Hills, not only becauſe they command the City, but for that the defendants would thereby be ſtreightned in Victuals; for being to expect ſuccours only from *Montferrat*, which lies behind the Hills, the ſeizing of them deprived the defendants of all hope of ſuccour: but were it either that the Governour, who was almoſt equal to the defendants in Foot, was loth to part from the Plain, where he was ſuperior in Horſe; or that he thought if he ſhould incamp upon the Hills he ſhould be too far from the River, from whence he was to receive Victuals and other Proviſions, not without danger of having them intercepted by the City which would be between the River and him; or that he thought his very accoſting the City would be enough to take it, he kept upon the Plain; and going from *Fraſinero* went in Rank and File towards *Caſalle*; whither when he was come ſo neer as that the Cannon could not reach him, he halted, and quarter'd himſelf before that part of the new wall which is called *Alla nuova*, which thruſting out from the Citadel towards the *Poe*, joyns with the ancient wall of the City. At the ſitting down of the Camp, thoſe within, according to the cuſtom of Souldiers, ſallied out very ſtrong both in Foot and Horſe; and ſhewing great courage, made a ſtout Skirmiſh that day, which laſted till night; and though they were manfully withſtood and repuls'd, they failed not to make another ſally the next day, out of a double deſign: the one to hinder the Enemy as much as was poſſible from fortifying himſelf, and from making his approaches, or at leaſt to retarde them: the other, that they might gain more time to fortifie themſelves the better on the ſide whereon they were aſſaulted: nor did their endeavours prove vain, for being defended by Artillery from the Citadel, which plaid upon that ſide, they came to underneath the Rampiers, where they fought valiantly; and being afterwards purſued, they retreated ſafe to underneath the ſhelter of their Cannon. Continuing to do thus many days, they afforded their men conveniency to fortifie their new wing, againſt which the Enemy bent their whole Forces; and they had made two Half-moons beyond it, which defended the new Gate, and two great Plat-forms, which did alſo ſhelter the Mills which furniſh'd them with griſt: but the aſſailants being got ſo neer as they were able to plant Batteries, they raiſed four, one of Italians, on the ſide of the Capuchins Church, the other three of Spaniards, neerer the *Poe*; from whence, though they began to play furiouſly, yet did they advance but a little; for the ſhot gave only againſt the higheſt houſes, and ſometimes ſlew ſome of them who wrought upon the Trenches; and having ſpent ſome days thus, and finding themſelves deceived in their opinion of taking the Town ſo eaſily, and of the ſmall reſiſtance they ſhould meet with, they began to diſtruſt the ſequel, and to know by experience, that all they did was but apparent

loſs of labour, time and reputation: they knew alſo that Victuals were daily brought into *Caſſalle* by the way of the Hills, and new men and freſh Proviſions, which the Montferrians, who extreamly hated the Spaniards Government, and were deſirous to keep under their natural Prince, brought in: ſo as finding now for certain that it would be too deſperate an enterpriſe for them to attempt that place without being maſters of the Hills; and knowing the neceſſity thereof, it became them to deſiſt from what they had begun, and fall to another manner of Siege, that would be more convenient, and more profitable; which they might the more commodiouſly do, for that all the men that could come from the State of *Genoa* were already come; and from *Naples* 1200 Neapolitans, and as many Spaniards, to boot with 400 Sardinians from *Sardinia*: ſo as the Camp being ſtronger in men, was likewiſe more able for the enterpriſe of the Hills then before: but being loth to acknowledge an errour, and a certain ambition peculiar to Commanders, who rather then to amend reſolutions already taken, will be ſubject to any inconveniences that may thereby reſult; and the hopes which they had given at Court of the eaſie, and ſpeedy diſpatch of the buſineſs, would not ſuffer the Governour to re-begin it, when by his promiſe he was obliged to have ended it: ſo as deceiving both himſelf and the Court, he continued his former ſuppoſals; and (with ſome new additions,) forced himſelf to perſiſt therein: wherefore without quitting thoſe Quarters he reſolved upon two Enterpriſes: The one, to deprive the Enemy of the Mills; the other, to take *Roſigliano*, a Caſtle upon the Hills, five miles diſtant from *Caſſalle*; not ſo much for that when they ſhould have taken it, it would avail much for the taking of the Hills, as for that it was a receptacle for the Montferrians who were a Convoy to the Victual which were brought to the City, and which oftentimes did infeſt the Spaniſh Horſe which were quartered abroad in thoſe Countries. But neither of both theſe Enterpriſes did hit; for Don *Frederico Enriques*, going with ſix Companies of Foot, and three of Horſe, to ſurpriſe that Caſtle, and having to that purpoſe carried along with him ſome Petards, he got not thither before Sun-riſing, through the maliciouſneſs of his Guide, who was a Montferrian, and prolong'd his March: ſo as being diſcovered, and finding the Draw-bridge up, and the Walls full of defendants, he was forced after a ſleight attempt to retreat, with the loſs of eight of his men, and having fifteen wounded, (amongſt which he himſelf was one, being hurt, though but a little, in the head with a ſtone;) and *Luigi Trotto*, Camp-maſter, who had the Enterpriſe of the Mills given him, not being able to advance ſtraight forwards, for the two Forts which defended them, went with 3000 Foot, and 200 Horſe commanded by *Gambacorti* into the Iſland which the *Poe* makes, over againſt them; and having raiſed a Battery there, he did nothing of moment, being hindred, partly, by a great Bank, which was erected over againſt the Enemies Battery upon a ſandy hill between the Battery and the Mills, partly by the fulneſs of the River, which twice overflowed a great part of the Iſland, to the danger of himſelf, and of ſome of his men, whereof ſome were drown'd in the River; and that he might avoid that danger, he was forced to retire to the other Bank, where he raiſed another Battery, but did there-

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by no good, by reaſon of the far diſtance, as alſo for that thoſe of *Caſſalle* removed the Mills a little higher, where they were hidden, and ſheiter'd from the ſight of the new Battery; ſo as being forced to forego the enterpriſe there alſo, he retreated to his former Quarters. The Duke of *Savoy*, going at the ſame time out of *Turin* with 4000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe, had more luckily begun to get what was by the diviſion allotted to his ſhare: he fell firſt upon the City of *Alba*, whither being come he eaſily took it, there being only two Companies of Souldiers in it, too weak a Garriſon, and not ſuiting with the large circuit of the Walls: but in a ſleight Skirmiſh which hapned between his men and the defendants which ſtood upon the Wall, ſome of his men were ſlain, amongſt which the Count *di San' Trinita*. *Alba* being taken, together with the Country thereabout, he went to *Trino* with 4000 Foot and 1000 Horſe; he begirt it on the ſide which lies towards *Caſalle*, by which way only ſuccour could be brought: he made a long and crooked Trench about it, and plaid upon the Wall with 20 pieces of Cannon placed upon five Batteries, and then drew neer the Ditch with Pick-axes, and endeavoured to bereave the defendants of their Rampiers: the defendants were not above 300 paid Foot, 200 of the Train Bands and two Troops of Horſes: it was but ill provided of Artillery or Munition, there being only three ſmall pieces in the Town, and ſome barrels of Powder: wherefore the Duke having come with his approaches to the Ditch, and taken a little Half-moon, and being afterwards gotten under a greater, which was over againſt the Gate, he began to undermine it from the one end to the other; then threatning the defendants to give fire unto it unleſs they would yield, the Captain of the Garriſon, though the breach made by Battery was not great, and that he had other Plat-forms to retreat unto, yet terrifi'd with fear of the mine, and having ſpent all his Munition, he demanded that he and his Garriſon might be ſuffer'd to come forth with their Arms and Baggage, and that they might be convey'd into *Caſſalle*: which Articles being agreed unto by the Duke in ambiguous terms, the Captain and five of his Officers were permitted to go into *Moncalvo*, and the Souldiers were ſet at liberty: but the Governour underſtanding what Articles the Duke had made, ſent ſome Troops of Horſe towards the way which leads from *Trino* to *Caſalle*, which kept the Souldiers from entring the: eintothese two places being taken, the Duke was poſſeſs'd of all that by the Articles of diviſion fell to his ſhare: for the other Towns being but ſmall, preſently came in unto him, and ſwore fealty; and the Duke, for the better eſtabliſhment of what he had gotten, began to build a Fort Royal about *Trino*; which being in a ſhort time finiſhed, began to be almoſt as untakeable as *Caſſalle*, with no little prejudice to the State of *Millain*; and this Fortification being contrary to the Articles of Diviſion, the Duke to appeaſe the Governour, ſent to take *Pontestura*, and having obtain'd it upon Articles, he cauſed it preſently to be delivered up unto him, as what belong'd to the King by the Articles of Diviſion: being afterwards deſirous to take *Moncalvo*, a Town which did not belong to him by the Articles, he turn'd all his Forces upon it. The Governour and other of the Kings Commanders were not a little troubled at this the Dukes ſo ſpeedy ſucceſs, for they being

imploy'd about the taking of a Town, which proved every day harder then other to be taken, from whence they could not in honour withdraw, nor make any advantagious advancement in the busines of *Montferrat*; they envied the Dukes prosperous proceedings; nor could they without indignation tolerate to be constrain'd to keep there useless and idle, and expect that the Kings Forces should be aided and assisted by the Dukes Forces; and because to fall again upon the taking of the Hills, as they found at last it was necessary to do, would be a business of length, and was generally detested by them all, since thereby they must confess their errour committed at the beginning of the enterprise; they bethought themselves of reaping the same advantage, as they should do by making themselves masters of the Hills, by another shorter, and more easie way, and more to their honour. *Nizza della Paglia* held out still for *Mantua*, and being, as it were, the head and Bulwark of the lower *Montferrat*, many things were brought from thence, by way of the Hills, into *Casalle*; this *Nizza* lies upon the road that leads from the Sea; and now that *Trino* and *Montealvo* were taken, none of the rest of the upper *Montferrat*, being taken out of the power of *Mantua*, could afford any help to the besieged: so as when *Nizza* should be reduced, all the rest of the lower *Montferrat* would be kept from doing so likewise; and then *Casalle* not being to be relieved by of the Hills, nor from elsewhere, what could it think of but of surrendring: this was also chosen before the making themselves masters of the Hills, by reason of the news of the coming of the French; who having no place of refuge when they should be come into *Italy*, but *Nizza*, it was to be feared that they might fortifie themselves there; and making it a Magazine for Arms, they might prove a great impediment to the chief Siege: out of these Reasons, this Enterprise was thought to be more honourable, more necessary and convenient, and was therefore prefer'd before that of the Hills: 4000 Foot were therefore immediately sent thither commanded by Count *John Serbellone*, together with 50 Horse, and ten piece of Cannon: there was nothing in *Nizza* but the Montferrian Militia, two Sakers, and one Murthering-piece, and there was scarcity of warlike Munition: but it is true that Count *Egmonte*, a French man, was come thither some days before, with some other of the same Nation, most of them experienced men, and men of command; who coming from *Mantua*, and passing one after another in disguise through the State of *Genoa*, saw that the Enemy approached *Nizza*, and made stout resistance, and Skirmishing with them, strove to keep them from taking up their Quarters, from fortifying themselves, and from making Battery; these did for some days hinder the Enemies proceedings, but not being able to disturbe them totally, the enemy at last planted batteries on three sides; and because a good Half-moon was erected against the weakest part of the Wall, they made their approaches that way to take it; thinking that when they should have done so, they might the more easily take the Town; and whilst they advanced with their Spades, they attempted to take it by an assault by night: but finding the defendants more ready to receive them then they had imagined, and more stout resistance, they were forc'd to retreat with some loss: being retired, they endeavoured to get neerer, and having

got to within the Ditches, they digged a mine; which when they ſhould have perfected, they reſolved to give fire unto it, and to fall immediately to aſſault: the mine being ſet on fire before hand by the cunning of thoſe that were within, and who made it play, wrought no effect, and yet the aſſault was given, which was ſo manfully withſtood, as the aſſailants were forced again to retreat, with more loſs then formerly, many of their valianteſt Souldiers being therein ſlain: yet this days action was not altogether in vain, for the aſſailants having taken ſtation in the Ditch of the Half-moon, they went about to deſtroy it by fire; which being diſcover'd by the defendants, who had ſpent all their Powder, and ſaw there was no hope of holding out longer, they came to Articles; which being agreed upon much to their honour and advantage, they ſurrendred the Town after having ſtoutly defended it for above a fortnight: About 500 of the aſſailants died before it: Count *Serbellone* was hurt there in the arm and thigh with a Muſket-ſhot, and Count *Trotti* received a ſleight wound in the face: all the Towns of the lower *Montferrat* follow'd this ſurrender, except *Ponzone*, which relying upon the ſtrength of its ſituation held out for *Nevers*. The Duke of *Savoy* being gone, as hath been ſaid, at the ſame time to *Montcalvo* took the Town with eaſe; and having plaid upon the Caſtle with battery and mines, he after a while took it alſo; and being invited by the ſtrength and opportunity of the ſituation, it lying between *Aſti* and *Trino*, he kept it for himſelf, contrary to the Articles of Diviſion, and contrary to the Governours opinion, who thought he would have diſpoſed of it, as he had done of *Pontestura*; and placing a Garriſon of Piedmonteſes in it, he ſaid he would accord the buſineſs with the King, and give him equivalent Towns for it. This action of *Montcalvo*, as alſo the fortifying of *Trino*, was rather wink'd at, then well taken by the Governour, and other Spaniſh Agents: but the ſame reaſons which induced them to Capitulate with the Duke, to keep him by that means from being averſe unto them in the buſineſs of *Caſale*, when he was not poſſeſs'd of any Towns in *Montferrat*, forc'd them to ſee through their fingers now, when by ſuffering him to poſſeſs himſelf of ſo great a part of that State, they had put him into more power and greatneſs; and when he by fortifying *Alba*, *Trino* and *Montcalvo*, had made himſelf more able to defend himſelf, and to offend others. Moreover, great preparation of Arms and Men being known to be upon the Confines of *France*, it became them not only not to diſtaſte him, leſt joyning with the French he might plot novelties, tending to more prejudice then that of *Caſale*; but they were forced to furniſh him with much moneys and men, for which he very much preſs'd, to make him oppoſe, and reſiſt the French Forces; to the danger whereof ſince he was firſt expoſed, he had juſt reaſon to fear, that his Dominions would be made the ſeat of war: the demands were thought juſt, and neceſſary to be granted; for the Duke of *Nevers* ſeeing himſelf in effect deſtitute of help from *France*, that Crown being wholly buſied before *Rachel*, he had by mortgaging his Land in *France*, raiſed about 12000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe; to which, by Order from the King, Marſhall *Cricky*, Governour of *Dolpheny*, was to joyn with the ordinary *Gens d'Arms* of his Government, which might make about 5000 Foot, and 500 Horſe: The

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Marquess of *Montenegro* also, many of his men being run away for want of pay, desired a recruit of Souldiers, to defend that Frontier against the new Duke, whose numbers were now grown to be about 8000 Foot and 500 Horse, wherewith, when he heard that the French were come into *Italy*, he threatned to joyn in the freeing of *Casalle*, and in the recovery of what had been lost.

The Governour and Spanish Agents were doubtlesly troubled at these accidents, who being before *Casalle* (a place not likely soon to be taken) with few men, little money, and less credit, knew not what to do to satisfie the Dukes just and necessary demands, and to withstand so great a deluge of dangers which threatned *Italy*, and chiefly their own Concernments: But they were most of all troubled by the fear of the Duke of *Savoy*'s truth and constancy, and by their jealousie, that having now got a good part of *Monferrat*, he either out of a desire of preserving it, or of advancing to greater things, or to avoid new Wars in his own Dominions, might bethink himself of somewhat else to the prejudice of the Union which he had contracted but a little before with the King; especially since it made not much for his own interest that *Casalle* should fall into the Spaniards hands: They knew what private intelligence he held continually in the Court of *France*; they knew how he was threatned on the one side, and what great offers were made him on the other side by that Court against the Genoeses, great incitements to work upon any whatsoever constant heart, and to make the best composed judgments waver, much more the Duke, who was generally held to be a friend to Novelties, mighty desirous of revenge upon the Genoeses, and naturally given to do what made most for the advancement of his own affairs. *Claudio Marini* the French Embassadour was suspected conscious of some secret mystery, he being still detained in *Turin*, though under the colour of Hostage, till the Dukes Resident should return from *France*; and though the said Duke seemed outwardly very much to study the welfare of the King of *Spain*'s Proceedings, and profess'd great constancy to the new contracted Amity, and behaved himself with great observancy towards that Court and the Agents thereof; yet this so great and so extraordinary affection of a Prince who but a little before was an Enemy had in it more of seeming then sincerity. These suspitions were encreased by the doubt, that nor the Governour, nor other Spanish Agents had real good intentions for the Duke of *Savoy*, it not being very likely that when they should be Masters of *Casalle* they would make him greater by maintaining him in his new acquisitions; for the Articles of division agreed upon between the Duke and the Governour in the Kings name were never accepted of in the Court of *Spain* by the King, nor approved of in *Germany* by the Emperour, who could not without blushing proceed rigourously against the one, and wink at the actions of the other; and therefore signified to the Duke that he should restore what he had taken, and to the Spaniards, that they should cease from besieging *Casalle*: So it was to be believed by the speedy and strong fortifying of *Trino*, *Alba*, and *Montalvo*, that the Duke of *Savoy* had the same opinion of the Spaniards towards him, as the Spaniards had of him towards the Kings Affairs, and that therefore this ill com-

compoſed Union, though it appeared outwardly to be very affectionate and ſincere, was nothing in reality but a deſire of obtaining by reciprocal deceit their ſeveral ends; the one their intent upon *Caſale*, the other a good part of *Montferrat*; which when they ſhould have compaſſed, then to hinder under-hand each others ends and intereſts. Nor was the Duke (ſince he was poſſeſs'd of what he pretended unto) diſpleaſed at theſe jealouſies of the Spaniards, ſince his joyning with them in this preſent conjunction of time made more for them then ever, and made them be the readier to give him all ſatisfaction: He therefore failed not to feed them with ſome demonſtrations, which though they were but ſlight, were of no ſlight conſequence; juſt as it fell out, when ſpeaking with the Governour he appeared in a Caſſock ſo made, as turn it which way you will, it ſuited with the perſon; an Emblem which tacitly threatning change, alluded to the condition of his own affairs, which being turn'd on all ſides did naturally fit all States: but the detention of *Montalva*, and the fortifying the Towns he had got, contrary to agreement, contrary to the preſident of *Pontefura*, his great pretentions, his daily immoderate demands, and the great ſtorm which ſeemed to threaten him from *France*, made him be daily more and more ſuſpected: inſomuch as in the Camp and throughout the State of *Millain*, he was ill ſpoken off, as if he were already fallen from the King of *Spain*, and re-united to the King of *France*: which favour he was to obtain by the detention of what he had taken, and by the River of *Genoa*, and a good part of the State of *Millain*: that therefore it was too dangerous to continue friends with him, and to aſſiſt him againſt the French, with whom he was already cloſed; as if to furniſh him with moneys were to impoveriſh themſelves, and to afford him the better conveniency to arm himſelf to their prejudice; and that to grant him men were no better then to ſubmit the cream, and the beſt of thoſe few who were left to defend the State of *Millain*, not only to the danger of the Enemy, but to the Dukes uncertain faith: to diſmember the Kings Forces, and to expoſe the State of *Millain* to the manifeſt danger of Forreigners with whom the Duke was Confederate: and yet ſo great was the neceſſity of keeping him to ſide with them, as contrary to ſo many and ſo manifeſt appearances, and contrary to ſo great probability of ſuſpicion, the Spaniſh Agents were ſo firm, and conſtant in their diſſimulation, as appearing to confide very much in him, they did not only in this their ſo great need deprive themſelves of 5000 of their beſt Foot, and ſend them to *Piedmont* to oppoſe the French, who were already gotten neer the Alps; but by publick Proclamations, and upon pain of ſevere puniſhment, prohibited the ſpeaking ill of the Duke, and conſenting to any demand he made, though never ſo great, though contrary to their chief ends and intereſts: which was yet more clearly ſeen in the great ruptures which hapned at this time in the City of *Genoa*, ſome of the Popularity whereof conſpired againſt the publick Government moved thereunto, partly by private injuries received from ſome of the young Nobility, partly for that they appeared to be excluded from the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth; and to this purpoſe having held intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*, he promiſed to aſſiſt them with men to execute their deſigns: moneys under ſeveral pre-

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tences were disperst'd abroad amongst some of the meiner sort of people, who being naturally seditious, they thought might be easily brought to joyn in the Conspiracy; and moneys were also sent to many of the neighbouring Villages, making some of them acquainted with the secret; and telling other some how that they meant to make use of their service, in a private resentment which they intended to make; and they had likewise got over unto them some Out-laws, people of a lewd life, and those who for their service in war had got pardon for enormious faults; and hoping, to boot with these to get the universality of the people to side with them, when the business should be begun, they resolved to kill the Senate and greatest part of the Nobility, and to make a new form of Government: but the Plot being discovered, some of the Delinquents were taken; against which whilst process was making, the Duke of *Savoy*, discovering himself to be the Author of the Conspiracy, pleaded their impunity, pretending that the conspiracy being contrived with his knowledge and intelligence, in resentment of what had hapned at *Busso*; that the Truce insuing afterwards, the execution was suspended by his command; and that he had therefore promis'd the Conspirators, that they should enjoy the benefit of the Truce, as being therein comprehended, in case the conspiracy should in the interim be discovered: he press'd the Governour and the Marques *di San' Croce* very much in their behalfs, and engaged himself so far in the impunity of the Conspirators, as causing the Genoese gentlemen to be closely imprisoned, who were formerly his prisoners, and whom he had set at Liberty after the Truce, but upon their Paroll of not going away; he resolutely promis'd they should all be put to death, in case they should proceed in *Genoa* to punish the Conspirators; and on the contrary, if their fault were pardoned, he offer'd peace to the Commonwealth, upon very advantagious conditions for her. The Governour and the other Agents knew they were in a great streight; for the Duke building very much upon the Truce made by their appointment, pretended these as mediators, were to force the Commonwealth to observe it, and not to break it by punishing the Conspirators; and those Agents, whether they approved of this pretention or not, were unwilling to alienate and distaste the Duke, by denying his request, or by consenting, to cause new troubles between the Duke and the Commonwealth, by which the King would be constrain'd to declare in favour of the one or the other of them, with great danger to the present Occurrences: yet in this so detestable example, the new reconciliation and fear of alienating the Duke prevail'd over the merit of the ancient, and uninterrupted friendship of the Commonwealth; and the Dukes satisfaction was prefer'd before any respect of publick honour, or of the Kings dignity; wherefore the Governour and other Agents were very fervent in the point of freeing the Conspirators, and used all their endeavours in obtaining their pardon; insomuch as they presented Letters written by the King to the Commonwealth for the Conspirators impunity; which by the circumstance of time appeared to be framed upon Blanks, which upon like occasions are trusted with chief Agents; and the Governour sent *Don Alvaro di Lusara* to *Genoa*, to treat herein with the Commonwealth; propounding unto her Senators,

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how easily they might obtain a safe and good peace from the Duke, by pardoning the offenders; and on the contrary, how much their punishment would irritate him, and would occasion new wars and troubles, worse than the former. The Dukes pretensions appeared to be false; for the Conspirators forbore not to prosecute the business, after the Truce, which had it not been prevented, would have been effected within a few days, and though it did clearly appear that they treated with the Duke in vain, yet did they never alledg the Truce for their defence, nor any order from the Duke to supersede, nor any promise of pardon from him if they would desist: so as it appeared clearly that all were but false pretences, which he strove to maintain by his own authority, by the favour of the Spanish Agents, and by threats: the Commonwealth being scandalized at so exorbitant pretences, and at the Spanish Agents so strange pressures; the Counsel, which by reason of the paucity of the number is called *Il minore*, but wherein the chief affairs of State are discus'd, being called, and Lesina's Proposals being therein taken into debate, one rose up, and spoke thus:

If I could perswade my self that, for our greater misfortune, we had any Julius Cæsar amongst us, who should dare to open his mouth for the impunity of these new Catilines, I am confident that all we, like so many Catos or Ciceros, would rise up against so perfidious and pernicious an adviser; and that we should resent the first mentioning of so abominable a piece, with more than sharp invectives: but since (God be praised) I see you all so fit upon the just punishment of so execrable a Parricide, I will pass by all becoming declamations upon this occasion, as superfluous, and will confine my discourse to the Question, which falls properly under our present consideration: to wit, to what purpose we are to grieve those demands which are made in favour of those wicked ones, and to the instigation of their Fautors and so great promoter of the conspiracy, the Duke of Savoy, in the name and by the authority of the King of Spain: Offers? demands more detestable then the Conspiracy it self, as being so strange, so unusual, and so without example: what would it be to pardon those guilty persons, but to sow the fruitful seed of continual Conspiracy amongst those people who do perpetually disturbe our State and Government; but to grant them a powerful Chieftain for future sedition? but to authorize and make our enemy Duke, the Protector of our people, which is the thing he so much now affects? for afterwards all rules of respect would be broken, the gate would be thrown open to insolency, the fear of punishment taken away, the Majesty of this Government suppress'd, the Authority of this Order trode under foot, and the peoples obedience lost; and will any endure to hear of peace upon these conditions? will there be any one found so little zealous of the publick good, so wicked an enemy to the Commonwealth, as will not rather chuse to run any misfortune, how great soever, suffer any death, then consent to peace upon so ruinous conditions? the bare dignity and reputation of the Commonwealth is not now the thing in question, though we were to lose a thousand lives for it, if we had so many, but of the summa totalis of the publick safety, but of the very soul of liberty, but of the vital spirits of the present Government; which after having received such a wound, what would it become but a Carcase full of horrour, breathing nothing our but ruine, sedition and death: it is good sometimes to pardon Conspiracies, but it must be by Princes who are newly got into Principality,

we read of Augustus Cæsar, that having found revenge and punishment to be rather a spur, then curb to new Conspiracies, he approved of his Wives counsel, which was, to pardon; and he found it to be a wholsome antidote, and a more proportionable preservative for the malignant and dangerous disease of those times; for the good name he got of being merciful and gracious did radicate the hatred which the people, being grown perverse through fear, did bear him; and planted in the place thereof cordial affection towards a benigne Prince, who before by frequent punishment, was abhor'd, and whose death they plotted: what good will it do to use pardon in these remissive times, when it shall be thought that it is not clemency, nor sparing of humane blood, but fear of the Dukes threatnings, the fear of greater evils, which hath extorted it from us? so all the merit of benignity, all the fame of clemency, will be attributed to the Duke our enemy; he shall be the pious deliverer, he the affectionate Protector of the oppressed: not only the guilty, but all the malecontents shall thank him only: we poor souls shall, on the contrary side, be accounted bloody oppressors, we shall be hated by the people, laugh'd at by strangers, and generally detested by all men: and therefore, if to pardon so enormous a fault, will in other respects be accounted a great errour in us, how much will that errour be multiplied when it shall be known to be done at the importunity of the Duke, and of the Kings Agents? therefore the more we are thereunto prest, the more backward ought we to be in consenting, the more obdurate in denying it: assuring our selves, that (undoubtedly) we can undergo no misfortune, and that no greater disaster then this can befall us: good God! did we not fear the insolent threats of the Duke, for a petty Feesarm, wherein the main of our affairs were little or not at all concern'd, when he was upon good terms with the French, without whose help he would never have dared to assault us? and shall we now succumb to so unjust demands in a thing wherein our vital spirits are concern'd, after that same Duke hath tried, how hard it is to justle with our mountains, when we see him inveloped in the wars of Montferrat, irreconcilably fallen out with the King of France, and so unsincerely united to the Crown of Spain? but some peradventure may doubt, that the Crown of Spain being incens'd at our denial, may joyn with the Duke, and appear against us on his behalf. Truly, he that shall doubt this, will, in my opinion, shew how little he understands the affairs of the world, and that he knows not how easily the hatred and anger of Princes are laid aside, when they are not concern'd in point of State Affairs: John Bernavelt, the greatest man amongst the States of Holland, a man of excellent advise, the Oracle of the united Provinces, grown old in State Affairs, having past all the Imployment as well within the Commonwealth as abroad, who had been imploy'd, by way of Embassie, in all the weightiest affairs, to the Northren Kings and Potentates; this man, not many years ago, being troubled by the emulation of Count Maurice, and the authority of the more powerful prosecutor prevailing over the worth and merit of so gallant a man, he was put to death: so great was the fame of his worth, such was the good opinion of his actions, as the Princes of those parts did compassionate his misfortune: and the King of France interceded for his pardon, not with his name subscribed to blanks, but by an extraordinary Embassadour: all men know of what power that King is with the united Provinces, and how well that Crown hath deserved of them; and yet the Kings intercessions not being listned to, he lost his head: what ruine do you hear, Gentlemen, that this repulse brought

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with it to the Hollanders? you may peradventure think that a French-like fury, more terrible then the raging of the Sea, might devour those Provinces? nothing leſs; the King was not all troubled at it, he broke not with the Commonwealth which had been a friend to his Crown; nay, he did not ſo much as withdraw his wonted favours and ſuccours from them: how unequal is the compariſon, if you conſider the quality of the Deliquents, the enormity of the fault, or the occaſion of the demand? and ſhall we doubt to find leſs moderation in the Court of Spain, *in a cauſe incomparably better, then the Hollanders did in* France? *ſhall we think that the King of* Spain *will ever ſubſcribe to ſo wicked and exorbitant demands of the Duke of* Savoy, *and of his Agents in* Italy? *or that he will joyn with* Savoy *againſt us, to revenge himſelf upon us for our denial? how far do theſe conceits differ from the ways of that Court? how contrary to the weighty concerns of that Crown? how repugnant to the Faith and Magnanimity that his Majeſty profeſſeth, and obſerves to his Friends, and which (upon all occaſions,) but particularly in theſe laſt wars he hath profeſs'd to us, and effectually maintained? the ſenceleſſe fear of the King if* Spains *anger being removed, what are we to apprehend, if we conſent not to theſe ſo unjuſt demands? our Citizens lives peradventure, who are Priſoners with the Duke? where are the* Bruto's, *where the* Torquato's, *who for the preſervation of Military Diſcipline, ſpared not their own Sons lives? I call you generous, noble, and truly Roman minds to witneſſe, and your* Curtii *and* Decii *alſo, who did willingly ſacrifice your own lives for your Country, and for the ſafety of the Roman Legions; for Gods ſake, if you be called upon, do but only appear, to the confuſion of ſuch, if any ſuch there be amongſt us, who can be wrought upon to any ſiniſter reſolution either by neerneſſe of blood, or tenderneſſe of affection, or by the vain danger of the Confederates; but why talk I of the doubt, or danger of our Priſoners lives? who will ever believe ſo bruſe and barbarous an action in a Chriſtian Prince, which would appear infamous and beſtial in a Scythian, Thracian or Cannibal: I pray you ſay, if this Prince who hath inſidiated our lives by ſo horrid a Conſpiracy, ſhould bring the buſineſs to be doubtful and dangerous; what ſhould we do? ſhall we ſuffer the publick ſafety to run certain ruine, for ſaving the lives of a few, though never ſo deſerving Citizens? nor would they themſelves (ſo much do I confide in their worth) give way thereunto; nay, were they permitted, upon their promiſe given to be true priſoners, to appear before us; I aſſure my ſelf, that like ſo many* Attili Regoli *they would ſupplicate us, that preferring the publick honour, before their private ſafeties, we ſhould ſhew that conſtancy which the duty we ow to our ſelves, and Country, obligeth us unto; and that having gotten their requeſt, they would with a generous and conſtant mind return to receive the puniſhment which ſhould be provided for them; and on the contrary, if by their pardon obtained, they ſhould find this Commonwealth ſo ſhamefully deform'd with ſuch a ſcar, and miſerably periſhing, and like to die of ſuch a wound, they would deteſt their own lives, and would hate thoſe to death, who ſhould ſo ſhamefully have betrayed the Publick, for their private ſafety: they would, in fine, (if the heavens ſhould have ſo ordered their deſtiny) not value that life, which when at home and amongſt their friends, a Catarrhe, Fever, or any ſleight accident might by an obſcure death bereave them of; whereas now they ſhall live gloriouſly for ever, not only for having ſerved their Country with their lives and fortunes in theſe wars, but for having been ſacrificed like innocent Victimes for the publick ſafety.*

This opinion was not only attentively listned unto, but approved by an unanimous consent of all the hearers: insomuch as any one repugnant voice or suffrage being produced, not any one of the prisoners kindred, whereof many were present at this Debate, gave their Votes to the contrary; wherefore in pursuance of the Sentence pronounced against the Prisoners, (not allowing them any minute of delay more then what is usually appointed by the Law) four of the Conspirators were beheaded, who had been found guilty by former process: at which the Duke being highly incensed, he gave Order that four of his Prisoners should lose their heads; appearing resolute to have it done, and the Heads man was even now ready to do his office: but at last, being either overcome by the intreaties of some of his followers, or frighted with the unworthiness and atrocity of the action, or that (peradventure) he did never really intend it, he commanded forbearance; and the Governour and other Officers, no less incensed, then the Duke, against the Commonwealth, seemed to be mightily scandalized; not so much for that adhering to the Duke they desired to make him know, that they joyn'd with him in being unsatisfied; as for having upon this occasion sufficiently engaged the Kings Authority, they thought it was not a little prejudiced by this the Commonwealths so absolute resolution: insomuch as though two of those Conspirators who were already beheaded were sent by the Governour to the Commonwealth, before the Duke appeared to favour the Conspiracy; yet some other of them being come unto his hands, he set them at liberty: not making any the least account of the Commonwealths intreaties, as he had wont to do upon lesser occasions: others to the end that if they should be cited they might have occasion to avoid judgement, were secured in the State of *Millain*; and the Duke entertaining other of the Conspirators with extraordinary favour, advanced them, and protected them in his Court; and did further suffer them to publish seditious Papers in Print, whereby to incite the Genoeses to rebellion: assuring them that the Duke would declare himself in behalf of their liberty; and which was of more importance, he by means of the great power he held with the Spanish Agents, endeavour'd to raise enmity between them and the Genoeses, telling them for their better incouragement, that he held many intelligences in *Genoa*, by which he might easily turn the affairs of that Commonwealth upside down; and giving an inkling that the French would joyn with those that should revolt, he strove to make them joyn with him in the same enterprise, to the end, that they might totally exclude the French from out of *Italy*; and to keep him from being constrained to recall them once more thither, that he might work revenge upon the Genoeses. These the Dukes endeavours did doubtlesly much perplex the Spanish Agents, who by reason of the present business of *Cassalle* had daily more necessity of keeping the Duke firm unto them; and *Genoa* appearing to be the stumbling-block against the which all their corrivals were with all their Forces to give, men were very doubtful what resolutions the Court of *Spain* would put on touching these Occurrences; it not being comprehended by their actions, nor penetrated into by their discourse, to what side they inclined: so considerable were the gainsayings both of accidents and reasons, on either side:

side: yet the firm belief, that the addition the Duke had got by the new acquisition of part of *Montferrat* might cause jealousie in the Court of *Spain*, overcame all other considerations: so as it was not probable, that the Spaniards would add scandal to scandal, and increase jealousies in *Italy*, and contaminate the glory which they but a little before had gotten in the defence and preservation of the Commonwealth, by aggrandizing the Duke of *Savoy*, and by oppressing a Commonwealth which had always been so singularly affected to *Spain*, and from whence that Crown had received such advantages: yet so naturally are men desirous of novelty, and inclined to sinister interpretations, as many thought that the Court of *Spain* did not only lend an ear to the Dukes practices, but consented thereunto: it is true that these men doubted whether that Court proceeded really and sincerely herein, or cunningly, only to keep the Duke well affected to the enterprise of *Casalle*, and to divert him from the practices which he seemed to be resolute in, and might easily effect by assistance from *France*, to the prejudice of the Commonwealth: these sinister reports which were publickly divulged, together with news of divisions and factions in prejudice to the Genoeses negotiated by the Duke, were occasioned by divers demonstrations of that Court: which having notice of what had hapned, and of the Dukes complements and exclamations, accompanied by the sinister informations of their Agents in *Italy* touching the conspiracy, touching the danger of alterations in that City, and concerning the inconveniences which might result to the Kings interest, if the affairs of *Genoa* should be molested; and some memorials of the Conspirators in *Torino*, and of some other popular men in *Genoa*, concurring herewithall; they made so sinister an impression of the State and Government of the Commonwealth, as the King, and generally all his Officers, either to secure the affairs of the Crown, or to keep the Duke true unto them, and for his better satisfaction, seemed little satisfied with relations to the contrary, made by *Lucca Pallavicino*; who upon this occasion, was sent once more Embassadour in extraordinary to that Court; and they complain'd much of the haste used in executing the Conspirators; and seeming to value the Dukes satisfaction more then the reasons alledged by the Commonwealth, they broke out into words of anger and resentment; which made the Genoese interpret sinisterly of them, and of their intentions, as if they had been disaffected, and much alienated from the Commonwealth: to this was added, that the Count *di Monterei*, President of the Counsel of *Italy*, and Cousin to *Olivares*, being destined Embassadour to the Pope, was ordered by the King to be gone presently for *Italy*, and that he should tarry some moneths in *Genoa*; it being generally thought that he had many private Commissions given him, and of great importance to the affairs of *Genoa*: but the Genoeses were yet fuller of jealousies and fears, by reason of the news that in these turbulent times came to that Court, of a Victory gotten by the Duke against the French, at the foot of the Alps, who came to succour the Duke of *Nevers*, and to free *Casalle*; these were said to be about 12000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, led on by the Marquess *d'Uxel*, with whom Marshal *Crikky* could not joyn, either out of some private emulation and distaste which he had to the Marquess, or else being detained by the

the Dukes men, under Prince *Thomaso* in *Savoy*. The Marquess attempted the Pass called *dell' Agnello*, by which falling into the Vale of *Uraita*, in the Jurisdiction of *Dolpheny*, you come to *Castel Delphino*; a passage large enough, and therefore commodious for Horse, and whereby, without meeting with any obstacle, you may come to the plain of *Saluzzo* and of *Piedmont*: But the Duke, who had already fortified and munited all the Passes of the Alps, had not left this unfortified; for having built a Fort at Castle St *Pietro*, neer the mouth of the Valley towards *Piedmont*, he incumbred that passage, so as it was impossible to advance further before that Fort was taken; and Artillery being requisite to the taking thereof, it proved a business of much length, by reason of the difficulty of carriages, to boot with the uncertainty of the event: and yet the Marquess being desirous to advance, march'd on; and having first taken three Redoubts which the Duke had set up upon the Mountains, he fell into the Valley of *Uraita*, which takes its name from the River which descending from the Alps runs throughout it, and comes within six miles of Castel St *Pietro*; whether *D'Uxell* being come, and seeing that the Duke advanc'd with his men, he placed his men in order upon a little rise. The Duke had with him about 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, those being therein comprehended who were sent unto him by the Governour, under the Camp-master *Gil de l' Arena*, which were 5000 Foot; and immediately sending Prince *Victorio*, who was best acquainted with the Country, with good part of his men, to possess himself of the skirts of the Mountain which shape the Vale, he staid with the rest, and with the Kings Auxiliary Forces, to defend the plain; where making a Squadron in face of the French, he kept a quarter of a mile off, observing their movings: The Marquess seeing that he had to do with the Enemy upon the Plain, and upon the skirts of the Mountains, sent a good Band of men against those that defended the Mountains, and with the rest charged the Dukes right wing, where the Neapolitans were, who, assisted by the Piemontese Horse, made stout resistance, insomuch as the Assailants not being able to stand before them, were forced to give back: A thousand of them, seeing it was impossible for them to force their way, waded thorow the River, and getting upon a little hill put themselves there in order: The others, advancing by the skirts of the Mountains, assaulted the Dukes men, who seeming to give back, drew them into an ambush which they had prepared; falling wherinto, those of the Ambush fell upon them with such violence, as being forc'd to retreat, they were afterwards put to flight, with a great loss of men: Those who were sent at first against them on the hill ran a fortune not much unlike to this; for the Prince observing the wind, which blew full in their face, caused some little Cottages to be set on fire, the smoak whereof affording him to send men into some ambushes without being discerned, the French men light upon them, and were severely dealt with, and slain; and being also struck with stones which were tumbled down from the higher places, they began to run. The Conflict lasted from morning to night; and the Dukes men were so well disposed of and divided, as not any one of them stood idle. The French seemed that night as if they would retire; but, as the effects shewed,

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they resolved to try their fortune once more; which the Prince having learnt by one that was run away, he presently sent for fresh supplies of men to the Duke, which whilst they were expected, the greatest part of the French hid themselves that night behind certain Trees, and the rest upon break of day appeared in a large but very thin and ill composed Squadron, shewing themselves to the Prince, to the end that allured by the hope of Victory, he might assault them, and so fall into an ambush which they had prepared for him that very night. The Prince who expected a reinforcement, fir'd not so as those who were in the ambush came out, and entred into the Squadron, seeming as if they would fight with more Force then they had done the day before, but the Prince still keeping in expectation of succour from his Father, moved not; till finding not long after, that the Enemies Squadron was much diminished by the retreating of many of their men, he assaulted those that remained, who not being able to resist, were put to flight, and pursued with much slaughter even to the Confines of *France*, whither being come, he with held out of observance of the Kings Confines, having gotten much baggage, and many Arms, which the French threw away as they fled. After this Victory the Duke and Prince march'd presently towards *Pavarolo*, lest the French being beaten from hence might attempt that passe from whence hearing that they went towards *Savoy*, where Prince *Thomas* was, the Duke sent most of his men thither; but it was superfluous, for the French were so confused and dissipated by the discomfiture, as hardly any four of them were together in this retreat.

The Duke won as much reputation by this happy success, with the Spaniards, as he ever had purchased the contrary before: He was publickly acknowledged to be the Kings right hand, the bulwark of his Affairs in *Italy*; by this action all offences were cancelled, and no reward was equivalent to so great merit; the King himself, hearing the news, said in publick, *That he would have accounted it a great happiness to have been found with a Pike in his hand by the Duke his Uncles side*: And the *Conde Duca*, chief Author of the reconciliation, boasted not a little, that the King and Court began now to taste the fruit of his counsels and negotiations: But the more favour the Dukes merits found in the Court, the more jealous were the Genoeses, who saw their own declination joyn'd to the exaltation of their Enemy: And as the Dukes satisfaction seemed to consist in the Affairs of *Genoa*, and the reward equal to his vast expectation, and to his implacable hatred to the Genoeses, which every day grew greater in him; so such a great conjunction of will, and so general a disposition as was found to be in that Court to gratifie him, made it be much apprehended, that some great mischief would redound thereby, to the prejudice of the Commonwealth: This suspition was encreased by the *Conde Duca* his not caring for the Genoeses; the affronts given to the Embassadors of that Common-wealth; and the rigorous proceedings with others of that Nation; the upbraiding of the Conspiracy, and of other accidents which had hapned at *Genoa*, which accidents might by the connexion of Affairs redound to the prejudice of *Italy*, did very much perplex the Statists of that Court.

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Forreign things wherein the publick Interests were concern'd other smaller Remonstrances were added, which touched the Fortunes and Interests of private men; the rigorous Decrees of the preceding year, the difficulty in raising the Revenues, the introducing of other Nations to Contract with the King, to the manifest exclusion of the Genoeses, and the continual exacting of monies from those Genoeses who remained yet in Court, enforcing them to contribute great sums of monies for the urgent occasions of the Crown; by which accidents the face of that Court being totally changed towards the Genoeses both in publick and in private from what it had used to be, they put the Common-wealth into some anxiety of their own safety: And these Novelties and Commotions being known in *Italy*, they first filled all the Princes of *Italy* with admiration, and then with suspition, what the sequel of so great and unexpected an alteration would prove. These suspitions had also influence upon other Nations, which being intent upon all occasions, did not pretermit their wonted artifices to make the heat greater, to the end that they might thereby reap such advantage as might not conduce a little to the conduct of their Affairs and Interests. And amongst others, a Spanish Courier being intercepted in the Seas of *Provence*, who was sent to their Officers of *Italy*, the French gave out, that they had found very strange Negotiation in those Dispatches which past between that Court and the Duke, to the prejudice of the Common-wealth; which Dispatches being sent from the Court of *Turin* into *Italy* to the Duke of *Nevers*, and by him participated to the Pope, they were by both of them made known to the Common-wealth; to the end that growing apparently to distrust they might joyn with them in the common Cause, which might procure the lessening of the Spanish Affairs, and the advancement of the Common Cause of *Italy*. And to this purpose they offer'd with arms thrown abroad to receive them into their protection, and profess'd readiness to defend her. The Common-wealth being so ascertained of these advices and accidents could not but proceed with much circumspection, to the end that on the one side too much distrust might not drive them from that friendship and ancient conjunction wherein at all times, and particularly upon these late occurrences, they had always found so much truth in intention, such constant effects, and such readiness in execution; nor on the other side, that too much confidence might not make them run upon those dangers and prejudices whereof they had been advertised by such a concurrence of probable accidents, with such demonstration of affection and good will: Not that she ever doubted of the Kings good intentions, or suffer'd her self to be perswaded that he had conspired with the Duke to her oppression; all that she feared was, that the Duke being now free from fears of the French Arms, and secured from any opposition he might meet with from *Spain* by his new conjunction and good correspondency with that Court, he might bethink himself of re-assaulting the State of *Genoa*, and might occasion the like damages to those of the preceding year in that River; and that the Spaniards, either not to incense him in this present conjunction of Affairs, or by some secret Intelligence, or in resentment of the small account they made of the Kings Intercession in

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the punishment of the Conspirators, should not be so much moved thereat as formerly, and foregoing his former care of them, might suffer the Dukes Forces to take their course, and might less interest himself in their defence: But because, though they should miss of assistance from *Spain*, yet neither would the French foment the Duke; the Common-wealth therefore thinking themselves to be upon equal terms with the Duke, if he should not be assisted by the French, resolved to provide new Forces which might more immediately depend upon her; and obtain from the Pope, who seemed to favour them more in this then in the former Occurrences, a thousand Foot, and as many more from the Duke of *Bavaria*; with which, and with many others that they had taken into pay, and with their own Militia, the Genoeses re-inforced the most important places of their State, in their own defence, and to resist the imminent storm which the cloudes and winds of the present season did threaten: but the coming of Count *Montrei* to *Genoa*, upon whom all their eyes were fix'd, by reason of the news which was spread abroad, that he was come to cause some commotions, instead of apprehended foul weather, brought so clear skies to the Common-wealth, as (the clouds of sinister impression being dispers'd) the rumours which were given out appeared to be vain: he tarried two moneths in the City with much satisfaction, and spoke not any thing tending to the administration of publick Government: nor did the Duke, by reason of his coming, or by any demonstrations from Court, do any thing of novelty: nay, the Count being to go into *Lombardy* to treat of common Affairs with the Duke offer'd his service to the Commonwealth, touching the compounding of differences which were then on foot; and his offer being accepted of by the Commonwealth, he was very zealous and affectionate in their interests: but the Duke was so exasperated and incens'd for the punishment of the Conspirators, as he could do no good by his intercession; therefore returning to *Genoa*, he represented unto the Senate how much the execution of two other of the Conspirators, who were not yet condemned, would prejudice the Negotiation and conclusion of peace, which was very hotly treated of in the two Kings Courts; and interceded for the stay of execution, which he obtained; and parting afterwards in Embassie for *Rome*, he left the affairs of *Genoa*, as concerning the King of *Spain*, in a much better disposition then he found them.

The Siege of *Casalle* continued this mean while in very bad order, especially after the 5000 men were sent to relieve *Piedmont*; for Victuals were daily brought in, and all kinds of refreshments, insomuch as the corn that was brought in during the Siege was cast up to amount to above 18000 Quarters, a good part whereof came out of *Piedmont* by the Dukes tacite permission, as it was said, and commonly suspected; who (as by many conjectures was thought,) was not at all troubled that that place should be preserved: no less negligence was used in the Vintage time for what concerned Grapes and Wine, which were brought in great abundance into that City. About the end of *August*, the people that was sent in succour of the Duke, arrived, by whose coming the Camp was enlarged; and Don *Philippo* Son to Marquess *Spinola*, who was chosen by the King to be General of the Horse, came thither;

which occasioned the pitching upon two resolutions; the one, the enterprise of the Hills; the other, that of *Bastone*, a strong Town upon the top of a Hill, in the middle way as you come by Sea from *Savona* to *Asti*; which Town having yet a Mantuan Garrison in it, indamaged the neighbouring Towns which did render most obedience to the Governour, and which might further or impede the succours which, being ready prepared in *Provence* (was feared) might be brought by Sea into *Monferrat*; Count *Lodi* and *Trotti*, and *Mark Antonio Brancaccio* were deputed to this enterprise with their two Brigades: there were in it about 500 Souldiers in Garrison, together with about 150 Foot, part Townsmen, part belonging to the neighbouring Towns, who to avoid the troubles of war, were come thither, as to a strong place; there were also about a hundred French got thither, (for the most part) people of account, who were come from *Mantua*, who having abandoned the service of that Prince returned as Travellers into *France*, through the State of *Genoa*, without any let: these having fortified the highest places, and cut Trenches round about the Town, did likewise munite a certain Church at the foot of the Hill, just opposite to where *Brancaccio* was quartered with his Neapolitans; by whom being assaulted, and not able to resist, they were forced to abandon that station, and to retreat towards the top of the Hills: and the Neapolitans possessing themselves of the Church, waited for *Trotti*, who came thither the next day with two pieces of Artillery: the Batteries were immediately raised, and for two days they skirmished with those on the Hills, in several parts, and the assailants being gotten by night to underneath the Trenches, they appeared on break of day ready for an assault, which being couragiously fought, the defendants being astonished, partly by the novelty of the assault, partly suffering by the Artillery (which giving upon the Trenches drove the dust in their eyes,) and finding themselves to be too few to defend so great a circuit of Fortification, and therefore fearing that the enemy might enter, by some part unprovided of defence, they retreated into the Castle, and the Town fell into the hands of the assailants: who fack'd it immediately, and that night got the Castle upon Articles, that the Officers might march out with Arms and Baggage, and the Souldiers with their Swords: but they had hardly march'd two miles when, contrary to conditions, they were barbarously strip'd by the Neapolitans and others even to their shirts, and many to their skins, and those that strip'd them got (as it was said) much money, which the French who came from *Mantua* were furnish'd with by the Duke, not only for their private occasions, but for defence: returning from the taking of *Pansane*, they betook themselves, at last, to the taking of the Hills, which they began at the Town of St. *George*, situated upon them, where the oppugners made a Magazine of Arms, and many Fortifications, not only to defend themselves from the Garrison which was there, of 300 Foot, but to resist the insulting of those of *Cassalle*, who sallying out very strong from the City did continually annoy them on the backs, whilst they were most intent upon the Siege; and yet the Garrison surrendered upon honourable conditions, of being permitted to return to *Cassalle*.

From hence they went to *Rossiglione*, a strong place both by nature

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and art: the defendants resisted stoutly: but Don *Philippo Spinalo*, who ordered the business, having presented Battery, and plaid upon it with his great Guns for four whole days, at last he level'd his great Cannon against the Gate; and the defendants apprehending Mines, which they saw were begun to be dig'd, they grew distrustful to be able to defend it, and surrendred it, with safety to their persons. The Governour being hereby master of the Hills, began to block up all passes and avenues, by which the City might be come unto on that side: he then drew a long and a deep Ditch from the *Poe* to a rivulet called *Gattola*, which falling from the Hills, a little beneath *Casale*, runs towards *Frascineto*, and disgorgeth it self into the *Poe*; and many Fortifications were made upon both sides of the Ditch, as also on the outward side of the *Poe*; whereby *Casale* was streightly besieged; and being inclosed between the fortified Hills, the Ditches and the *Poe*, it was impossible to be relieved: a resolution which if it had been taken at first, the business had been already ended; but being thus long retarded, it did little or no good; for much provision was already brought in, and the compass of *Campagnia* inviron'd by the Governours Works was large, full of Meadow-ground, Trees and Shrubs; so as the besieged had wherewith to maintain themselves for all the ensuing Winter, and to wait for succour, that Campagnia yielding great store of Wood and Roots, Hay and Straw, for the maintenance of Horse and Cattle, and Fewel for Ovens: the which they might the more easily do, for that the Governour, quitting his former Quarters, went to Winter between the Hills and *Gattola*; leaving all that Campagnia uninjured, he made a Bastion upon a little rise, at the foot of the Hills, upon which placing four pieces of Artillery, he plaid upon the Castle, and part of the Wall which (together with the Citadel,) inviron the City on the Hills side: but being so far off, it did but little harm; in this manner he continued all the next Winter: the besieged drew out the Siege at length, with great good order and vigilancy, and sparing their Victuals; and the besiegers, with patience and industry, and much hardship, endeavour'd to streighten the City, and bring it to surrender. In this interim several Skirmishes happned, worthy to be particularly related, if (as they were valiantly fought,) they had conduced any thing to the main business: in one of them the Marquess of *Severone*, the head of the French, being shot with a Musket-shot in the throat, died, which was a great loss to the besieged; for he was the man who underwent almost the whole burthen of the defence: but the besiegers were no less streighned in all things then the besieged, not only for that lying (for the most part) in the open air, they were subject to the sufferings of rain, frost, the distempers of weather, but by reason of the great want of Victuals. This years harvest was generally poorer then that of the preceding year; and (which made the scarcity the greater) those who had corn in *Millain*, out of avarice, hid it, that they might sell it at a dearer rate the next year; and the Duke of *Guise*, to keep Victuals from being sent from *Genoa* to the Camp, and to the State of *Millain*, did prohibit the exportation of corn from *Provence*; and detain'd many boats which were sent from *Genoa* into those parts to fetch Grain; to the end, that they might not carry any Corn to *Genoa*, and from thence to the Camp be-

fore *Cassalle*; and the Duke of *Nevers* blocking up the *Poe* with two Forts upon the Mantuan side, hindred the carriage of Provisions into *Puglia*, and the other Maritime parts: so as they were forced to send new Commissions to *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which being brought by the way of *Genoa* to *Millain*, and so to the Camp, might ease the present necessity: but the Orders being given out late, and the far distance of place, (added to the scarcity of conduct requiring much delay) the remedy suited not with the urgent necessity; wherefore the common people of *Millain*, impatient of delay, and seeing the Bakers shops shut up, began to mutiny; which made the Governour leave the ordering of the Camp to Don *Philippo Spinola*, and go to *Millain* to appease them, which, by punishing some, and by sudden prevention, he soon did: but great was the scarcity of Victuals in the Camp; insomuch as, though Provision of bread was scarce enough in *Casalle*; yet bread was cheaper there then in the Camp; so as the besiegers being rather become in condition of besieged, they suffer'd more want; and by an unusual, and peradventure unheard of example, they were thereby likely to have abandoned the Siege: many Souldiers died of hunger, and mutinies were much feared; which had certainly insued, had not force awed the murmurers; some of which not being able to wait for assured death by famine, chose rather to endeavour their preservation by the doubtful event of running from the Camp: so as the Army did daily diminish; and it was impossible to raise more men, as well for want of moneys as of victuals, which affrighted whatsoever necessary provision or resolution, there being no means found whereby to provide for the Forreign Souldiery; and the very Souldiers, who came from the State of *Millain*, were in danger of mutinying: thus weakly and with so many necessities did the business of *Cassalle* proceed; and *Cesars* Edicts and Citation proceeded not more fortunately; for the Count of *Nassaw* being come (as hath been said) into *Italy*, with title of Cesarian Commissary, and having sent out Monitors twice to the Duke of *Nevers*, and threatned him with the Imperial Proclamation of banishment, unless he would obey *Cesars* will, by freely yielding up the possession of those States; and *Nevers* having at first desired, in vain, that his business might be put over to the Law; and given out writings, and published the opinions of Civilians in Print, whereby he strove to prove there was no reason why he should be forced to forgo his Dominions, without the cause given why; and afterward having complained very much, why the like commands had not been sent to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the Governour of *Millain*, who had actually and by violence possess'd themselves of part of his Dominions, and still proceeded to possess themselves of the rest; they came to the third Summons, wherein *Cesar* declared that if *Nevers* would put what he possess'd into his hands, the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governour of *Millain* should do the like with what they had taken of his. *Nevers* seemed to accept of this offer; and to this purpose he sent his Son the Duke of *Retell* to *Cesars* Court, that he might expedite the dispatch of the business by favour of the Empress, who was Sister to the three last Dukes of *Mantua*, and did wish well to *Nevers* his cause, to whom she was neerly allied in blood: but being come thither, he found that *Cesar*, perceiving that

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neither the Duke nor Spaniards would be brought to make any reſtitution, and it was hard for him to compel them to it, had mitigated the Edict; and accommodating himſelf to the times had made a new Propoſal, by which the Duke of *Savoy* and the Spaniards were permitted in *Ceſars* name to keep what they had taken, and the Duke of *Nevers* was to poſſeſs the City and entire Dukedom of *Mantua*; ſo as the Dutch, who were to be ſent by the Emperour into *Italy*, might have the City, Caſtle and Citadel of *Caſalle*, aſsigned over unto them, till cauſe to the contrary was known. *Retell*, not being able to get better conditions, and not being received, nor acknowledged by the Emperour as Prince of *Mantua*, by reaſon of the Spaniards earneſt deſire to the contrary, leſt by ſuch a Declaration his pretentions might not ſeem to be tacitely granted, and the Kings cauſe in *Montferrat* might in the eyes of the world ſeem to be damnified, he departed but ill ſatisfied from that Court; and the new Propoſals were not accepted of by his Father, whoſe fear of the Emperours Edicts were leſſened by the weakneſs of the Spaniſh Army; and the King of *France* his proſperous proceedings made him believe more in the favour and forces of that Kingdom, then in the Imperial Decrees or Deciſions.

In theſe Negotiations, and Tranſactions, the year 1628 ended; and the King of *France* having at laſt compaſs'd his ends upon *Rochel*, whereinto he entred victorious, and triumphing on *All Saints* day; he prepared to paſs over the Mountains with gallant Forces, to aſſiſt the Duke of *Nevers*; for the Hugonots of *France* having received a great blow by the loſs of *Rochel*, and the Affairs of *France* being almoſt perfectly ſetled, nothing was heard of in that Kingdom but preparations for *Italy*: which being divided into two Armies, the one was to paſs through *Dolpheny* and *Syonois*, to the relief of *Montferrat*, and the King prepared to paſs over the Mountains perſonally therein; and the other was to advance by the County of *Nizza*, and by the River of *Genoa*, towards *Caſalle*: the Spaniards, nor the Duke of *Savoy* could not believe ſo ſtrange a reſolution; they thought it was impoſſible that the King having his Kingdom yet full of troubles, and exhauſted of moneys, his Army being weary, and waſted before *Rochel*, could paſs over the Alps in the midſt of Winter, with great forces, and carry over Victuals, Artillery, and other neceſſaries for ſo great an action, the Alps being yet loaded with Snow: Eſpecially when he ſhould know that he would be oppoſed by the Duke of *Savoy*, who being joyn'd in Forces and Intelligence with the Spaniards, was to reſiſt him ſtrongly at the Paſſes, which he kept well garriſon'd and munited: hoping therefore that the fame of theſe great preparations would prove but talk, they continued the Siege: the ſcarcity of Victuals increaſed this their confidence, which ſcarcity being ſo great an impediment to their Forces who were maſters and peaceful poſſeſſors of the State of *Millain* and of *Piedmont*, it would aſſuredly prove a much greater hindrance to the French if they ſhould come into *Italy*, and have occaſion to keep there; for a great conduct of Victuals being requiſite to feed ſo great an Army, it would be impoſſible for the French to compaſs it, and conſequently, the greater their numbers were which ſhould paſs the Alps, the eaſilier and the ſooner they would be overcome meerly by Famine: they therefore thought

thought that this sole consideration should not only retarde, but retain the fury of the French Forces, at least for this year; and that in the mean while the enterprise of *Casale*, undisturb'd by any Forreign assistance, would be happily effected. The Court of *Spain* confiding in these difficulties did not only not make any necessary preparations for defence, but forbore to send the Duke the succours which they had promised, for the maintaining of *Piedmont*, and to oppose the French Forces: they forbare also to endeavour diversion, by the Pirenean Mountains, and by *Burgony*, and by secretly fomenting the Rebels in *France*, so to keep that King in work and busied with his home affairs, and consequently from medling with those of Forreigners: the pretermission of which provisions did not only facilitate the resolution taken by the French, but did incite them to it; For the King being firm to his resolution, valued not any of the difficulties or contrary considerations, being confident to overcome them, and to make his way by the Sword. The fame of the mighty preparations of this Kingdom increasing greater then those of any of the preceding Kings, the Spaniards and the Duke, began at last to fear not only the success, but whatsoever might be the result of so great and so neer an Army. The Duke and Governour were likewise much troubled for not having for a long time heard from the Court of *Spain*; for the Spaniards being jealous of *France*, through which the expresses used to pass, and the Sea not being open in Winter, people could not without much difficulty pass from *Spain* into *Italy*; and such had the ill fortune been, as three several Posts that had been sent from *Spain*, being driven by violent winds upon the Coast of *Provence*, were detain'd, and had their Letters intercepted: so as the deliberations of *Italy* depending much upon the returns of that Court, the Duke and Governour knew not in such a perplexity of business what to do: nor was it only the scarcity of moneys and want of advertisment, which kept them from making any provision, but neither had they time to make new Levies of men for the necessary defence of the State of *Millain*, and for the Provisions for the Army before *Casale*, and for the Forces which were towards the Cromonese, and which were already much diminished: it was therefore thought the best expedient to beat up Drums in the State of *Millain* for Volunteers, which might be sent to the Camp before *Casale*, and afford commodity of drawing out the best Souldiery from thence, to bring them into the Field to oppose the enemy: which provision, though it proved not altogether vain, (for many being driven away by famine, and hoping to get away by inrolling themselves, and to get Ammunition-bread, which though very bad, was made desirable by reason of the great scarcity;) yet this being but a very slender provision to resist the great storm which threatned them, the affairs of that State and of *Piedmont* were reduced into great danger and necessity, and that the more, for that they heard the numbers of the Venetians were increased upon the Confines of *Bergamo* and *Brescia*; and that *Nevers* was ready to march out at the first news of the Frenches advancing, with about 8000 Foot, and 1200 Horse; and if either joyntly, or separately they should assault the State of *Millain*, it was feared they might divert the Governours Forces from opposing the French; and it was apprehended, that

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the Duke of *Nevers*, as he had threatned the preceding year, would passe into *Mantua* and joyn with the King; for these respects the Governour went to *Lodi*, and was forc'd to keep there; and to make a Magazine of Arms there against the Venetians; and ordered *Francisco Paglia*, who succeeded *Montenegro*, that abandoning the Fort of *Pizdena*, which was built the year before upon the Territories of *Mantua*, and all the rest of the Territories of *Cremona*, he should bring the remainder of those men to defend *Orema* only: he desired likewise, and obtain'd, two thousand men from the Duke of *Parma*: and 12 Gallies being come at that time from *Naples* to *Genoa*, with 2000 Foot, he could not make use of them, for it was necessary to keep them at Sea, to oppose the Fleet of the French Army, being ready prepared in *Provence*, which (was said) together with the ships that were expected at *Marcellis* from *Rochel*, would pass by *Nice* into the River of *Genoa*; and that landing their men at *Ventimiglia* near *Monaco* he should pass into *Piedmont*, or into the Sea neer *Savona*, and would by that way take a shorter and more easie course to relieve *Casale*: to this weak condition were the affairs of the State of *Milan* reduced, against the Forces of so powerful an enemy; and in being impossible in so great Neights to mind the relief of *Piedmont*, the Governour drew out 4000 of the best Foot that were before *Casale*, to send them into those parts under the Conduct of Don *Jeronymo Agostini*; and being afraid that the Venetians, who were joyned in Arms and Intelligence with the French, might assault the State of *Milan*, he used means to the Duke of *Tuscany*, that he would intercede, and endeavour to make the Commonwealth forbear troubling the King of *Spain* Dominions in these urgent occasions: on the other side, the Duke of *Savoy*, finding the weakness of his defence and the scourge, and seeing that his Dominions were likely first to endure the brunt, before those of the King of *Spain*, had first sent the Count of *Verrua* to the King of *France*, and afterwards his Son the Prince, to keep the Army from advancing, by making some composition with that King: suspending therefore his resolution till he saw what the event of these endeavours would be, he made Don *Jeronymo Agostini* to forbear acting any thing with the Governours Auxiliaries in the Territories of *Asti*: but the King being resolved to advance, refer'd the Prince of *Piedmont* to Cardinal *Richlieu*, with whom he treated upon several ways of composition; but not agreeing upon any one, they concluded a suspension of Arms for five days, till the Duke his Father might be advertised of what had past. The Duke seeing the King so resolved, began with great diligence to fortifie *Susa*, by which way he perceived the King would march with his Army: the French had had experience how hard it was to separate the Genoeses from joyning with *Spain*, by way of force; wherefore thinking now to make use of the present jealousies which were risen (as hath been said) and cunningly fomented, between the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, and the Crown of *Spain*, they applied themselves to increase these jealousies, which they began by Demonstrations and endeavours to the contrary, in good will and favour to the Genoeses, to try whether they could effect or no; wherefore the King being to send a Messenger to the Princes of *Italy*, to acquaint them with the ends and intentions of his coming, he dispatch'd

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away Monsieur *di Lande*, commanding him that when he should be come to *Genoa*, he should not only free those Senators from any apprehension of danger which they might apprehend by his coming; but that he should promise them in his name all assistance against any who should go about to infringe their publick liberty: which being done, that he should immediately go to *Mantua*, and from thence to *Venice*, to acquaint that Duke and that Commonwealth with his coming: which he assured them should, at the furthest, be by the 25th of *March*: wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* marching into the Field on the day appointed, assaulted *Cassale* the greater, the last Town of the Dukedom of *Millain* lying towards *Mantua*; and taking it after some little resistance made by the Towns-men, he sack'd it, and (staying there a while) brought the neighbouring Towns under contribution: he afterwards went to *Sabioneta* a strong Castle, which holds in Fee of the Emperour, but took it not, being stoutly resisted by a Garrison of the *Parmiggiani*, who were sent thither at the Emperours request by the Duke of *Parma*. The King of *France*, in this interim, having sent precise Orders to the Duke of *Guise*, Lieutenant General of the Army of *Provence*, and to the Marquess of *Coure*, *Guise*'s Marshal and Lievtenant, to march along into *Italy* coasting by the Sea side, he went himself in person by the Alps, towards *Piedmont*, with the Van, which consisted of about 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, the greatest part of them being of the French Nobles; and having overcome the passage of *Mongeveura*, he fell, on the sixth of *March*, into the Valley of *Susa*; where the Duke of *Savoy* having cut a great Trench upon the way by which the King was to pass, half a mile beyond *Susa*, he had placed the Camp-master *Bellone* there to defend it with his Brigade; and behind *Bellone* stood the Duke prepared, with the main body of his men; amongst which were the Governour of *Millains* men, under Don *Feronymo Agostini*, who was fetch'd but a little before from *l' Astigiana*; and the King having possess'd himself of the tops of the Mountains, which were all cover'd over with snow, commanded some companies of the Fore-lorne-hope to assault the Dukes Trench; who not meeting with much resistance, (for *Bellone*'s men were raw and unexperienced Souldiers) took it at the first assault: afterwards increasing in numbers by other people, who came in into them, they assaulted the station where the Duke was with the main body of his Army; here the conflict was somewhat greater; but such was the continual confluence of French, who continually came in, as the defendants not being able to resist their fury, were forced to give back, and to retreat towards *Auvigliana*, nine miles towards *Turin*, leaving *Susa* in the Kings possession; which being taken, was by the Kings express command preserved from sacking and from all other violence: many of both sides died in this conflict, nine Colours of *Bellone*'s Brigade were taken by the King, and about 80 Prisoners; amongst which many Captains, who were presently by the King set at liberty: the Duke ran great hazard in his own person, and Don *Feronymo Augustini* was unhors'd.

At the same time the *Provence* Army, consisting of about 15000 Foot, having brought some Artillery in Barques from *Marselles*, came neer to *Nizza*, or *Nice*; and having sent a Trumpet to Don *Felice*, the

Dukes

Dukes natural Son, and Governour of that City, to demand free paſſage thorow that County, he was anſwered, It was not in his power to grant it without leave from his Father; he therefore had time allowed him to know his Fathers pleaſure; and the mean while the Army paſs'd over the *Varo*, a little River, which deſcending from the Alps, and falling into the Sea two miles beyond that City, divides *Italy* from *France* in that part. At the ſame time that the Army having paſs'd over the *Varo*, ſpread it ſelf along upon the Shore of *Nice*, the Neopolitane Galleys coming from *Genoa*, with ſome other Galleys of *Doria*'s ſtore, playd upon the French Squadrons as they marched towards *Nice*; to avoid which danger the French went more inward into the land, and being free from the ſhot of the Enemy, which could not reach them, the Galleys retreated towards *Villa Franca*, where they landed about a thouſand Foot, who taking ſome Stations near the French, had ſome Skirmiſhes with them, at a great diſtance off, and of no great importance; till news being come to *Nice* of the Agreement made between the King and Duke of *Savoy* at *Suſa*, they forbare all hoſtility; and the Galleys taking in their Souldiers, returned to *Genoa*.

The Duke finding, after the unfortunate ſucceſs at *Suſa*, what a tempeſt over-hung his Dominions, and the State of *Millain*, thought it better to ſtop ſo great a ruine by Agreement, then to hazard the total buſineſs with ſo weak and unſeaſonable oppoſition; he therefore ſent the Princeſs, his Sons wife, and Siſter to the King, to *Suſa*, that by her neer relation in blood, and by the grace and favour which ſhe received from the King, ſhe might appeaſe her Brothers anger; and ſending the Prince after her, he by their means came to a Treaty of Agreement; which being at laſt ſet down, was after much debate ſtipulated by the Cardinal of *Richelieu* on the Kings behalf, and by the Prince in his Fathers Name, in form following.

That the Duke ſhould give free paſſage to the Kings people whenſoever it ſhould be requiſite for the relief of Caſſalle, *and* Montferrat; *and ſhould alſo furniſh them for their moneys with Victuals and Munition, for the maintaining of the Kings Army, and of* Caſſalle: *That he ſhould promiſe that the Governour of* Millain *ſhould riſe within four days from before* Caſſalle, *and ſhould withdraw his men from* Montferrat, *freeing that City and that State from the King of* Spains *Garriſons, and ſhould leave the poſſeſſion thereof free to the Duke of* Mantua; *together with an expreſs promiſe from the Governour, in the King of* Spain's *Name, That for the future he ſhould not moleſt the States of* Mantua, *nor* Montferrat; *and that the King of* Spain *ſhould ratifie this Agreement within ſix weeks: That the Duke of* Savoy *ſhould put* 15000 *Quarters of Victuals into* Caſſalle, *and ſhould reſtore all the Towns that he had taken in* Montferrat, *except* Trino, *and ſo many other Towns as ſhould be worth* 15000 *Crowns yearly Rent, anſwerable, as he ſaid, to what* Nevers *had promiſed him before the preſent War; and, That this ſhould be by him acknowledged to be in full ſatisfaction of all that he, the Duke of* Savoy, *could pretend unto in* Montferrat; *That he ſhould aſſign over* Suſa, *and the Caſtle of S^t* Franceſco, *to the King, for pawn of performing what was agreed upon; in which Forts the King ſhould put a Garriſon of* Swiſſers, *which ſhould ſwear to reſtore them to the Duke when theſe Articles ſhould be by him obſerved: That notwithſtanding,*

it should be lawful for the Duke to keep all the Towns he had taken in Montferrat, *till such time as those Forts, together with the Town of* Susa, *should be restor'd unto him: That the King should promise* (as he did) *not to molest the King of* Spain's *Dominions, nor those of his Confederates; That he should take the Duke of* Savoy *into his protection, in case he should be assaulted upon this or any other account, by any whatsoever Potentate: That in case the King of* Spain *should refuse to ratifie these Conventions, or should not observe them after they were ratified, the Duke should joyn with the King of* France, *to force the King of* Spain *to ratifie and observe them. Moreover, there was one thing more Articled, which contained a League and Confederacy between the King of* France, *Duke of* Savoy, *the Pope, Venetians, and the Duke of* Nevers, *in defence of the quiet possession of each others Dominions.*

The first Article being agreed upon, it was immediately sent away to the Duke of *Savoy*; who calling to Councel Don *Feronymo Augustino*, and Count *Fovan Serbellone*, the King of *Spain's* and the Governours Officers, consulted with them, whether they ought to be accepted of, or no? And the urgency of the present condition prevailing with all of them, over the utility and honour of the common Forces, it was resolved they should be accepted of: But the Duke not herewithal satisfied, would send the Commendatore *Fovan Thomaso Pesero*, his first Secretary of State, to the Governour, to know his pleasure more precisely, who, though with an ill will, yielding to necessity, consented to it.

Thus the first Articles being subscribed by the Duke, the Siege of *Cassalle* was raised, and the Kings Forces retreated to *Montferrat*; which State was also freed from the Spanish Forces at the very appearance of the Kings Person. The Duke sent forthwith about 1500 Quarters of Corn into *Cassalle*, as part of a greater quantity by him promised; and gave passage to 3000 Foot, and 150 Horse, which were sent under Monsieur *di Toras*, into the lower Palatinate. As for the other Article, touching the League, the Duke made many excuses to keep from under-writing it; and being afterwards free from the imminent danger, utterly denied to do it: He went soon after himself to kiss the Kings Hand, and was upon the way met by the King half a mile from *Susa*, who pretended he was going to hunt; they both of them turned back; the meeting was full of reverence and submission on the Duke's part, who was received with much honour by the King; the Duke striving by all seeming artifice, wherewith he was naturally very well indued, not only to appease the King, but to win upon his genius, and to captivate his good will.

Thus by the Dukes dexterity and cunning many thought that the greatest force of *France* that had for many years past the *Alpes* was stopt; which finding *Italy* unprovided of defence might easily have over-run it, to the universal ruine, and particularly to the danger of the State of *Millain*. 'But the Duke his having after his opposition 'found the King rather gracious and favourable then angry and incen-'sed; his having received honours, rewards, satisfaction, and recom-'pence, instead of revenge and resentment; his having by these agree-'ments provided well enough for himself, and suffer'd the interests of

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'the Crown of *Spain* to be prejudiced, afforded much talk and mur-
'muring against him, not only by the Princes of *Italy*, who were dis-
'pleased with his being reconciled to the King of *Spain*, which was
'contrary to the common Interest, but even in the Court of *Spain* by
'those that envied the *Conde Duca*'s favour with the King; who find-
'ing it to continue, strove to make it appear, that the Dukes reconci-
'liation to the King of *Spain*, wherein he was assisted, and which was
'effected by the *Conde Duca*, was a debt to the King, and pernicious
'to the Interest of the Crown. They said that it was he, the Duke of
'*Savoy*, who (as might be gathered by many conjectures) had made
'the way plain for the King of *France* to enter *Italy*, by his secret In-
'telligence held with the Court of *France*. That it was he, who having
'covenanted for, and secured unto himself the retention of a good
'part of *Montferrat*, had before hand promised not to oppose him in
'that Enterprize, having therein no respect to the Interest of *Spain*, or
'to the honour of the Spanish Forces, by which he had got such a part
'of *Montferrat*, and with which he was but a little before confederated:
'That this was the faith of this Prince, this the fruit of that reconcili-
'ation. For otherwise, how would the King of *France* have dared to
'hazzard his total reputation and glory which he had won in so many
'home actions, and particularly in his late Victory at *Rochell*, in so cold
'a season, against so many difficulties of steep and craggy Mountains,
'and as yet cover'd over with snow; and all this only for the freeing
'of a Town that was not in his Kingdom, nor did not any ways belong
'to him? To this end, they said that the Duke opposed his worst arm-
'ed men, to withstand the first violence of the most resolute and for-
'midable of the French; which was the cause why there was so little
'fighting, and why the strong Pass of *Susa* was rather abandoned then
'stoutly defended: That the Governour, nor other Spanish Agents
'that were in *Turin*, had not consented to those Articles, otherwise
'then as they were enforced by the Dukes peremptory will; who
'consulting with them in very positive and resolute terms, bereft them
'of the freedom of Election; and that protesting that these Agree-
'ments were the only remedy against the imminent ruine of the State,
'he tacitely threatened, that unless they would consent thereunto, they
'would force him to accept thereof without them, and by joyning
'with the French, to provide the best he could for the safety of his own
'Interest; so as they consented to what he would, to keep the Kings
'Affairs from falling into a worse condition. And so far did these
'murmurings prevail, as the very French being more desirous to make
'the Duke be suspected in the Court of *Spain* then zealous of their
'Kings glory, did by their outward demonstrations confirm what was
'said in his discredit. But it was not probable that the Duke by this
'Agreement should so much to his own disadvantage part with what
'he was to expect from the friendship of *Spain*; especially when he
'was known to be naturally very desirous of making new acquisitions,
'and very tenacious of what he had. The loss of *Susa* did yet more
'gainsay these objections, it being a place of great importance by rea-
'son of its situation, and of greater profit then any other Town of
'*Piedmont*, for the Customs which the Fairs that are held there do

'yield, and which are had for the Transportation of Merchandize 'which pass to and fro between *France* and *Italy*; which that he should 'willingly grant unto the King, and commit so great a fault, was too far 'from being believed by any that was but indifferently wise; for what 'Reason would admit, that by the loss of that advantagious place, 'which was one of the gates of *Piedmont*, and of *Italy*, he should wil-'lingly make himself subject to the King of *France*, and be less valued 'by the Italians and Spaniards. To this may be added, That when in the 'preceding years the Duke was assaulted by the powerful Armies of '*Spain*, and was consequently in great need of being sustain'd by the 'French, yet would he never grant them so much as any one Tower in '*Piedmont*; and how was it likely that upon this present occasion he 'should agree to yield them a place of such importance, before he was 'assaulted? The Fortification also made at *Avigliana*, whilest they 'were treating of agreement; the Artillery which were brought thi-'ther after the Capitulation, the King looking on; his having always 'for his own defence entertain'd Spanish Auxiliaries, as they were 'actions of much diffidence, not to say contumacy, towards the King, 'and therefore much to be resented by the French; so they seem force-'able arguments against that intelligence and collusion which would 'fain have been proved to have been between him and the French: And 'yet, as men incline naturally to sinister interpretations, though the 'Court of *Spain* hearing these bad tidings, and maturely considering 'the state of affairs did approve of the Dukes actions, and rejecting 'vain rumours caused three Pays to be paid unto him before-hand by 'their Factors in *Genoa*, of 25000 Crowns a piece, which were grant-'ed him for the expences of these present occations; yet the contrary 'impression not being to be removed, most thought that that Court 'had dissembled more according to necessity and to the conveniency 'of the present occurrences, then done upon any real and intimate be-'lief; as if it were not consistent with the Kings Interests, by unsea-'sonable distrust and resentment totally to alienate the Duke from 'them, but by the contrary appearing well satisfied, not only to keep 'him their friend at such a pinch, but to oblige him still more by new 'benefits to keep still the more united and better inclined to the affairs 'of the Crown. This is evidently apparent in so great variety of opi-'nions, and may be affirmed, that the Duke thinking upon new agree-'ments, which by the Mediation of his Son the Prince were to be ac-'corded, demanded 4000 Foot, and a certain number of Horse, of the 'Governour, and in his absence of Don *Philippo Spinola*, which at the 'beginning of this War were promised him, in case he were assaulted 'in *Piedmont* by the Arms of *France*; which demand being made 'when the Army before *Casale* was in greater want of men then ever 'it had been, he wish'd they might not be granted him, that by that 'denial he might have a fair pretence to forego friendship with *Spain*, 'and to abandon the Cause, which till then he held in common with 'that Crown: And that when *Spinola* had punctually satisfied his de-'mand, and sent the men, contrary to the Dukes expectation, he was 'troubled at their coming; which made him not only make them keep 'upon the Confines, but by hard usage endeavoured to make them

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return back; but when he saw his Counsels prevented by the King of *France* his speed, he speedily summoned them in to his defence against the Kings Army which he saw came suddenly upon him; and by their help made what defence so short a time, and the imminent necessity could permit him to make; for though there was no collusion in the conflict at *Susa*, yet the unseasonable demand made by the Spanish Agents, the little satisfaction he seemed to receive by their coming, the preceding Negotiations, and the Conclusion of the subsequent Agreements, shew that the Duke was much more inclined to imbrace friendship with *France* upon new terms, then (according to the observance of his Ancestors) to keep union with the Crown of *Spain*: But it may be said that the then so dangerous condition of Affairs forced the Duke to put on this resolution; and is being usual with Princes to make all change lawfull, not onely when their State is in danger, but where they may better, or increase their condition, there was not any one that blamed the Dukes Counsels, nor his Actions.

However it was, the King of *France* his name was generally exalted to the skies throughout all *Italy*, in several Writings and Compositures; they said he deservedly merited the title of Just, for having assisted an oppress'd Prince; the title of powerful, for that he had opposed himself in Arms to the oppressors; of generous Protector, because without any private end or interest, nay with such inconveniency to his own affairs, with so much trouble and hazard of his own person, he could not tolerate the oppression of a Prince who was his friend. Some praised the speed of his advancing, others the undaunted execution, others his miraculous happy success; they wonder'd how so many difficulties of the season, Alps, fertility, and opposition, yielded to his fortunate Arms and Genius; how he had had the courage, being tired both himself and Army in hardships undergone before *Rochel*, to pass armed over the Alps in the midst of Winter, and to come into *Italy*, to free her from imminent slavery, and to assist his Petitioner in his greatest extremity: they could not comprehend how at his only presence so many Forces, such preparations of Arms, and so many Places against a Client of his Crown, should vanish just like a shadow before the Sun: some called him the Protector of the oppressed; others, the avenger of the liberty of *Italy*; and expecting greater proceedings from such a beginning, they promised unto themselves great alterations: almost all the Princes of *Italy* sent Embassadours to him; partly to congratulate his so happy success, and to thank him for having freed them from the imminent slavery they apprehended, if *Casale* should be taken; partly to purchase his favour, in case, as it was much feared, he had any further intentions then the freeing of *Casale*, and that he might not prejudice their Dominions: some, and particularly the Venetians, to incite him (as it was said) to advance further with his Arms, offering to joyn their Forces and Intelligence with him, against the Spaniards, with whom they were very ill satisfied in what concerned the *Valtoline*, and this new commotion against *Monferrat*: but the King did soon free all men from such suspitions; and by his sudden and unexpected resolution broke off the thred of his so prosperous Fortune; for

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on the last of *April* he return'd into *France*, leaving the Cardinal and chief Officers of the Court in *Susa*; not tarrying till the business of *Montferrat* should be ratified from *Spain*, but leaving the things unconcluded and unperfect, for which he had with so great fervour and preparation entred *Italy*. The Cardinal and the rest soon followed after the King; leaving Marshal *Crieky* in *Susa*, supream Governour of the affairs of *Italy* with 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse. The occasion of this so sudden and so unexpected departure was variously interpreted; some allotting it to the Kings vivacity of spirit, some to his moderation; as if content with having freed his Friend, with having secured peace to *Italy*, and to so many Princes, (who apprehended the contrary) he had with a Prince-like magnanimity let the world see, not only how just his thoughts were, but how moderate and content, upon such an occasion, and so great an opportunity of affairs; and how far he was from dreaming of novelties, or of disturbing the publick peace: but these specious pretences not being able to prevail with those who could have desired more constancy and resolution in the King, and much less with those who desirous of novelty had conceived great hopes by the Kings coming, the French gave out, that the Duke of *Roan*, head of the Hugonots in *France*, seeing his party ruined by the loss of *Rochel*, and that he could not get ready help to sustain himself from *Spain*, whither he had dispatch'd Messengers of purpose, by reason of the great scarcity of moneys, began to cry *Pacavi*, and would render obedience to the King: which because it was likely to put a final end to the troubles of *France*, was of so great moment to the Kings affairs, as that, all other enterprises set aside, it forced him to return to secure them: which though by the soon ensuing accidents appeared might be true, yet not being then believed, it was not sufficient to maintain the reputation of the French Forces, which being but a little before formidable to *Italy*, by reason of so prosperous success, began after the Kings departure to decline; and the rather for that it was soon known, that it was a new tumult of the Hugonots, who had fortified themselves in the Mountains of *Auvergne*, and not *Roans* surrender, which had forced the King to return thither to suppress them. This the Kings so sudden departure afforded also occasion of belief (and this was afterwards judged to be the truest cause) that the King was come into *Italy* with far smaller Forces then fame gave out; which not being fit for new enterprises, he had done more wisely to content himself with the glory which he had won, then to hazard the loss thereof by falling upon new enterprises. But be it what it would that occasioned the Kings departure, it sufficiently lessened the reputation of the Kings Forces; and, on the contrary, the Spaniards, who seemed to be totally quel'd, began out of these respects and other favourable accidents, to hold up their heads. The Duke of *Savoy*, though he appeared publickly to stand to the Articles of *Susa*, yet not being pleased with the loss of that place, and with the restitution of most that he had got, was negligent in furnishing the Citadel of *Casdle* with the rest of the Victuals promised; and being much troubled that the Pass upon the Alps had been forced from him, and that he was thereby fallen from that reputation by which he covered to be thought to hold the Keys of *Italy* in his hand, and that it was he alone

alone who could either keep out the French, or let them in, as he lifted; desired to regain his former reputation: to which purpose he used all his best skill: he fomented the Rebellion of the Hugonots in *France*, and wavering in his friendship with the French, seemed better inclined to the Spaniards, by whom he was to get the greatest part of *Montferrat*. At this time the Plate-fleet return'd to *Spain* with above ten Millions of money; and the King, urged by necessity, detain'd above a Million and a half of moneys more then what came to his share, which belonged to private Merchants; an Argument which proved clearly that he was far from accepting the Articles of *Susa*, and desirous to repair so great a blow given to his reputation, and to the safety of his Dominions: nor did his Agents in *Italy* desire it less then he; for the Duke of *Alva*, as soon as he had heard what had hapned in *Piedmont*, and of the loss and Capitulations of *Susa*, he sent *Thomaso Caracciola* from *Naples* with a Galley to *Genoa*, to the end that going thence to *Millain*, he might hearten the Governour with an offer of 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and of 700000 Ducates, which were ready at his service in that Kingdom. But the Emperours sudden resolution made all men chiefly wonder; who having till now proceeded rather by exhortations, citations, and in a judiciary way, with the Duke of *Nevers*, then by Arms or Military expeditions, and who moreover had appeared averse to the Governours late action; as soon as he heard of the King of *France* his coming into *Italy*, and of the Articles of *Susa*, and of the Duke of *Nevers* his contumacy, who with so little respect to the Imperial Majesty, Sovereign Lord of the Dukedom of *Millain*, was entred thereinto in hostile manner, and had committed acts of hostility in *Casalle maggiore*, he thought himself so highly injured in his dignity and right of the Sacred Empire, as he immediately ordered Count *Merodes* to go into *Italy* with 36000 Foot, and 8000 Horse, of those who were quarter'd in *Alsatia*, *Tyrvolo*, and the parts thereabouts, under *Colalto*, Caprain of the Cesarian Forces in *Alsatia*; which Order *Merodes* readily obeyed; and having taken *Staine*, which was but badly provided, he came unexpectedly to *Coira* and *Maiafeld*, two of the chiefest of the Grisons Country; which being unprovided for so sudden an assault, were easily forc'd to receive him in: falling from hence with his Van, which consisted of 10000 Foot, into *Chiavenna* and the *Valtoline*, he drew neer the State of *Millain*, intending to pass on farther, as the Governour should direct him. The Governour, fearing the French Forces, and not being willing to innovate any thing contrary to the Articles agreed upon, did not only make 3000 Foot, which were sent him readily from *Naples*, stay in the Haven at *Genoa*, but made the Dutch tarry in *Chiavenna* and in the *Valtoline*, till he should receive new Orders from *Spain*; and in the mean while furnish'd them with Victuals, and other things necessary. The Court of *Spain* was much troubled at the business of *Susa*; but encouraged by so many good chances, she resolved not to sit down by such an affront; and neither refusing nor allowing the Articles of *Susa*, took a middle way; wherein the King declared, that if *Susa* might be restored, and *Montferrat* put into its former condition, and the French Forces should forgo *Italy*, he would not molest *Montferrat* by Arms: the condition was hard, for besides the uncertainty

certainty of performance, it did almost deprive the King of all the advantage of his Victory; wherefore the King of *Spain* thinking it would not be accepted, knew it would be requisite for him to provide some sufficient person to repair the affairs of *Italy*; therefore instead of Don *Gonzalo*, with whom that Court was very ill satisfied, he chose the Marquess *Spinola*; who being come some moneths before from *Flanders* to *Madrid*, kept still there about some private, and publick business; and furnishing him with almost two Millions, part in ready money, part in very good assignments, and conferring upon him all supream Authority and free Arbitrement as could be confer'd upon any one, to make war or conclude peace; he sent him to be Governour of *Millain*, to the end that he might either compound the present affairs upon honourable conditions; or repairing the late disorders by Arms, he might restore the Affairs of the Crown to their former Dignity and Safety.

The End of the Tenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XI.

The Contents.

THE Articles of Susa *not being observed forceth the King of* France *to prepare a new Army for* Italy. *Marqueß* Spinola, *the new Governour of* Millain, *sends men into* Montferrat: *of all which he makes himself master, except* Cassalle; *whether the French, abandoning the reß of* Montferrat, *withdraw themselves. The Cesarian Army falls into* Italy, *under Count* Collalto: *and entring the Territories of* Mantua, *poßeß themselves of almost all the Towns of that Dukedom; and sitting down about the Suburbs of* Mantua, *take some of them: they afterwards fall to oppugne* Porto, *but quit it by reason of the excessive cold weather. The Duke of* Savoy *profeßing neutrality, Negotiates with both parties, and endeavours to sell his friendship as dear as he can. The French Army falls into* Piedmont, *conducted by Cardinal* Richelieu; *who being kept very scarce of Victuals, Quarters, and other Necessaries, by the Duke of* Savoy, *breaks with him, and going to* Pinarola, *takes it, and some of the adjacent Towns. Marqueß* Spinola *and* Collalto *come with Forces to aßist the Duke, whither also comes Cardinal* Barbarino, *the Popes Legate, to treat of peace: which not being to be made,* Collalto *returns to* Mantua; *and* Spinola *sits down before* Cassalle. *The Legate returns to* Bologna, *and Cardinal* Richelieu *to* France; *by whose departure the French Army is weakened; being re-inforced it endeavours to relieve* Cassalle, *but being opposed by the Duke cannot do it; wherefore being forced to keep beyond the* Poe, *it meets with various fortunes, and takes*

so Castles. The Siege of Cassalle *proceeds with much difficulty. The Siege of* Mantua *is brought to a final end; for, not being relieved by the Venetians, who were routed by the Dutch at* Vallegio, *and being consumed by the Plague, it is at last taken and sack'd. The Duke of* Savoy *dies at* Savigliano.

THE business of *Montferrat*, which by reason of the Duke of *Nevers* his weakness, by the far distance and difficulty of succour, and by reason of the power and greatness of the Spanish Forces, being joyn'd to those of *Germany* and *Piedmont*, was at first thought a thing which might easily be effected, of no moment, and which would cause but little alteration, when it had brought the Arms of *France* and *Germany* into *Italy*, began to be held the seed of future evils, and of greater perturbations then any that had preceded; for the King of *France* being with such manifest Demonstrations engaged in the defence and protection of his Friend and Client; and fortune having so smiled upon him at the first, it was not to be doubted, that he would forbear the prosecution thereof, but that he would imploy all the Forces of his Kingdom in making good the Articles of *Susa*, which had been agreed unto, so much to his glory. On the other side, the Emperour thinking that his Honour, and the Majesty of the Sacred Empire would be too much concerned, if he should suffer his Decrees and Commandments to be overborn by the contumacy and disobedience of a vassal, assisted by Forreign Forces; and that the French should arrogate that Jurisdiction and Imperial Authority to themselves which did absolutely depend upon him; it was not likely neither that he should ever appease himself, till he should see his Imperial Authority restored to its former condition and reputation, by the suppressing of his contumacious vassal, and by the abolishment of the Articles of *Susa*. The almost equal fortune of these two Princes terrified the whole world: who after signal Victories, had just at this time, happily and miraculously setled the Domestick Affairs, and brought them into security and obedience, by the former total suppression of the Rebels of his Kingdom, and the other by re-uniting the Princes of *Germany*, by the peace of *Lubeck*, made between him and the King of *Denmark*, and the rest of the German Princes who had confederated themselves together in behalf of the Prince Elector *Palatine*: so as both of them being free from intestine troubles, they were at leasure to bend the whole Forces of their Dominions upon this sole enterprize; and what added wonder to all the mischances was, that it seemed that the same fortune having thrown open the Gates of *Italy* unto them at the same time, and made the way plain for them to come thither, did not only lead them by the hand, but drive them on by a favourable gale; There was not any of so mean an understanding, who did not foresee, nor of so inhumane sense, who did not deplore the unfortunate fate of *Italy*, which being destined the miserable seat of Warr, was exposed to all those evils and calamities which would flow out into her bosome from those two Nations; Nor was it to be believed, that the Spaniards who were the chief occasion of these present commotions, and who were ingaged in this enterprize, not only in point of

of Honour, but of intereſt, would by giving way to the Duke of *Nevers* his Solicitors ſuffer ſo great an affront as he had received by the Articles of *Suſa*; but that, on the contrary, being as the ſoul of ſo great an enterprize, he was to make it good with all the force and power of his Crown: but the danger was yet greater of *Italie's* being inſlaved by the Auſtrean Armes, if getting the better of the Duke of *Nevers*, they ſhould become Maſters of his Dominions; and as the thought hereof did much perplex the very ſouls of the Italian Princes, ſo was it neceſſary for them to betake themſelves to the beſt remedies for this threatning evil; it was known what foundation they might lay upon the favour and aſſiſtance of *France* of the unfortunate ſucceſſe of their union with that King of late years upon the occaſion of the *Valtoline*, and by the peace of *Monzone*, concluded ſo little to their ſatisfaction; and yet not having any better reſolution to put on at the preſent, made it appear not onely neceſſary unto them, but the great concernments of that King in theſe preſent occurrences: and the better occaſion he had to perſevere therein by the now quiet and intire obedience of his Kingdom made it ſeem more aſſured, ſince the occaſions being removed, the impediments muſt needs alſo be taken away, which might croſſe him in the buſineſſe of *Italy*; the chief point concerning that total of the preſent Affaires, ſeemed to depend upon the Duke of *Savoy's* reſolution, who if he ſhould obſerve the Articles of *Suſa*, and keep firm to the common cauſe, would ſecure the preſervation of *Caſalle*, and therewith the liberty of *Italy*; And if he ſhould not obſerve them, but joyn with the Auſtrean Forces, the common cauſe and the liberty of *Italy* would be much indangered, and *Caſalle*, *Monſerrat*, and *Mantua*, would be apparently loſt; the Duke was not ignorant how requiſite his friendſhip was to both parties; and that he might make his beſt advantage thereby, he held them both in hand, making them ſometimes hope well in him, ſometimes to ſuſpect how he might be inclined; when he but indifferently ſuccoured the Citadel of *Caſalle*, he excuſed himſelf to the Spaniards, upon the neceſſity of keeping his promiſe, upon the fear he ſtood in of the French which were very ſtrong in *Piedmont*, and upon the ſlender ſupplies ſent thither, which not being ſufficient long to ſupply the Souldiery that were there, would not much import the main buſineſſe when it ſhould be taken; He ſometimes ſaid that victuals were privately ſtoln in thither, by meanes either of the Subjects, or of the French; that it was impoſſible for him to block up the Avenues ſo, but that relief would be brought in contrary to his will and orders; On the other ſide, he ſtrove to ſatisfie the French of his will, and of his conſtancy in obſerving his promiſe, by his continuing to ſend in proviſions, and by promiſing to do ſo ſtill: that which was conjectured might be his chiefeſt aime, was, that he ſent but ſmall ſupplies into *Caſalle*, to the end that if it ſhould be loſt, and ſhould fall into the Spaniards hands, it might not prove too prejudiciall to him; and that ſupplying it, though but ſlenderly, it might be known that it lay in his power, either to ſuffer that place to be loſt, (whereon he knew that all mens eyes were ſet,) or elſe to preſerve it: ſo as he might be looked upon by all men, as the abſolute Arbitrator in ſo chief a buſineſs. Others were of opinion, that keeping both the parties doubtful of what

the ſequel might be, he might have occaſion to treat of demoliſhing the Citadel, leſt it might fall unto the contrary party, which might prove much to his prejudice: he alſo (that he might depend leſs upon the French, and that the Spaniards might conceive the better of him) fortified and munited *Avigliana* very ſtrongly, placing 8000. men there in Garriſon, to the end that it might be a good Bulwark againſt the French, which might exclude them from *Caſalle*, and might make their having of *Suſa* very little advantagious to them; ſo as he might ſtill be held to be the ſame thing which he coveted to be, before the buſineſs of *Suſa*, & pretend that it lay in his power to keep out, or to let in the French, and ſo he might make himſelf the more neceſſary to each of the parties: and conſequently meet with the better dealing in his demands and pretenſions, which he reduced to their accuſtomed vaſtneſſe; to the getting of a good part of *Montferrat*, and to the ſtate of *Genova*: which having once aſpired unto, he thought that as he did deſire it, ſo of reaſon it did belong unto him, to boot with the great ſums of mony which he demanded from the Spaniards for the maintenance of the War, and of the French for victuals and the paſſage of their men; As for *Montferrat*, arbitrators were already choſen on the King of *France* his behalf, on his own, and on *Nevers* his behalf, to rate his Lands which were allotted him by the Articles of *Suſa*, inſtead of 14000 Ducates; but the Arbitrators when they met differ'd upon the Rates, ſo as the arbitrement could not as then be ended; the Duke pretended that the Lands ſhould be valued according as they were anciently, when he firſt made his pretenoſins, and not according to their preſent eſtimation; and the one being incomparably greater then the other, it ſwallowed up as much of *Montferrat* as he was to have had by the diviſion made with the Spaniards; and thinking that the French, by reaſon of the neceſſity of his joyning with them, ought to ſatisfie him herein in as full a meaſure as the Spaniards had done, he was very obſtinate in his pretences; On the contrary ſide, *Nevers* having exclaimed much againſt that part of the Articles of *Suſa*, whereby he loſt ſo much of *Montferrat*, and the Agents deputed by him reclaiming yet more againſt ſo high, and ſo unexpected pretences; The French (who was in the middle between them) thought that if it ſhould be conſented unto, their Kings Protection would ſeem to incline rather to the oppreſſing, then to the maintaining of his Client: Wherefore they oppoſed the Duke of *Savoy*, whereat the Duke being very much diſtaſted, and imputing it to the ſmall good will the Court of *France* had to determine this happineſſe; to the end, (as he ſaid) to keep the longer from reſtoring *Suſa*, he exceedingly complained, and was more reſerved in obſerving the things agreed upon: but much greater obſtacles appeared in the other point, which concern'd the ſtate of *Genoa*; for ſome diſtaſts and diffidence having paſt, as you have heard, between that Common-wealth and the Crown of *Spain*, which upon ſome freſh accidents were renewed, the Court of *France* made account to get more advantage thereby.

The King, before his march, had ſent (as you have heard) Monſieur *di Lande* into *Italy*; who being come to *Genoa*, did not only ſecure the Common-wealth from any hoſtile acts, but offered all favour and aſſi-

ſtance

ſtance to them in the Kings Name, againſt whoſoever ſhould go about to inſidiate their Liberties. The Commonwealth doubting leſt after the Victory and Articles of *Suſa* ſome nearer conjunction might be made between the Duke and the King, to her prejudice, ſhe thought her ſelf bound to anſwer the fair reſpects the King had uſed to her; wherefore *Auguſtine Palavicino*, who was afterwards choſen Doge, was ſent Embaſſadour from the Commonwealth unto the King, to thank him for the good will he ſeemed to bear unto them, and to deſire him to continue the like favourable inclination towards them ſtill; and to paſs the uſual terms of Complement with him: The Commonwealth was the more inclined to ſend this Embaſſie, for that Don *Gonzallo*, when he ſaw the Enterprize of *Montferrat* given over, thought the affairs of *Italy* to be in a deſperate condition; he wiſh'd the Commonwealth to provide for themſelves the beſt they could: And yet the fear of the French Forces ceaſing by the King of *France* his return, the Court of *Spain*, which could have deſired that conſtancy and reſolution in the Commonwealth which ſhe found not in their Agent, ſeemed diſpleaſed with this Embaſſie; which being the firſt that was ſent by any of the Italian Princes, ſeemed as if the Commonwealth would at the very firſt ſtormy blaſt have firſt of all wavered in her ancient Friendſhip. Monſieur *di Sabran's* going to *Genoa*, (who was ſent thither by the King of *France*, in appearance to treat of the ſafety of conveying Victuals, which he was to ſend from *Provence* to *Montferrat*; but in effect to tarry there as his reſident) increaſed this their diſpleaſure. It was an ancient cuſtom of the Commonwealth, to entertain no Embaſſadour in Ordinary, ſave only from *Spain*; and if at any time the Genoeſe had been deſired by the Pope, or by the King of *France*, to give reſidence to their Embaſſadour, they had always appeared backward in it, out of ſelf-intereſt. *Sabran* being upon this occaſion received at firſt, and having his expences diſcharged, as the Kings Agent, after ſome moneths kept open houſe in *Genoa*, intending to reſide there; at which the Spaniards began to murmure; for their King pretended and demanded of the Commonwealth, That they ſhould not entertain any one in their City who was an Agent for the King of *France*. The Commonwealth did in part admit, and in part not admit of the Kings demands: for as for their receiving him as Embaſſadour, or Agent from the King of *France*, being loth to alter their ancient inſtitutions, they ordered, That he ſhould not be received as ſuch, either publickly or privately; but as for excluding him from living in the City, if he would tarry there as a private man, they would not do ſo; it being too much contrary to the common liberty of Nations to inhibit any one to live in a free City, which for the greatneſs of Traffique was open to all Nations, and in particular to the French: And as to exclude him only from being a ſervant to the King of *France*, was too apparent an affront to that Crown; ſo to do it at the King of *Spain's* demand, would not be without a blemiſh to their reputation, and without prejudice to the liberty of the Commonwealth, as if they had done it by the King of *Spain's* command: And yet the Court of *Spain* holding for certain, that whatſoever buſineſs *Sabran* did negotiate in *Genoa* as a private man, thought that the Commonwealth did by this declaration ſatisfie the King of

France

France in effect, and him but in shew; and he thought himself highly offended; as it to undertake new Intelligence with the King of *France*, chiefly in a time when the Italians in general, and particularly those of *Genoa*, were molested by *France*, was a beginning to fall off from their ancient union and good correspondency with him: And the less satisfied the Court of *Spain* seemed to be by these proceedings, the more did the Court of *France* hope to lay new foundations of entertaining new Intelligence with the Genoeses; and was so far from thinking of offending them, as he offered all the favour and Forces of *France* to defend the Liberties of that Commonwealth against any whomsoever: The Duke of *Savoy* finding therefore, that his plots against the Genoeses were not well listned unto by the French, complain'd, That the Commonwealths Interest was prefer'd before his, and before the promises made him in *Susa*: Being therefore angry that these his drifts did not succeed prosperously in that Court, he endeavoured by no favourable demonstrations to the French, to withdraw from favouring the Interests of the Commonwealth; and finding that their proceedings were not well received in the Court of *Spain*, he thought they might produce some good effects to him; he therefore profes'd more constancy to that Court: But neither did his designs prove successful there; for that King nor Court would not upon any sleight occasions, to please the Duke, take off their favour from the Commonwealth; and they abhorr'd any innovation which might tend to the prejudice of their good correspondency and intelligence held with the Genoese: as also because Marquess *Spinola* being come, with thoughts as high as was his Authority, into *Italy*, and indeavouring by all the means he could to restore the Kings grandezza to its ancient condition, would not imitate his Predecessor, who, with little honour to the Kings Affairs, had seconded the Dukes will too much; being therefore rigid in his resolutions, and seeming to depend only upon himself in the Administration of the Kings business, he did profess not only not to be governed by the Duke, but thought to bring him over to his mode; and suspecting the Dukes intentions and actions, he was very cautious and reserved in believing him, or in doing any thing whereby he might be forced to submit to his will, and quit his own power; and even in the usual payment of moneys, which were granted him to make preparations for the imminent War, as also in sending him men to defend *Piedmont*, he was very reserved, notwithstanding the Dukes many pressures: Wherefore the Duke finding that neither of the Courts did much favour his designs, he suspended his resolutions, and carrying himself the best he could to both of them, he waited till occasion and time might make his conjunction and actions more desirable then they were at the present, that he might sell them at the dearer rate, according as the urgency of occasions might make them more requisite.

The Court of *Spain* being wholly intent upon the business of *Casale*, that they might divert *France*, resolved to assault the French on the confines of *Catalonia*, and that the Emperour should send his Army to the Confines of that Kingdom, on the side of *Lorrein*; and to this purpose the King of *Spain* had sent the Duke of *Feria* with 1000 Horse and 4000 Foot to *Barcellona*, with order to raise more Foot there, and

to

to enter with them into *Languedock*, and *Provence*; and the Emperour had commanded the Duke of *Brisland*, the Captain General of his Forces, to prepare to enter *France* with Noun Forces on the side of *Germany*. And there was no doubt but that the King of *France*, being held work by these assaults, as he had been the preceding year by the business of *Rochel*, could not have sent much aid into *Italy* to back the Duke of *Nevers* in his Affairs; so as it was likely that the Enterprises of *Montferrat* and *Mantua* being attempted by the Spanish, Dutch, and by the Savoyards, could not but succeed well. Notwithstanding *Spinola*, who was come into the State of *Millain* about the end of *August*, with ample Authority, as hath been said, to treat both of Peace and War, bethought himself of many things which withdrew him from thinking upon the uncertain events of the present War, to mind the surer counsels of Peace. He saw that the State of *Millain*, which was the chief foundation and prop of the War, was so exhausted as it could not long sustein the weight of a new War; That *Mantua* and *Casale* being very strong, the former made so by the waters, and natural situation, the other by Art and Fortifications, the besieging of them would prove a business of length, and of doubtful event: That the enterprise was hateful in the sight of them, suspitious to the Princes of *Italy*, and generally detested by the whole world: That the French were resolved to defend those Dominions, and ready to pass over the Alps again: That small Forces were able to withstand what there was but little hopes of getting, though with great expence, and preparation of Arms: The Duke of *Savoy*'s various and uncertain genius did confound him, on whose Friendship and Union nothing could be surely grounded, but a continual profusion of Moneys to feed him with, whilst the danger was far off; That when they should draw nearer, his Friendship would be more dangerous then advantagious, as might appear by the last years example, which he could not but think upon. But that which in appearance should have encouraged him most, did most trouble him: The more powerful the Germane Army was, the more formidable did it appear to him, and the more dangerous for the Kings Affairs; for though if they should joyn with him they would undoubtedly prove a great assistance to him in that enterprise, yet did he rather fear than confide in them, by reason of the pride, arrogancy, and greedines of that Nation, which is naturally unsatiable, impatient of military discipline, and inclined to mutiny, which might occasion sad accidents in the heat of War. To this was added the intollerable expence required to maintain that Army; which being to be paid by the King, the Royal Treasury being emptied by so many and so long Wars, was not able to supply them: But (what exceeded all other respects) the Dutch Forces being to wage War in *Italy*, not as Auxiliaries, or as brought in by the Spaniards; but as Principals, and in the Emperours Name; it was to be feared, that they would not only not leave the first place in Authority to the Spaniards, whose intentions they did effectually serve; but that by reason of the Sovereignty that the Emperour holds in *Italy*, by reason of the quality and quantity of Forces, by reason of their greater disposition to War, and through their Commanders ambition, they would be masters, and would force the Spaniards to fight after their mode;

mode; ſo as he thought them dangerous in War, but more dangerous in Victory, if (*Mantua* or *Caſſalle* being taken) they ſhould fix their footing in *Italy*, and ſettle the ſeat of the Ceſarean Majeſty there; from whence the Italian Princes (being for the moſt part Feudatories of the Empire) were to take Law, and to depend thereon, as upon their Sovereign Lord: which conſideration, by reaſon of the conſequences it might draw after it, in prejudice to the Spaniſh Authority, afforded no leſs occaſion of fear, then if the French Power ſhould by the Duke of *Nevers*'s means be radicated in *Italy*.

Out of theſe reſpects *Spinola* growing more inclined to Peace then War, Monſignior *Scappi*, Biſhop of *Paceneſe*, being ſent by the Pope to viſit him, *Spinola* entered upon ſome Treaties of Accommodation with him, and with Count *Fuſcomo Mandello*, who was ſent to him by *Nevers*, offering each of them, That he would procure that *Nevers* might be inveſted in his Dominions, upon condition that he would receive and Quarter part of the Emperours Forces in the Dukedom of *Mantua*, and part of *Spinola*'s Forces in *Monſferrat*, in ſign of his reſpect to both their Majeſties; to the end that making amends by this his ready obedience, and publick ſubmiſſion for his former contumacy, they might with honour receive him into favour, and gratifie him, the one with the Inveſtiture, and the other with the Protection which he deſired: *Nevers* would not accept of this, either out of fear of non-performance, or out of his relying upon the French Forces, and thoſe of other Princes who were joyn'd with him, on whoſe pleaſure he profeſt he did in all things depend; ſo as he was firſt to acquaint *France*, and the Venetian Senate, with his offer, without whoſe approbation and conſent he could not reſolve any thing in this point; but being adviſed to the contrary by the Venetians, who could not endure that the Dutch Army ſhould come neer their Confines, and an anſwer not coming from *France*, the Dutch not having whereof to ſubſiſt amidſt the barren Rhetian Alps, where they had tarried all this while, *Spinola* was forced, contrary to his inclination, to permit them to enter *Italy*: They came in number 22000 Foot, and 3500 Horſe, commanded by *Ramboldo*, one of the Counts of *Collalto* in *Friuli*, General of the Ceſarean Forces in *Italy*, a Commander of good eſteem and Authority, who had been long vers'd in the Wars of *Germany* and *Hungary*: They fell down into the Valley of *Chiavenna*, by the Lake of *Como*; being come to *Lecco*, they paſs'd into the Territories of *Cremona*, and proved prejudicial to *Lombardy* and *Piedmont*, by their cruelty, rapine, plunder, and contribution, which they forced from thence; and fatal to a good part of *Italy*, by reaſon of the Plague, which they brought with them, and which burſt forth in great violence throughout all *Lombardie* and *Piedmont*; and then entring the Venetian Territories, and *Romagnia*, it came into *Venice* and *Tuſcany*, cauſing ſo great a mortality both of men and cattel as the better half of theſe Provinces did not eſcape the fury thereof: *Collalto* being come into *Italy* ſpoke with *Spinola* in *Millain*; by whom being honourably received, after a long debate about what was to be done, they agreed upon this: That dividing the Armies and the Enterpriſes, *Collalto* (with his Dutch) ſhould undertake the buſineſs of *Mantua*, and *Spinola* (with the King of *Spains* men) that of *Caſalle* and *Monſferrat*.

Having

Having thus distributed the carrying on of the war, each of them betook themselves to what fell unto their share and the King of *France* joyning with the Venetians in *Nevers* his defence left the Venetians to relieve the State of *Mantua*, and took the care of *Montferrat* upon himself. *Spinola's* Army, (many Captains and Officers being cashiered) came to 16000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, wherein were comprehended the Spaniards, Dutch, Neapolitans and Lombards, under their several Camp-masters; amongst which was the Duke of *Lerma*, Nephew to him who was so great a Favorite to King *Philip* the Third, and was come to commence his Militia under *Spinola*. *Spinola*, to give a beginning to the business on his side sent his Son Don *Philip* to *Valenza* upon the *Poe*, with part of his Army, which was distributed in several Towns upon the Confines of *Montferrat*; where gathering Victuals and Munition he gave out that he would go to besiege *Casalle*; whereupon the French, abandoning the Towns of *Montferrat*, retreated in great haste with their men to defend that place; and Don *Philippo*, invited by that occasion, sent Don *Ferrante di Chirava* his Lieutenant-general with 4000 Foot to beyond the *Tanaro*, to whom *Nizza*, *Acqui* and *Ponsone* came in; and all the neighbouring Towns return'd to be govern'd by the Spaniards: then bringing his men into *Alessandria*, he went to take in *Sansalvadore*, *Lu*, *Fubine*, *Vignale*, and the other Towns of that State, which lie between *Alessandria* and *Casalle*; leaving *Rossigliano*, St. *Georgio* and *Pontestura*, unattempted; which being as so many Bulwarks to secure *Casalle*, were not only not abandoned by the French, as the other Towns were, but were beset about with Trenches, and furnish'd with good Garrisons; and yet *Spinola*, for all his shews to the contrary, forbare to attempt *Casalle*, being detain'd, partly by the very cold weather which came on, partly supposing that the French would imploy all their Forces to defend it, he feared to begin with that as would be a great obstacle to the Treaty of peace, which he so much desired. Moreover, he doubted much the Duke of *Savoy*, who (were it either that he was loth that that place should fall into the Spaniards hand, or that he was angry at *Spinola's* proceedings with him) began to oppose his ends, and cross his designs; or that minding the preservation of that place, he aimed at being himself the Arbitrator of affairs, and to sell the possession thereof at the dearer rate; wherefore he began to declare expresly, that by the last agreement at *Susa* he could not but grant both passage and Victuals to the French that went to relieve it; wherefore *Spinola* being contented with the Towns that he had taken, and with having regained those Towns, in the face of the French, which his Predecessor was forced to quit, at the King of *France* his appearance in *Italy*, he quarter'd his men in those Towns which he had taken, where they lay idle all the ensuing Winter. The Cesarian Army made better proceeding in the Territories of *Mantua*; where the Duke of *Nevers* not minding the defence of the chief City so much as that of the other Towns of the State, had indiscretly distributed the greatest part of his men within those Towns, which would all of them have been hardly sufficient to Garrison the chief City: so as the Cesarian Army, led on by the Serjeant-majors *Mathias Gelasso* and *Aldringer* (for *Collalto*, who was sick at *Lodi*, could not go along with them)

them) having taken *Loglia* and *Volengo*, the chief Towns in the Mantuan Territories, went immediately to *Canete*, somewhat a greater Town, where were 2000 Foot, amongst which two Companies of Venetians, under *Angelo Cornaro*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, to defend it: *Nevers* relied much upon that Garrison, which being very great, he hoped would hold the Enemy play: but it proved otherwise; for at the first appearance of the Enemy they yielded up the Town, without one stroke striking: the example whereof, as it is commonly seen, being followed by the other Towns, *Gazzuolo*, *Cicognaro*, and *Governolo*, which lies in the mouth of the *Mincio*, where it falls into the *Poe*, fell also into the hands of the Dutch; who being by this easiness of the Mantuan Souldiers become masters of almost all the Country thereabout, after having miserably plundred it, had conveniency to approach the City, which was in great confusion to see her men make so little resistance. The City being unfurnished of the better part of her men would have run danger of being stormed, had not the Venetians, who were aware of the danger, sent a thousand Foot thither immediately, under Colonel *Durante*, with some moneys: the City of *Mantua* stands almost in the midst of a Lake, made by the little River *Mincio*, which comes from the Lake of *Garda*: the Island whereupon it stands is joyned to the Continent by some Banks and Bridges, whereof some are greater, some less, according to the distance of place: at the end of the greatest Bridge, stand the Suburbs of St *George*, weakly walled and without any Platform: to which when the Enemy drew neer with their Cannon, *Frederico Gonzaga*, who had the defence thereof committed to him, began to treat of compounding, in the Dukes name, with *Aldringer*; letting him know that *Nevers* being desirous to appear an obedient Vassal, and to witness his respect and observance to the Emperour, would not refuse to receive him, and to allow him quarter in that Borough. *Aldringer*, who knew the place to be untenable, would not accept it upon those terms, since he saw that in all likelihood it could not escape his hands, whereupon *Gonzaga* not being able to do any more yielded it unto him, retaining only the Hold, which is only a Gate a little fortified, which leads from the Lake to the City. The Dutch being entred into St *George*, a Truce for a few days was treated of, and concluded; during which time *Nevers* being desirous to assuage the Enemies fury by some act of submission, offer'd *Collalto* (who though not yet perfectly recovered, caused himself to be brought from *Lodi* into the Mantuan Territories, and lay in St *Benedict's* Monastery) the same Hold, so as he would receive it only as a willing and honourable surrender: but *Aldringer* replying that he offer'd a thing which could not hold out two hours assault, the business proceeded no further, the rather for that a new accident which hapned broke off both the Truce and all the Treaties; for at the same time that *Aldringer* advanced to St *George's* Borough with the Van, the Reer being led on by *Frederick*, one of the House of *Saxony*, went to quarter in *Curegge*, a Borough upon the Bank of the Lake, wherein was no Garrison or any other defence: but upon a bank which leads from the Borough to *Mantua* a Rampier was begun to be made in form of a Half-moon, which opposed those who would pass that way into the City: some of the

Dutch

Dutch coming to this Rampier, which was basely abandoned by the Venetians who defended it, they without any opposition became masters thereof; and might easily make themselves masters of the Island of *Te*, which was disjoyn'd from the City only by a large Ditch: This caused great confusion in *Mantua*; wherefore thinking themselves to be assaulted during the time of Truce, the Town sent Colonel *Durante* immediately to defend that part: Fire was also given to the Cannon from the City against the Borough or Suburbs of S. *George*; and those who guarded the Hold, hearing the noise, shot off their Muskets against the Magazine of Arms which was beneath, where many of the Captains and Officers of the Camp were sporting themselves, trusting in the Truce; and amongst them Colonel *Colorado* was sorely wounded. The Dutch being hereat moved, who knew not what was done at *le Grazie*, nor the occasion thereof, assumed their Arms, and fell immediately upon those of the Hold, which they soon made themselves masters of, with the death of many of the defendants; and then passing forwards took the Bridge, till they came to the Draw-Bridge; which being timely hoisted up by the Mantuans kept the Dutch from entring the City: so as not able to get further they began to fortifie, and to turn their Cannon upon the City, and to play upon it: whilst things went thus, *Mantua* was again relieved with another 1000 Foot, with ten pieces of Artillery, and with 100 carriages of Victuals and Ammunion, beside some moneys. A succour which was sent by the Venetians to *Goito*, and from thence to *Mantua*: the Dutch perceived how fit a place *Goito* was to send relief, being seated upon the *Mincio* before it falls into the *Po*; so as being to take it, that they might streighten the City the more, they sent the Baron *Galasso* to view it: there was in it a good Garrison, and it was sufficiently munited; so as the cold season being considered, it might have held out till the Spring: but when *Galasso* came neer it with some few men, he by some tokens found how base and fearful the defendants were; wherefore hoping for good success, and having seen some of those Barques which serve to bring in the Vintage, in some of the neighbouring Cottages, he made use of them, and of some ropes, to pass over the *Mincio*, and to get neer the Town: which whilst he successfully did, those within began to parley; and two pieces of Cannon which *Galasso* had sent for before he had past the River, being come from the Camp, they agreed to surrender the Town; which accordingly was done, and proved no little prejudice to the City, being thereby deprived of so important a place for succour.

Goito being taken, and the Dutch finding that the Battery of S. *Giorgio* against the City, by reason of the far distance, did no good, they fell to expugne *Porto*, which is another Town neerer the City, reduced into a Fort, with Walls, Bulwarks and Ditches, and partly secured by the neerness of the Lake, from whence you go to the City by the Mill-bridge, and by a bank at the head of the Bridge: Being gotten by their approaches to the Ditch, they would have drained it, and then have come to Battery, and to Assault; which if they could once have done, they had great hopes, by reason of the Defendants cowardize (whereof they had had so many proofs;) and the Artillery being already prepared, they were ready to begin Battery. But the Winter coming on,

and the weather growing very cold, the business began to appear to be longer & harder then it was thought it would have been, especially, since the City, being secured every where else, might make use of all her men to defend this place. To this was added the great scarcity of victuals and straw, which grew daily greater in the Army; and the plague, whereof many in the camp dyed: Wherefore altering their minds, they resolved for that Winter to minde only the keeping of what they had got, and distributing their Army in the neighbouring Towns, to keep *Mantua* besieged at a distance, and to possess themselves of the Avenues and Passes which were fittest for reliefs; and they quarter'd their Horse so as they might scoure the Country, and keep back relief. *Collalto* went to winter in *Reggio*, where he quarter'd one Regiment, the Duke of *Modena* not knowing how to refuse them, as being Feudatory to the Empire, as neither could the other Feudatories of the Empire do, some allowing Quarter, some Contribution, in what quality or quantity *Collalto* pleased to take it. The Army being in their Quarters, the besieged sallied out in great numbers, and molested the stations held by the Enemy, not without some advantage to themselves, and prejudice to the Enemy. *Nevers* going out himself in person with the Prince his Son, and a good Band of men, fell upon *Mormiolo*, a place some five miles off, where about one hundred Dutch were quartered, who yielded unto him upon discretion: He afterward went to *Castiglione*, which he likewise took; whereby making way for relief from *Verona*, the Venetians had conveniency to convey victuals into the City: they met with contrary fortune at *Rivolta*, on the left bank of *Mincio*, where it falls into the Lake; which Town rising in Insurrections by the fomentation of the Venetians was recovered by the Dutch, who went thither, with the death of all the Town-men, who refusing to surrender the Town were, even to the very Infants, put to the Sword: and though the Dutch Horse foraged the Countrey, yet some succours were brought in from the State of *Venice*, which being done by stealth were not sufficient by much for the need the City was in; which being begirt by the Enemy wanted food, and was also hardly handled by the Plague, which was very great here, as also in all the neighbouring Towns and Cities; insomuch as getting into the City of *Venice*, people died so fast, as the care thereof was almost quite given over by those that had the looking to it: the like hapned in *Millain*, *Bullognia*, and in all the Cities of *Lombardy*, *Romagnia*, and *Tuscany*: but whilst the Cesarian Army winter'd in the State of *Mantua*, and *Spinola's* Forces in *Montferrat*, provisions for war, as also Negotiations for peace ceased not: in both which not only the Commanders in the Armies, but the Princes of *Italy* laboured. The Pope, seeing the Dutch forces so neer the Church-Dominions, sent about 18000 Foot into the parts about *Bullognia*, under his Brother Don *Carlo*, and 2000 horse; and sollicited the building of Fort *Urbano*, which he had resolved upon two years before, and was begun at *Castel Franco*, upon the way that leads from *Modena* to *Bullognia*, and was a good and fitting Bulwark to *Romagnia*, and the Church-Territories on that side: but that he might likewise by his authority and endeavours stop the evils which threatned *Italy*, he made Cardinal *Antonio*, his Brothers second Son,

Legate;

Legate; who being also come into *Bullegnia*, where his Father govern'd the Ecclesiastick Forces, he sent Monsieur *Jovan Jacomo Pancirnolo* to *Mantua*, to treat of some suspension of Arms, between the Duke of *Nevers* and *Collalto*, to the end, that in the interim they might the more commodiously and with the better hopes treat of peace. But this was but in vain; for *Collalto* growing proud with successe, made still higher demands; and the Duke, who had nothing more to grant but *Mantua* and *Casalle*, had not wherewithall to satisfie his demands and pretensions; so as there was no middle way left for them to meet in, and the lesse, for that the siege of *Mantua* being given over with so little honour to the Cesarean Forces; and *Casalle* not as yet attempted by *Spinola*, the new Dukes hopes were not a little comforted, nor his confidence a little increased, of being sustained by them who fomented him, and were his well-wishers. For whilst these two places held good, all the other Town taken by the enemy, either in the state of *Mantua*, or *Monferrat*, made but little for the main concernment of the Warr: and it being very probable that the Armies being afflicted by the Pestilence by the Winter inconveniences, and by those of the *Campagna*, they would in time lessen; and it was to be hoped, that being much diminished of themselves they would be reduced to such a condition, as not being able to withstand the French Forces which were to passe over the *Alps* very strong the next Spring, they would be easily driven from their quarters, a consideration which did must afflict *Spinola*; For having two Armies on his back, which he was to furnish with expences and provisions, he feared he must be forc'd to squander out monies to no purpose this Winter, and have need of it himself afterwards, when there should be occasion to lay it out with profit; Wherefore growing very sparing thereof, he was lesse carefull in satisfying the Duke of *Savoy*'s demands and necessities, though he had other greater respects to keep him from furnishing him with monies, which he proceeding from distrust, did daily increase by reason of his continual treating with the French; Sometimes by means of the victuals which was bound to furnish the Army with, which was to passe over the Mountains; Sometimes by doing the like to those of *Casalle*; Sometimes by the conduct-monies which were agreed to be given them, when they should be come into *Piedmont*; Sometimes by the negotiations which daily past, touching the Dukes joyning his Forces with the French, whereof there were pregnant suspicions, by many demonstrations made by the Duke, on purpose to make *Spinola* jealous; Wherefore these actions being really repugnant to that good correspondency and inclination which the Duke profest to the Kings affairs, when he demanded monies of *Spinola*: and it seeming somewhat hard to *Spinola* that he should feed one with monies who continually fomented the enemy, and who held continually so close intelligence with them, he demanded from the Duke some cautionary Townes in *Piedmont*, if he would be furnished with monies, for security of his profest good will, and inclination to the King of *Spaine*'s affaires. The demand did very much trouble not onely the Duke, but all the Princes of *Italy*; for it increased the jealousies of the Italian Princes, if *Spinola* should get yet further footing in *Piedmont*, to boot with what the Spaniards pre-

pretended to in *Montferrat*, and the Duke in whom the Italian Princes did confide, that he would not forgo the common cause, as well in respect of his own, as of the common interest; Having complained to the King of *Spain* of the demands made by *Spinola*, he obtained Orders from the Court to *Spinola*, that he should desist from such demands; and *Spinola*, that the Duke might not be too much exasperated, received some check for his too much severity.

Great Preparations for Warr were not only made in *Italy*, but also elsewhere. The King of *France* raised a mighty Army, to come stronger then formerly into *Piedmont*; and the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, to keep the French from opposing the Duke, and from forcing him to joyn with them, prepared to assault *France*, the one on the side of *Spain*, the other on the side of *Germany*: But both these proved rather Rumours then Realities; the want of money was the cause why on the King of *Spain*'s side, he having hardly sufficient to supply the Warrs within *Italy*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, so as he had not wherewithall to begin and maintain a new Warr with *France*; And also the scarcity of Souldiers, wherein *Spain* was much wanting, her men being exhausted by Warr in several Nations, in the Ocean, Mediterranean, and by often Transmigrations from *Spain* to *America*, and to the *East Indies*; To this was added the driving out of the *Moores*, in the time of *Philip* the Third, wherein more then two millions of Souls were said to be sent out of *Spain*: a people who though they were generally train'd up in servile Arts, and particularly in cultivating the ground, and in feeding Cattle; yet these, by supplying the meaner imploiments, afforded convenience for the Natives, being unimployed in those services, to betake themselves to military affaires; So as the Natives, after expulsion of the *Moores*, being to reassume Husbandry, and the feeding of flocks, (wherein *Spain* doth abound) a very great scarcity of men began to be found in all the King of *Spaine*'s Dominions, especially of such as were Military, to be sent out to make new acquisitions, or to maintain what they had gotten; Out of these respects, and because the *Catalonians* were not inclined to make War with the French upon those Confines, to keep from losing Traffick which passeth with interchangeable profit between them and *France*, the Duke of *Feria* could raise no Souldiers; and not thinking it fit to begin War with so weak Forces, the diversion did not only faile on that side, but occasion'd the like failing on the *Germans* side. But many greater, and more important accidents, kept the Emperour from falling foul with *France* at this time: which since, for their weight, and for the great concernment therein of *Italy*, they deserve a particular discription; It will not be amiss to make a little digression; and whilst there is little done in *Italy*, by reason of the excessive cold Winter, to make it not a distinct and particular relation of them, at least to give you a brief view of them, to the end that reserving them to the times wherein they happened, they may not break off the Narration of the chief Affairs of *Italy*.

The Austrian Authority, the greater it was grown by the continued succession of so many Emperours, the more odious and insufferable it grew to the German Princes: and the so many victories obtained by this present Emperour had made him so formidable, as the German Priuces

Princes joyn'd in nothing more then in finding out some meanes whereby to lessen, and moderate the power of that House, so as they might vindicare their ancient and former Liberty; which after so great an increase of power they had almost lost; finding themselves now treated by this present Emperour, not as Princes, and, as it were, Confederates of the Empire, but little better then Subjects. To the desire of political libe.ty so much wish'd for by the Catholick Princes, liberty of Religion was added by the Heretieks; for the present Emperour, being more religious th n many of his Predecessors, had in several manners curb'd their licentiousness, and restrain'd that liberty of Conscience which they had enjoyed for above a hundred years: so as they were doubly inclined to novelty. The dissatisfaction of both these parties was occasioned, yet more, by the great Army consisting of above 100000 fighting men, which the Emperour kept quarter'd in several parts of *Germany*; but more particularly in their Territories, who being worst satisfied with the present affairs, he knew to be worst affected towards him, more contumacious towards the house of *Austria*, and readiest to rise; and this he did, not so much in resentment of their maligne intentions, as to keep them the more curb'd in, and to take from them the means of plotting innovations: the common people were not therefore only burthen'd with quartering Souldiers, but the Princes also with Contributions, & by not being able to get their usual Tributes and Rents from their Tenants, who were afflicted and exhausted by unusual free-quarter. To these mischiefs was added the injuries done by the Cesarian Souldiers and Commanders; and chiefly by the haughty proceedings of the Duke of *Friseland*, Captain General of the Imperial forces: who having the Supream Power and Authority given him over all the Armies, and in the management of the war, kept all *Germany* and the Princes of the Empire under his command. This man was by Nation a Bohemian, of private birth, and but of mean fortune, but who by his valour had raised himself to this greatness: to his pride of nature, to his fierce and terrible genius, great valour, great daring, and an extraordinary judgment in Military Affairs was annexed; wherein he was confirm'd by his signal Victories gotten against the Emperours Enemies and Rebels: whereby he had rendred the Authority and Majesty of the present Emperor to as high a pitch as ever any of his Predecessors had been: so as his name grew not only odious to the Hans Towns, but even to the Princes Electors; to whom bearing no respect, he contrary to their antient Institutions quarter'd Souldiers upon them, as well as upon the more petty Princes. The Emperours new Decree (who confiding upon his power, and drawn by zeal to Religion, commanded that to the Catholick Churches should be restored the antient possession of all those goods whereof they were bereft at the beginning of the Heresies; which goods having been poss.s'd by many Princes and Lords for above one hundred years, were partly alienated, partly converted to their own uses) encreased their indignation, and brought some of them almost to the point of despair, and all *Germany* was much offended thereat: and because there were many Princes concern'd in this Edict, who adhered to the house of *Austria* (amongst which the Duke of *Saxony*) they began all of them joyntly to plot mischief against

againſt the Emperour, endeavouring to leſſen his power, and to free themſelves from ſuch oppreſſion; and the Emperour, likewiſe, did extreamly deſire that his Son, whom he had made King of *Hungary*, ſhould be choſen King of the Romans; and not being able to compaſs it without the Electors free ſuffrages, the buſineſs in theſe commotions met with many diſturbances, eſpecially for that all men hated that the Imperial diadem ſhould continue in one Family, whereby their liberties became not only inſlaved, but many Families and Perſons, (who thought themſelves as well deſerving as the Auſtrians) were excluded from this Grandezza: it therefore became the Emperour to ſweeten them, that he might incline them to chuſe his Son: he therefore ſummoned a Diet in *Ratiſbone*, to ſettle (as he termed it) the affairs of *Germany*. The Electors chief intention was to diſarm him, to the end that his Forces being weakned, he might not uſe the like authority as formerly; they therefore deſired that *Walleſtein*, Duke of *Fritland* might be no longer General, and that the Army might be diſſolved: they accuſed *Walleſtein* of barbarous cruelty towards the people, of inſufferable pride towards the Princes, of inſatiable extortion, and of unheard of fierceneſs in making Towns deſolate, and in ſubjugating Provinces; for the diſſolving of the Army, they alledged that, *Germany* being reduced to a quiet and ſafe condition by the peace made at *Lubeck*, the Army was not onely ſuperfluous, but grievous to the people, and prejudicial to *Germany*, which ought now to be eaſed of ſo great a burthen, and permitted to injoy the fruit of peace. The Emperour did not incline to theſe ſo weighty and important demands, knowing very well whereunto they tended, nor yet the Spaniſh Agents who were reſident in that Court; who were much concern'd in maintaining the Emperours authority, and the Auſtrian name, wherein their King was intereſſed: but the King of *Sweden*, a powerful Northern King, having about this time paſt the Baltick Sea, and being come into the lower *Germany* with an Army of 20000 Foot and 2000 Horſe; the Electors made Proteſtation, that they would never contribute to the charge of that new war, unleſs they were ſatisfied in their demands. The Empeour and Spaniſh Agents being badly adviſed, gave way thereunto at laſt: but it was not long ere he repented himſelf ſoundly; for though Arms were laid down by by the peace of *Lubeck*, yet diſcontents and hatred were not laid aſide, nor yet the ardent deſire of more abſolute liberty, and the conditions of that peace being advantagious for the Auſtrian Empire, did rather ſerve to incite the male-contents to novelties, then keep them within the limits of that peace: the diſarming of the Emperour was no better then to put Arms into the Swedes hands; and into thoſe of the male-content Princes, and ſuch as were mortal Enemies to the Auſtrian name. The Electors, having obtain'd their deſire, were backwards in chuſing the King of the Romans; which though it were not openly deſired by the Emperour, yet being negotiated privately, began to be found ſo hard a buſineſs, as the Emperour thought it not fit to demand it openly; and the Electors made uſe of ſeveral pretences to put off the Election: nor now that the Emperour was diſarmed, did they let ſlip the occaſion of ſhewing their reſentments, and of endeavouring ſome better condition of liberty.

liberty. The Protestants began to lay plots against the Austrian power, and by little and little began to hold intelligence with the King of *Sweden*; who having by their adherence gotten greater forces in a shorter time, took many Cities, subdued many Provinces, and having gotten many famous Victories, over-ran *Germany*, within the space of a few moneths, not without great danger to the Austrian authority, and to the Catholick Religion: not content with such a continued course of Victory, he drew near *Italy*, and made her fear the renewing of those miseries which she had formerly felt by the Goths, and the other Northern Nations. The affairs of the Empire and of the Catholick Religion were never so perplex'd in *Germany*, nor brought to so great ruine, as after the coming in of this Northern King: all the Hereticks and male-contents adhered to him, who in his Military Ensigns wore himself the Defender of the Faith, and Protector of the German Liberty. The Duke of *Pomerania*, first of all, and afterwards the Elector of *Brandenburge*, and lastly, the Elector of *Saxony* joyned openly with him against the Emperour; and after them many other lesser Princes, and almost all the Hans Towns of the Empire, joyned with him, as with their deliverer; and the Emperour having laid down his Army, could hardly raise a new Army to withstand so apparent ruine: almost all the Souldiers that he had cashiered took pay under the Swede, allured by the fame of his valour, by the Victories he had got, by his grateful genius to the Souldiery, who was received and followed with unspeakable applause, as if the heavens had sent him to be their Deliverer. The Armies of the Catholick League and of the Emperour, which were joyn'd together, were defeated in a great Battel before *Lypsick*, and *Tilly*, chief Captain of that League, a famous Commander for many Victories which he had gotten against the Protestant League, and against the King of *Denmark*, and who now succeeded dismiss'd *Wallestein*, was therein hurt: so as the Emperour seeing no other way to withstand the ruinous condition of the Empire, nor how to defend the Austrian Dominions, was forc'd to recall *Wallestein* from *Bohemia*, whither after his being dismiss'd he had withdrawn himself to lead a private life, and restoring him upon what condition he could desire to his former dignity, he opposed him to the Swede, who like a swift torrent overran all *Germany*. The Emperours Army commanded by *Friuland*, and the Swedish Forces led on by their King, came to a pitch'd Field neer *Lutsen*, a City in *Misnia*; wherein the King being victorious had prescribed Laws to *Germany*, had he not been slain by some Musketiers, whilst with his wonted valour he pursued Victory: he died in the latter end of the year 1632, thirty moneths after he had set his foot in *Germany*.

But to re-assume the thred of my Discourse, the Diet at *Ratisbone* freed *France* from being insulted over by the Germans; for *Friuland*, who had order, as hath been said, to fall upon *France*, expecting what would be the issue of that Diet, instead of turning with his Forces upon *France*, would be himself present at *Ratisbone*, to obviate the violence which he foresaw would fall upon him: but not being able to decline it, and the Emperour being forced not only to depose him, but to cashier his Army, and foreseeing another war threatned from the North,

France escaped being assaulted also on that side; and the Electors, who held intelligence with the King of *France*, favouring *Nevers* his Cause, as the most just, approved not of the Emperours actions; but complaining that contrary to the Laws and Institutions of the Empire, he had sent Armies into *Italy*, without participating the business with them: wherefore the resolutions and provisions of that Court growing colder, the King of *France* had better conveniency to mind the wars of *Italy*, and to send strong succours to *Nevers*: he destined the Cardinal of *Richelieu* to be the Captain General of the Forces which he sent into *Piedmont*, with full power concerning war and peace. The Army (those being comprehended who were in *Casal* and *Montferrat*) consisted of 22000 Foot and 1600 Horse; and the Cardinal had three Marshals of *France* for his assistants, *Crisby*, *la Force*, and *Schomberge*. The King had already bargained with the Duke of *Savoy* for provision of Victuals, and Ammunition for war, together with conduct moneys for the passage of his Army, and had agreed with the same Duke that he should assist in the enterprise with 15000 men; and as for Victuals, he had agreed to deliver unto him 15000 sacks or quarters in *Nizza di Provenza*, which the Duke was to present unto the Army in *Piedmont*, three crowns of gold being allowed for the conduct of every sack or quarter: so as the Cardinal being very hot upon the business, and thinking to find all things ready for the enterprise in *Piedmont*, parted from *Paris* in the time of *Christmas*; and coming to *Lyons* in the beginning of the year 1630, tarried there some days to receive the people, who had orders to come thither from several parts of the Kingdom: he by his appearing so strong, and with such resolution, in *Piedmont*, to terrifie the Duke so as to make him not only forward to observe all that had been agreed upon, but willing to yield to whatsoever he should require, he nourish'd this opinion, not only out of the extraordinary confidence which the French have naturally in their own Forces, but also by reason of the Dukes Embassadours endeavours, who was at *Rome* to delay this expedition; for when he saw all things ready for the voyage, he went to the King, and to the Cardinal, and confidently assured them, that he had received news from the Duke, by a Post that was newly come, of a suspension of Arms made in *Italy*, for two moneths, and agreed unto by the Venetians, between *Nevers* and the Cesarian and Spanish Commanders; according whereunto *Collalto* had withdrawn his men from *Mantua*, and *Spinola* from *Montferrat*, and that the general peace would be shortly concluded: but the vanity of this advertisement was soon discovered, and was reputed as tricks used by the Duke, who out of his excessive fear of the French Forces strove to keep them as long as he could from *Piedmont*: wherefore the Cardinal hastned his journey the more, and being come to *Lyons* sent very precise Orders away to the Duke with advertisement of his coming, to the end, that he might be ready to receive him with Victuals, and other Provisions, and to joyn his Forces with the Kings in this enterprise; in whose behalf he required him, absolutely to declare himself: but the Duke seeing the Cardinal engaged upon his promises, thought it a very opportune occasion for his purposes; for the Cardinal passing the Mountains with a great Army, without Victuals or other Provisions, he knew that the pro-

prosperity, or ruine of the enterprise, lay in his power; for if answerable to his promise he should furnish him with all things, and should joyn his Forces with the Kings, *Casalle* would be happily relieved: on the contrary if he should not furnish him, and instead of joyning with him, should bring the Spanish and the Dutch Armies into *Piedmont*, and should with them oppose the French Army, all the Cardinals plots and threats would prove nothing; thinking therefore to reap good by the necessity whereinto he saw the Cardinal was ready to precipitate, he sent his Son the Prince unto him, to put new conditions to him, and to propound unto him the old slim-slam of the enterprises of *Genoa* and *Millain*; and on the other side, that in case the Cardinal should not grant those his desires, he might have means to oppose him, or that out of fear of his stout resistance he might force the Cardinal to give way unto his will; he at the same time sent the Abbot *Scaglia* to *Spinola*, and to *Collalto*, to invite them to advance with their Forces, and joyntly to oppose the French, who coming into *Italy* upon the assurance of his joyning with them, and of finding those Victuals and Provisions, which he would never furnish them withall, they should be forced, when they should see such an Army before them, either to retreat shamefully, or being block'd up in *Susa*, to perish miserably for want of Victuals, and other conveniences; or if they should give Battel, to be undoubtedly overthrown: he likewise, to incite them the more to advance, told them that *France* was at this time in great troubles, by the departure of the Kings only Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, from that Court and Kingdom, by the Prince of *Gonde's* retiring from the Court; by the dissatisfaction of many Princes and Lords, who not being able to endure, that even in the conduct of the Kings Arms (which in all reason belonged unto them) a Cardinal of Priestly profession, should be preferr'd before them, (one unexperienced in Arms, whose ambition grasp'd at all things, and who through the Kings favour would usurpe those imployments, which were due to them by the merits of their ancestors, and by the dangers they had run, and blood which they had shed in war;) would by all means endeavour that he should not come off with honour in this enterprise: he acquainted them with the Insurrection of several Provinces of the Kingdom; for that the people could not bear with such great Contributions as were laid upon them, to maintain a war out of the Kingdom; and making it plain unto them by these so many Demonstrations, how easie, and sure, the result of the business would be if they would oppose it, he press'd them not to let slip so happy an occasion of doing their Kings business: but both these expeditions proved vain; for the Duke being become suspected to both parties by his double dealing, had wearied them all: nor could he carry his neutrality so cunningly, but that his ends were discern'd, which were conceived to be nothing else, nor to tend to any thing, but to be the Arbitrator between two great Kings Armies, and to be he who should cast the ballance as he should like best, be Superintendent in all businesses, give the Law to all, treat of his own affairs with most advantage, better himself by the perils and labours of them both, and secure the advancement of his own fortune, and the increase of his reputation, by the equal counterpoise of each of them: by which way,

of proceeding being become not only suspected, but hated by both parties, who thought themselves injured by this his jugling, they abhorred to have him their Arbitrator, grew more confirm'd in their distrust, and more resolved that he should depend upon their resolutions, and not they be wheeled about by his words and cunning. Thus keeping the superiority, they would treat with him upon such advantage of power and authority as did become their Kings Grandezza, and the Majesty of their Masters Arms: so as so many Negotiations and pieces of cunning being discovered, instead of the advantage that was thereby hoped, he reaped loss and danger: *Spinola* had found out his continual treating with the French under one pretence or another: he knew what Victuals and Ammunition he had promised, and what moneys he had received for them: he saw him continue to provide for *Cassale*, prepare convoy moneys for the passage of their men, and make many shews of being in favour with that Court, or of not being able to be otherwise; he grew very jealous also of the Prince his going into *France*, which though it proved to no purpose, yet it was very probable that he was sent thither to treat of some great concernment: so as *Spinola* was so far from crediting the Dukes Propositals, and from believing that he would appear against the French; as the same change which his Agents promis'd in his behalf lessened his belief, and made him proceed with more circumspection, fearing, and not without reason, that the Duke would promise as much to the French against him, by whom he had already been so severely dealt with; and that, either out of resentment, or for the imminent danger of the French, or for the high conditions the Cardinal would give him, he would do the same Metamorphosis against him, as he now promised to do in prejudice to the French; and being loth to hazard the main point upon such uncertainty, he waited for better counsel and safer resolves, as the event should fall out: but the Cardinal did no less abhor the Dukes ways then did *Spinola*; since they tended to bring him to follow his will, to wage war as he listed, to turn the Kings Forces, which were destined to protect an oppressed Prince, to the prosecution of his vast ends and his revenge, and that against other Princes, against whom they were not intended; and in fine, to change the Kings designs and enterprises with those of his own, and (as if he were his servant) to be ready to do what the Duke listed, if he would have his friendship: holding therefore these pretentions to be too high, and the price of such an union too exorbitant, he would not listen to new Treaties, but threatned to force him to perform Agreement; wherefore he would not so much as speak with the Prince, who being come to *Savoy* desired to Negotiate with him, but refer'd the Treaty till he should be come to *Piedmont*; and for the better proof of his resolution, endeavouring to make the Duke the more afraid, he went from *Lyons* towards the Alps, leaving the Marshal *de la Force* there to gather the Army together, and to bring it to *Piedmont*.

The Duke had fortified *Avuiglima* (as hath been said) and had well munited it, and was gone thither with the body of his Army to defend it; his Army consisted of 12000 Foot, and about 3000 Horse: and knowing that the Cardinal must needs drive him from thence if he would

would relieve *Caſalle*, and that he could not ſit down before *Aoviglian*[a] for want of victuals, nor relieve *Caſalle*, he ſeated not his threats; for not having wherewithall to feed his Army, nor wherewith to ſuccour *Caſalle*, he muſt either agree with him, or waſte himſelf idly in *Suſa*, or return with ſhame into *France*; and therefore the nearer he ſaw the Cardinal come with a numerous Army, the more advantage he thought he had of treating, or certainty of victory; and conſequently he continued the ſtiffer in his pretences, and propounded the more difficulties in what he was much preſt unto by the French, and by Marſhal *Crikey*; So as the Cardinal being come from *Lyons* into *Ambrano*, and hearing there much contrary to what he expected, that the Duke continued in his obduratenesſe, and that it was impoſſible to alter him, he for a while forbore the courſe which, when he parted from *Lyons*, he thought would be ſo dreadful to the Duke; For finding that to go againſt the Dukes will, to relieve *Caſalle*, (which was the chief cauſe of that expedition) was no better then to hazard himſelf and his Army upon manifeſt ruine, as alſo the Kings Honour, and the whole enterprize, he began to find by experience, how unreaſonable it was, upon theſe termes, and in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, to juſtle with him when he was back'd by the Spaniſh and Dutch Forces; Wherefore allaying his heat, he began to treat more moderately with him, and endeavour'd to make him pliable with ſatisfactory propoſalls, that he might bring him to joyn with the Kings Forces in that enterprize, and intereſt himſelf really in relieving *Caſalle*; but his lenitives proved as vain as did his threats; For although the Duke had all his demands, (how ſtrange, and how extraordinary ſoever) granted him, yet ſtill pretending greater things, and turning back from what he had agreed unto, he uſed delayes, to the end that thereby the difficulties and neceſſities of the French Army might the mean while grow greater, inſomuch as the Cardinal being come to *Suſa*, where he ſpoke with the Prince, who was come to *Boſſolano* to viſit him, he did not only not come to any concluſion, but did not ſo much as begin to treat; For the Prince, who when he went to *Savoy* to negotiate with him could not ſo much as be allowed audience, being willing to reſent that uſage, the ceremonial part being paſt, would not propound any thing, pretending that it was the Cardinal who was to make the firſt propoſals, and make an overture to the buſineſſe. The reaſons of this obdurancy, and ſo great averſion in the Duke, may, many of them, be gathered from the then preſent circumſtances and occaſions: For to the many injuries received from the French and from the Cardinal, and to the abuſive peace of *Monſone*, was added the Cardinals proud carriage towards the Prince, not admitting him, when he came to treat, ſo much as to come within his preſence, whereof the Duke had wont to complain much; and conceiving thereby, and by other proceedings, that the Cardinal was not only very averſe to his intereſts, but bent to ruine him, he thought that no offers nor agreements would be obſerved unto him: nay, the greater the things were which the preſent neceſſity might force him to, he thought the effecting of them would be the harder afterwards, and the more odious; Wherefore fearing that he might be deceived, he would not change the preſent time for the future: the Kings coming to *Suſa*, and the conventions which he was

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forc'd to give way unto there, touched him to the quick; and as he thought himself fallen from that opinion, wherein he desired to be held, of being able to keep the French out of *Italy*, or bring them in as he listed: so he imagined there was no better, nor no more opportune remedy to heal so sore a wound, then to oppose their passage now, & by the total ruine of the enterprize and of their Army, to leave a perpetual example to the French, how necessary it was for them to esteem him as the only Porter of the *Alps*; and for the Spaniards to put a value upon him, and to treat him with advantagious conditions, as the Bulwark of *Italy*, and of the state of *Millain*; this was the highest pitch of his Grandezza, this the very sence of his soul; and having fixt his eye upon this, as upon a mark to shoot at, he thought that if he should hit it, all occasions that could be from the French came short of it; it was also thought that he feared, lest when the Cardinal should see himself in great power and safety by his joyning with him, he might afterwards make peace with the Spaniard, excluding his interests, just as it hapned at the peace of *Monsone*; so as hating to joyn expresly with either party, whereby he was to make himself subject to one of them, and an enemy to the other, he was constant to his neutrality, whereby he was superiour to them both; yet he broke not with any of them: but cloaking his actions with neutrality, he fenced himself with tergiversations. Neither would the French, who needed him exceedingly, break with him; but dissembling all the hard usage they met with, endeavoured to win him over to declare for them; and they (so well knew they the advantage of his joyning with them) abusing their patience, left nothing undone which might not prejudice them, though little to their honour; the Cardinal agreed for provision of victuals, with some of the Dukes subjects, and bargain'd with some others for the conducting of such as were in *Nizza*, to ease his present necessities. The Duke made them all be imprisoned; but not being able without apparent contumacy to deny the conduct of such as were in *Nizza*, since he had already received monies for their conduct, he would appoint the conductors himself; who depending wholly upon him brought more or lesse, according as he pleased. But the Army not being able to continue longer thus, and the Cardinal being either to break with him, or unworthily waste his Army, or return with shame to *France*, before he would break, he would make the last trial; He promis'd that he would assault some place in the state of *Millain*, provided that the Duke would furnish *Casalle* with victuals, the Duke either did not, or did not seem to refuse the proposals; Whereupon the Cardinal made his Van advance, consisting of 7000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, under Marshal *Crichy*; and going himself out of *Susa* with the body of the Army came to *Cazalletto*, a place near *Avigliana*; and the Duke sent good store of victuals to *Casalle*: which finding that the Van being come to *Rivas*, a Town in *Monferrat*, did not prosecute the voyage, he made them stay; pretending that the Van alone could not do any thing of moment against the state of *Millain*, so as it was necessary that the rest of the Army should follow: The Cardinal was mightily troubled to be thus used, perceiving that those very tricks were used to him, which he used to others; For as this marching of the Van was feignedly performed by the Cardinal, to make the Duke put victuals into

into *Caſalle*; ſo the Dukes ſending of victuals appeared to be counterfeit, to the end that he might make the Cardinal come out of *Suſa* with his Army, where he had as yet ſome proviſions wherewith to ſubſiſt, to the end that he might bring him to before the Spaniſh and the Weſtreat Armies without victuals, and be but badly backt by the remainder of his Army which tarried behind; So as he might either be overcome by Famine without fighting, or (if he ſhould fight) he might be miſerably deſtroyed: And the more to witneſſe the Dukes bad intentions, it was added, that notwithſtanding that he had good ſtore of monies diſburſt unto him *per la Tappe*, and other quarterings, he would not permit that the Army ſhould paſſe by the uſual way that it was to march, and which leads from *Suſa* to *Avigliana*, where the way was more commodious, broader, and where there was better quartering, but made it paſſe by the way of *Condove* and *Coſſalette*, which lies on the left hand, very improper for the Foot, much more for the Horſe, and for the carriage of the Artillery; where there was no order nor proviſion for quarter, and where they were to ſuffer both hunger and cold: inſomuch as the Army which tarried here ſome dayes had periſhed, had not ſome remainder of victuals which were yet left in *Suſa* been brought thither; But this not being able to maintaine them long, and the Duke preſſing them to advance, the Cardinal thought it not fit to purſue that voyage, and leave *Avigliana* behind him, where the Duke was with all his men: Wherefore he anſwered, that if the Duke would have him advance, he muſt furniſh him with victuals, and declare openly for the King, and remove the impediment of *Avigliana*, which (in the condition it was in) would not ſuffer him to advance; The Duke reply'd, that the great ſcarcity of victuals muſt excuſe him from ſending in proviſions, that he could not declare againſt the Emperour who was his Soveraign Lord, from whom he held ſo many Territories in fee; and as for *Avigliana*, that he was not bound, as the Rebels of *France*, to demoliſh his Townes to pave the way for the Kings Army; but (that to free himſelf of all jealouſies) he was ready to take ſome of his men out of *Avigliana*, to which purpoſe he drew from thence about 7000 foot, but he placed them in the guard of the Bridges and Paſſes, by which when the French ſhould be paſt *La Dora*, they might aſſault him; which the Cardinal perceiving, he reſolved to uſe force, and to go againſt the Duke when he ſhould be paſt *Dora*, who tarried with ſome of his men in *Rivoli*: and to this purpoſe was *Cricky* ſent for back from *Rivas*, where he continued ſtill, with the Van; the Duke was aware of this, and did not fear it; for having munited *Avigliana* and *Torino* well, the places whereupon he thought the French were likelieſt to fall, he hoped he might hold them play there, till ſuch time as the Ceſarian Army, and *Spinola*'s might advance; and finding them incamp'd before thoſe places might eaſily rout them, in caſe they ſhould not long before be made to quit the enterprize for want of victuals. But a new and unthought of accident alter'd the ſtate of affairs; the Duke going that very night from *Rivoli*, went to *Torino*, and abandoning the Bridges and Paſſes of the River, which the French were to aſſault the next morning, he afforded them conveniency to paſſe over the River without any impediment; This ſo ſudden and unexpected change was attributed to ſome knowledge that the

Duke

Duke had got by some treaties held by the Cardinal in *Torino*, where there were then many French, and amongst them two of *Cricy*'s Sons; who as soon as they heard the Duke was entred the City retired to the Army; whereat the Duke being mightily offended, he made the chiefs of the French that remained in the Town be imprisoned, as complices of plots and treaties, and published a manifesto in print; wherein he complained bitterly of the Cardinal, that whilst he was entred his Dominions as a friend, and whilst he had furnish'd him with victuals and other things, to the great prejudice of his own people, (from whose mouths he had pull'd it) he had endeavoured to oppresse him with plots and treaties within his own doors, only for not having joyn'd his Forces with the French, against his Sovereign Lord the Emperour, and against the King of *Spain*, to whom he had no reason to professe himself an Enemy; wherefore declaring himself openly for the Emperour and King of *Spain* against the French, he made new and more urgent dispatches to *Spinola* and to *Collalto*, to make them advance with all possible speed to relieve *Piedmont*, promising them full and assured victory over the Enemy, who were streightned by so many necessities: of which victory the happy end of the enterprizes of *Mantua* and *Casale* would be a most undoubted result. The Cardinal was in great confusion at this the Dukes sudden and unexpected resolution, his Army being in great danger to be lost for to send men to *Casale*, and no victuals would rather be a trouble then an ease to the Town; to keep idle where he was was impossible, for want of victuals; and dangerous, lest the Enemy might come upon them; to sit down before *Avigliana* or *Torino*, would be a desperate and ruinous businesse; So (as in so great confusion and difficulty) he knew no better course to take, then to send a Messenger to the Duke, who treating with him, and with the Princesse Royal of *Piedmont*, might mitigate the Dukes severity, and bring him to more moderate counsells. But neither did this do any goods for the Duke being angry with the Cardinal, minded nothing but revenge, and the total ruine of that Army, and utterly to overthrow the Cardinals fortune; who out of private Emulation, and big with Hatred and Ambition, brought the Kings Forces to triumph over his, and thought to make his Name remarkable to the Princes of the present age, and immortal to future times; He therefore neither admitted of the Messenger, nor would he suffer him to speak with the Princesse Royal, nor with the Embassadours of other Princes, who were resident in his Court. Wherefore the Cardinal, forced by necessity, changed the defensive war which was intended in favour to *Nevers*, into war offensive against the Duke of *Savoy*, by whom he held himself to be so unworthily dealt with; he therefore sack'd *Rivolt* and the neighbouring Townes: but thinking this too weak a resentment, and unworthy his Grandezza, he turned upon *Pinarollo*, whither having sent *Cricy* with the Van, he followed him the next day with the rest of his Army; a resolution which was certainly necessary in so desperate a condition, but very uncertain and dangerous; for if that place had been so well provided as the importancy thereof, and the present condition of affairs required, and consequently the Cesarean and Spanish Armies had had time to succour it, the French must necessarily either have come to a battle upon

disadvantage

disadvantage, or have foregone the Enterprise with much danger and confusion, and have shamefully returned to *Susa*, where, if assaulted, they could hardly have held out, but must have been enforced to receive such Laws as the Conquerours should please to prescribe them, to the intire loss of that Glory which they had won upon that very place the year before: But Fortune, which useth to change in points of extremity, raised the Cardinals condition to the highest pitch of felicity, which appeared to be ruined, and precipitated the Dukes Affairs almost into utter destruction, which seemed to be placed on the height of happiness: For the Duke somewhat doubting that place, where he knew there was no other defence but the Garrison which was usually kept there in time of Peace, sent thither a great recruit of men the very day that the Army removed from *Rivoli*, but it being given out in the Army, that it went to *Turin*; and those that went with the Artillery thinking that they were to continue their march according to their former Orders, before the consultations had against *Pinarolo* were discovered, drave on to *Turin*; and the Duke, who by reason of the said consultations doubted lest he might be assaulted, recall'd that recruit of men which he but a little before had sent to *Pinarolo*, and kept them to defend the chief City; so as *Pinarolo* being deprived of that recruit, and the Duke not being of himself able to march into the field to defend it, could not hold out long against the French; for the Van being come thither on the 20th of *March*, and having placed their battery upon the ditch, the City yielded without making any resistance: They had somewhat more to do to take the Castle, which held out somewhat longer for the Duke.

This success did totally alter the face of Affairs, the Cardinal having time to breathe amidst so great streights, to boot with having made way for the bringing of victuals and provisions from *France*, brought the neighbouring Towns of *Piedmont* to Contribution, which abounded in Victuals; and by keeping that and *Susa* in his possession, might not only advance to further acquisitions, but secure the restitution of *Cassalle*, if it should be taken by the *Spaniards*: and now that he had so good pledges in his hands, he might treat of Peace upon better conditions, the relief of *Cassalle* not being so necessary as before. On the contrary, the Duke being by the loss of this place fallen from his advantagious condition, could no longer keep the French Army from Victuals, nor make it depend upon his will, as formerly, in respect of relieving *Cassalle*, nor could he keep the Spaniards any longer from being jealous of his joyning with the French, but on the contrary, it behoved him not only to depend upon the Cardinal, and be subject to his will, who being Master of *Pinarolo* might prejudice *Piedmont* in several manners; but also upon *Spinola*'s pleasure, by the necessity he was in of being assisted by his Forces against the French, who were got into the bowels of his State; so as being of a sudden fallen from being the Arbitrator of Peace and War (as he held himself to be) to be subject to the pleasures of both parties, it behoved him wholly to forego those high conceits by which he thought to give Law to all, and to submit himself to be disposed of by those who could readily and powerfully either defend or indammage him.

Spinola, who being wholly bent upon Peace, would never supply the Duke either with men or moneys, being awakened by the coming and the progress of the French Army, began to be of another mind, and to make more haste in providing for War; he therefore sent into *Germany* and *Naples*, to hasten the coming of the men that were ready there, and into *Spain* for more moneys; and minding chiefly the safety of the State of *Millain*, he began to build a great Fort neer *Sartirana*, and another upon the *Po*, over against *Valenza*, and a third at *Villata*; he threw one Bridge over at *Villata*, and another between *Valenza* and the new Fort; so he thought that that part of the State which was next the great Garrison of *Casale* was safe enough; and hearing that the French were gone to *Pinarolo*, he sent Don *Martin d' Aragona* to assist the Duke with the Van, consisting of 4000 Foot, and 600 Horse; and he himself expecting the Legate in *Alessandria*, who came to treat of Peace, tarried there to assemble the rest of the Army, and therewithal himself in person to defend *Piedmont*; but were it either that the ways being broken down by continual rain hindred the speed of his march, or that thinking it impossible to come time enough to relieve the Castle of *Pinarolo*, he thought that the Castle, since it was to be lost, might be lost before his Kings Forces appeared; or else, (as many were of opinion) that *Spinola* was not yet very sure of the Dukes Friendship, and that therefore he was not displeased with that loss, which forced the Duke to joyn with the King of *Spain*'s party, out of necessity of being assisted in recovering what he had lost; the Affairs belonging to that expedition went not on so fast or with such fervour as was outwardly profess'd.

When the Legate was come to *Alessandria*, he spoke with *Spinola*, and with the Marquess of *San Croce*, who was come from *Genoa* to be present at that Conference; he found a great inclination to Peace in them, and was therewith well pleased; for *Spinola* and *San Croce* offered to do any thing so as the French would restore the Towns in *Piedmont*, and would return into *France*: they promised to restore *Nevers* into peaceful possession of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, and to invest him duly thereinto; to restore the Forts and Places taken from the Grisons; that the Emperours Army should return to *Germany*; and the disbanding of the Spanish Army which was in *Italy*.

The Cardinal parted from *Alessandria* with these Propositals, and went towards *Piedmont* to treat with the Duke of *Savoy*, and with the Cardinal of *Savoy*, in whom he found not such a willingness to Peace; first the Cardinal alledging, That it became not the honour of the King of *France* his Forces to enter into a Treaty, whilst the enterprise which they had in hand, of the Castle of *Pinarolo*, was not finished; and he would not enter into discourse with the Legate, who tarried fifteen days in *Turin* to that end; at the end whereof the Castle being surrendred, the Cardinal fell to begirt the Town with Bulwarks Royal, and fortified the Castle, making that Town impregnable; which (as it was then judged, and was afterward better confirm'd by success) the French never intended to restore, but to make it a Rendezvouz for Armes in *Italy*, which might serve as a curb to *Piedmont*, and to the Dukes of *Savoy*, keep the State of *Millain* in a perpetual jealousie, and

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might ſerve for an excellent door to the King of *France* for greater enterpriſes, which he might deſign unto himſelf, if he ſhould have occaſion to ſend his Armies over the *Alps*. *Briſſerafco* was taken ſoon after, being neer *Pinarolla*, at the foot of the *Alps*, well fortified and munited: not long after the ſurrender of the Caſtle of *Pinarolla*, *Colalto* and *Spinola* came to *Piedmont*, and with *Spinola* came *San Croce* and the Duke of *Lerma*; and after them ſome of the Ceſarian and ſome of the Spaniſh Army: a Conſultation was held in *Carmagnola* touching the whole affair: The Duke of *Savoy*'s opinion was, that foregoing the enterpriſes of *Mantua* and *Caſalle* for the preſent, they ſhould go with all their joynt Forces to the recovery of *Pinarolla* and *Suſa*, and that they ſhould endeavour to drive the French beyond the Mountains; for when *Italy* ſhould be freed of them, both *Mantua* and *Caſalle*, as not being able to hold out without them, would fall of themſelves, eſpecially ſince *Caſalle* not having victuals, would ſoon ſurrender; and the Duke promis'd on the faith of a Prince, that it ſhould not be relieved with victuals; and to the end, that each Commander of each Army, as well the Emperours, as the King of *Spains*, might willingly agree to this, he offered to leave *Piedmont* free to be diſpoſed of by them, to the end, that they might manage their war there as they liſted; and that he, contenting himſelf with 12000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, would go with them into *Savoy*, and from thence into *Delphiny*; where maſtering the ways which lead to *Italy*, he would hinder Commerce between *France* and the Army which was buſied in defending *Pinarolla*, in ſuch ſort, as that Army not being able to be recruited either with Men, Victuals or Money from *France*, ſhould either be forc'd to periſh there, or abandoning *Italy* and *Piedmont*, ſhould return to *France*; and the French being thus kept from making oppoſition, *Caſalle* and *Mantua* would eaſily be reduced: all of them except *Spinola*, did in part approve, and in part diſapprove of the Dukes Propoſal: all of them agreed that for the preſent they ſhould forego the enterpriſes of *Mantua* and *Caſalle*, and that they ſhould march with their joynt Forces to recover the Dukes Towns, and to drive the French out of *Italy*; but the other part of the Dukes advice was not generally agreed unto, for what concerned carrying the war with part of the Forces beyond the Mountains; for this opinion appeared to be as dangerous, as the other of joyning in the recovery of the Towns of *Piedmont* was uſeful and requiſite: but *Spinola*, were it either that he knew the mind of the *Spaniſh* Court, or out of the apparent advantage which would be had by the getting of *Caſalle*, or that he thought it but vain to go about recovering the places which were loſt, whilſt the way for relief was open behind them, or that he was jealous that the Duke might change his mind if the French ſhould offer to reſtore his Towns, held it better not to expoſe the main Forces, the ſafety of affairs, and of the Kings Dominions, and his own reputation, upon the Dukes bare word, which he did not much relie upon, upon the uncertainty of Succeſs, leſt the Kings men might be worſted by the French, and that they ſhould find difficulty in retreating, in caſe that any agreement ſhould be made between the Duke and the French; wherefore oppoſing the opinion of the whole Council, wherein the chief Commanders of the Army did intervene, and alſo

opposing *San' Croce*, he was of opinion, that *Galatto* should tarry with the most of his men to oppose the French, and that he himself should with the remainder attend the expugning of *Casalle*: from which resolution neither the Dukes intreaty, nor the contrary opinion of the whole Council, nor any other inconvenience which was urged might be prejudicial to the common affairs, could divert him: he therefore sent his Son Don *Philip* with 5000 Foot and 500 Horse to the recovery of *Pontestura*, *San' Georgio*, and *Lusignano*, all of them being near *Casalle*, which (as hath been said) were held and garrison'd by the French, and he himself staid in *Turin*, to assist in the Treaty of peace, which after the loss of *Pinarolle* was reassumed by the Legate.

The Duke of *Savoy* was not a little incens'd at this constant resolution of *Spinola*; and that not so much for that he saw himself deprived of his assistance and of a good part of the Spanish Army, as for fear that if *Casalle* should be taken, the Spaniards would be less fervent in defending him, and in recovering his lost Towns: A consideration which had he not been blinded by his own interest, he might suppose might oblige *Spinola* as much to endeavour the taking of *Casalle* anticipately, as it was probable that the Duke, whose Interests the taking of *Casalle* did oppose, when he should have recovered his Towns in *Piedmont*, should use his best means to keep *Casalle* from being taken, as he had done formerly. *Galatto* was likewise much troubled at this resolution of *Spinola's*, being wrought upon by the Duke of *Savoy's* perswasions, and as some will say, by his great donatives; for he, favouring the Dukes Cause, as if the Common Cause were concerned therein, desired it might be taken into consideration in the first place; so as to boot with the emulation which was already grown between them, not only diversity of opinions, but distastes arose upon this occasion, from whence much prejudice did redound to the main affair; which being distracted by the several interests, and emulations of private men, was subject to great hazards, just like a Ship which is agitated by contrary windes: so as *Collalto* not willing to be left alone to prosecute the business of *Piedmont*, withdrew to the Army before *Mantua*; saying publickly, that if others would prefer their Prince his particular cause, before what was the common concernment, he was likewise obliged to prefer the business of *Mantua*, wherein the Emperour was particularly interessed, before that of *Casalle* or *Piedmont*. The Legate being this mean while gone to *Pinarolle*, had acquainted Cardinal *Richelieu* with what had been agreed unto in *Alessandria* by *Spinola*, and *San' Croce*: he found him willing to yield to all save to what concern'd the restitution of *Pinarolle*; which he said it was necessary for him to keep, as well out of the pretences which the King of *France* laid thereunto, as for the security of *Nevers* his affairs, and of the peace which was to be concluded, which having been violated many times (as he said) on the Spanish side, he might justly fear it might meet again with some troubles, when he should be past back over the Mountains: but it was rather thought that he refused to restore *Pinarolle*, out of private ambition; for he was very proud of having gotten a place of such importance for the Kings affairs; and as *France* was much grieved when *Pinarolle* was restored to the Father of this present Prince, by *Henry* the Third, King

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of *France*, so being now as much pleased with the recovery thereof, the Cardinal would not, together with the advantage of the acquisition, lose the perpetual glory of having done so great a benefit to the Crown of *France*: but this being a point of such importance for the conclusion or exclusion of peace, in which things belonging to others are usually restored, the retaining thereof was now disputed only as being contrary to the title pretended unto by the Kings Forces; wherein *Richelieu* mitigated the Proposal, and reduced the retention thereof to the space of two years, offering the Duke *Monteagnio*, and some other Towns in *Montferrat* in pawn for the restoring of it: but this being held to be yet too hard a condition, wherein the observance of the agreement was reduced to the Arbitrement of the French, who when *Casalle* and *Mantua* should be freed, it was hard to say what they would have done; it was finally proposed, that the Dutch should keep the Towns taken from the Grisons, and the French those of the Dukes, till such time as the affairs of *Italy* should be adjusted within fifteen days; which when they should be adjusted and composed, whatsoever was retained should be by both sides restored. *Spinola* listned to this Proposal, which he thought to be more moderate, inasmuch as discoursing thereof in the presence of the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the other Commanders, he said that he would readily agree thereunto, if the time of restitution might be prolonged for the space of two moneths; the Duke who was already very much unsatisfied with *Spinola*, could not give way to such a length of time; but letting his anger burst out which till then he had kept in, he exclaimed very much upon him, as did *Colalto* also; and it being discovered that there was speech of a meeting between the Cardinal and *Spinola*, and that intelligence was held between them, the jealousie grew greater; both of them being found to be no well-wishers to the Duke. This suspition was much fomented by the friendship which was contracted between them, when *Spinola* in his passage from *Flanders* to *Spain*, went to the Camp before *Rochel*, to kiss the Kings hand; where being received with unusual favours by the Cardinal, the Cardinal was much commended by a relation which *Spinola* made to the King of the well ordering of that Siege, and by his assuring him of happy and speedy success, if the same course should be still taken; and to all this it was added, that a dispatch which was at this very time sent to *Spinola* being intercepted, *Richelieu* sent it to him close sealed as it was, and unbroken up, which being known by the Duke afforded him much cause of jealousie. Thus the Treaty of peace being broken, preparation was made for war; and the Duke resenting *Spinola*'s usage, sent the Abbot *Scaglia* to complain unto the King of *Spinola*'s strange and rigorous proceedings, tending not onely to the prejudice of him the Duke, but to the dis-service of the Kings affairs, and of the common cause, which could receive no advantage by the Dukes dis-satisfaction; and he made his Daughter in Law complain of the Cardinal in the Court of *France*, but particularly to the Queen-Mother, who though she had been very well pleased formerly with the Cardinals greatness, began to be jealous of him now, by reason of his too great authority, and of the credit which he had won with the King, so as it was in several manners ill spoken of; some accusing him of too great hatred to

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the Duke; that being ordered to deal friendly with him, his only endeavours in this expedition had been to incenſe him, and by his ill uſage to alienate him from the Kings intereſt: ſome accuſed him of want of experience in Military affairs; ſome of injuſtice and violence, who had turned thoſe Forces which were deſtined to defend an injured Prince, to oppreſs another who was ſo neer allied to the King, a Friend and Confederate of the Crown, to the great ſcandal of the Kings Forces, to the danger of the enterprize, and of that Army, wherein were ſo many Lords and Commanders; wherefore finding himſelf complained of, and apprehending the Kings diſpleaſure, whereinto he might run by his abſence, he left the management of affairs in *Piedmont* with the Marſhals *de la Force* and *Stomberg*, and return'd with *Cricky* into *France*; whither when he was come, and had given an account of his action, and of what ſtreights the Duke had put him in, he had much ado to clear himſelf from the faults which were laid to his charge by his ill-willers.

Thus went the Duke about to prejudice the Cardinals fortune by his endeavours, which he could never overthrow by his Forces, nor by his ſo many Plots and Stratagems. Whilſt the buſineſs of peace was debated in *Turin*, Don *Philippo Spinola* was got neer *Pontestura*, and had begun it on all ſides; and began his Batteries: the French had begun ſome unperfect Fortifications, and thoſe of *Caſalle*, that the longer that place held out, the longer might they themſelves be preſerved; they thought good to leſſen their own Garriſon and Proviſions, and imploy them in the defence of *Pontestura*, hoping that by gain of time they might the better mind their own Fortifications: but the effects proved otherwiſe, for on the fourth day the defendants began to parly, and on the fifth, agreed to ſurrender the Town, upon all the conditions they could deſire, except that they were not to enter into *Caſalle*, nor tarry in *Italy*, and they were bound to leave all their victuals and proviſions behind them. Thus Don *Philip* became maſter of this place, and made the French go to *Finale*, and from thence to *Marcelles*, with little reputation: from hence he went to St. *George* his Caſtle, which was not above a mile and a half from *Caſalle*, where there were but twelve French men in Garriſon, beſides the Towns-men, who were very well armed and prepared for defence: here they met with more reſiſtance, for the defendants refuſing to ſurrender, Don *Philip* began his Mines, which he began to make upon the Flank of a Tower; but they did no good, by reaſon of artificial fire-works, which being thrown from off the Walls, burnt the pent-houſes which ſhelter'd the work-men; ſo they were forced to work further off, in a better cover'd place; where being ſafer, they ſlew ſome of the defendants, amongſt which the Captain of the French; whereupon the reſt fearing to be ſerved ſo likewiſe, ſurrendred upon the ſame Articles that *Pontestura* had done, but not with the like infamy.

Roſsigliano remained yet untaken, where there were about 300 French and Montferrians; this place being cut off from *Caſalle* by the loſs of St. *Georgio*, it was thought it would be loſs of time to attempt it, ſince it could not prejudice *Caſalle*: but *Spinola*, to whom Don *Philip* writ, ſending word that they ſhould proceed on, they went thither; the

the place was ſtrong enough and ſeated high; Marqueſs *Moncaufier* the chief of the French Garriſon was Governour, a young ſprightly man, deſirous of fame, and to make amends by his valour for the obloquie that was laid by all men upon the French for having defended *Pontestura* ſo poorly: ſo the buſineſs proved ſomewhat longer and more difficult: the defendants upon the enemies appearance came forth, and after ſome skirmiſhing retreated into the Town; to which the enemy drew neer, making their approaches on three ſides, and on two ſides their Batteries: but all their attempts, which were many, were manfully withſtood, and the Siege was held out for 15 days: but at laſt, a mine being made in the third approach, to boot with their batteries, they were forced to yield upon the ſame conditions as *Pontestura* had done, only *Moncaufier*, with ſome others, were permitted to go into *Caſale*, which being block'd up by the loſs of theſe places, and kept from all ſuccour and victuals, and fearing to be ſhortly aſſaulted by *Spinola's* whole Army, it was not likely to hold out long: yet the French that were in it were not diſmaid, but hearing that a company of the Dukes Horſe were quartered in *Morano* beyond the *Po*, they went out by night, and paſſing over the River in Boats, they fell upon them at unawares, kil'd many of them, and brought many of them priſoners into *Caſale*. *Spinola* ſeeing the peace not effected, left about 6000 Foot in *Piedmont*, under the Camp-maſters, Don *Martino d' Aragona*, *Aniballe dal Taſſo*, *Nicola Doria*, and Baron *Shamburgo*, and 1000 Horſe under *Ferrando Gambacorti*, Governour of the Neopolitan Horſe, with Orders to them all to obey the Prince of *Piedmont*, and he himſelf went to the Siege of *Caſale*: and taking his leave of the Duke, he excuſed the neceſſity of this his reſolution, upon the account of the great Garriſon of French which was in *Caſale*, which keeping the State of *Milain*, and part of *Piedmont* in jealouſie, no reaſon of war would permit that that Rendezvouz for the enemies Arms ſhould be ſuffered, by reaſon of the great inconveniences which might reſult from thence; all their joynt Forces being in *Piedmont*; and being confident, out of his experience in taking in of Towns, and by the opinion of his Captains, that the Town could not hold out for above 40 days: he promiſed the Duke that when it ſhould be taken, he would return with all his Forces to aſſiſt him: *Colalto* alſo parted from *Piedmont*, leaving between three or four thouſand Dutch there under the Baron *Galleſſe*, who were put in Garriſon in *Avigliana*. *Spinola* begun the taking of *Caſale* about the end of *May*, not being reſolved whether he ſhould attempt it by Storm or by Siege: though they hoped the Siege would not prove long, by reaſon of the ſmall quantity of victuals that were in it, yet calculating that the number of defendants were leſſened, by the ſending of men into the Towns which were taken but a little before, it was judged that ſtorming would prove the ſafer and the ſhorter way, the rather for that the Forces of the French Army being ſufficiently diminiſhed, the fear of their oppoſition was proportionably leſſened: wherefore it was thought better to diſpute the buſineſs by force of Arms, then ſtreightning it by Famine to depend upon the ſucceſs of a Siege, which through uncertain and falſe calculations proves more uncertain and more falacious: but were it either that his felicity followed him not, but was

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fix'd to the Belgick soil, or that the several ends and emulations of the Chieftains who managed that war did turmoil his genius, or that his death, which shortly hapned, cut off the thred of his excellent fortune, he was forc'd to succumb in this. The Duke *di Mena*, *Nevers* his second Son, commanded in *Casalle*, a young man, and but little experienced in Arms; so as his person served for little more then for the authority and reputation of the Government and conduct of Affairs, and to keep concord amongst the Captains, and Military obedience: in the Citadel was only a Garrison of Montferrians, under the same Marques of *Rivara*, who had withstood the former oppugnation: the French, being 2000 Foot and 300 Horse, defended the City and the Citadel, who were commanded by Marshal *di Toras*, one who had won the fame of much valour, and the opinion of being excellent at the keeping of Towns, by his singular and valiant defending of the Isle of *Rees*, which lies over against *Rochel*, against a treble assault of the English Fleet: the chief Fortifications, when *Toras* came thither, were only towards the *Poe* and towards the Plain, where it was assaulted by Don *Gonzallo*: it was but little or not at all fortified towards the Hill; and *Toras* fearing to be assaulted on that side, was very industrious in fortifying it: the Citadel had no out-works nor Fortifications, save two Half-moons, the one of which sheltered the Gate whereby relief was brought, the other that which was towards the City. *Toras* made another very great one, doubly begirt, between the two bulwarks of the Citadel, where he apprehended to be assaulted. Neither were these provisions made in vain; for *Spinola* thinking this the fittest place, began four approaches from thence; the first whereof was committed to the care of the Camp-master *Filomarini* his Neapolitans, and was directed against that part of the City which is called *de Treventi*, and lay under some Fortifications which were built upon a rise without the City; and the wall of the City, together with that of the Castle, making an angle inwards, which the Assailants were to play upon, the on-set on that side was the more hard and dangerous: the other approaches led straight upon the two Bulwarks of the Citadel, betwixt which *Toras* had made his Half moon: to the first whereof, which was more inward, and neerer the Gate which leads to *Turin*, were two approaches made, the first by the Spaniards commanded by the Duke of *Lerma*, the other by the Dutch who were commanded by *Shamburgs* Lieutenant: the fourth approach, which was against the Bulwark, from whence the Campagnia is first discovered, fell to the Lombards share, under the two Camp-masters, *Trotti* and *Sforza*. Thus the Trenches being begun to be opened, every one endeavoured to come speedily to what was intended; this mean while Don *Feronymo Augustini*, being left in *Villata* to guard that Frontier, by *Spinola's* Order drew neer the *Poe*, over against *Casalle*; and that he might straighten the Town the more on that side, he took up his Quarters there, wherein he was not well fortified when he began to attempt the neerest Island, upon which those of the City had made some Fortifications, for it was of great consequence for the safety of the City, and of the Mills which were not far from thence; so doing over the River with his Horses fastned together, notwithstanding that he was plaid upon by Musket-shot from the Walls

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and from the Forts, he advanced ſo far as he became maſter of the Iſland, with the death of 300 French, part whereof were ſlain, part drown'd in the *Po*, which is very deep, and runs very ſwift between the Iſland and the City: This being the firſt action attempted by thoſe without upon ſuch diſadvantage, and yet with ſuch courage and vigor, and proving ſo fortunate to the aſſailants, and ſo prejudicial to the aſſaulted, did much diſcourage the *Caſſalians*, who were not accuſtomed all the preceding year to ſo fierce and bloody ſport; and the baſeneſſe of the French, here, being added to that which they ſhew'd in defending *Pontestura*, they began to fear the worſt, and to confide but little in the Souldiers of that Nation, upon whom they had formerly built ſo much. But *Tonas* had occaſion ſoon enough to ſignalize himſelf and his Souldiers, in an other action which he attempted with no leſſe Judgement and Valour then Fortune, whereby he won Reputation to himſelf and to his men, and revived the almoſt extinct credit of the French in the *Montferrins*; he was aware that the *Lombards* that were working upon the fourth approach had not as yet finiſh'd a redoubt, and that thoſe who were to guard it were negligent, beliteving that thoſe who were within, having already loſt their Reputation, would not dare to aſſault them, he ſallied forth with about 400 of his beſt and moſt experienced Foot, and with 50 Horſe, and falling upon them at unawares, cut them all in pieces; And not tarrying here, he paſſed on to the ſecond redoubt, which being abandoned by three Enſignes, who with ſome of their companies had the keeping thereof, he eaſily maſter'd it; Then paſſing forward to the third, with like Valour and like hope, he failed in his intent by the reſiſtance he met with there, and by reaſon of the Horſe which came in, led on by *Count Soragna*; ſo as being forc'd to give back, he retreated to underneath the ſhelter of the Citadel, with more prejudice to the Enemy then to his own men, having ſlain three Captains and many Officers, and having wounded *Count Soragna* mortally, who died ſoon after, and kill'd above fourſcore Souldiers, and wounded many more. This action did much incourage the defendants, and made the enemy more cautious, and delay'd the making of the approaches; the which the more they advanced, were more ſubject to danger, to loſſe of men and delay; the defendans failed not to ſally out both by day and night, with ſometimes greater, ſometimes leſſer loſſe to each ſide. Whilſt they wrought thus with more toile and danger before *Caſalle*, buſineſſe cooled in *Piedmont*; when the Cardinal and *Crichy* went away, the managing of the power was left (as you have heard) to the Marſhals *De La Force* and *Scomburg*; and *Scomburg*, who went afterwars to *France*, was ſucceeded by the Duke of *Momorancy*; who diſtributing their men in *Pinerolla*, and in *Briſcheraſco*, ſtood more upon defence then offence; For many of their Commanders and Officers were gon from *France*, many of their Souldiers had done ſo likewiſe, or were run away, and the Plague had play'd his part amongſt them, and the Duke having ſent about 10000 Foot into *Savoy*, under Prince *Thomaſo*, to defend *Savoy*, fearing leſt it might be invaded and poſſeſt by the King, made of the reſt of his Souldiery a body of 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, made up of his own men, and of the King of *Spain*'s men which were left him by *Spinola*; which together

with the Dutch were ſtill increaſed, by the continual recruits which were ſent in by *Spinola* and *Collalto*: And going into the field he incamped at *Pancueli*, a Town beyond the *Poe*, towards the *Alps*, 15 miles from *Pinarollo*, and fortifying it with Trenches, he ſtood obſerving what the French would do, that he might oppoſe them. The French had their eyes upon *Vigone*, which though it were an open Town, yet of much concernment for the Corn that was in it; they went thither very ſtrong and aſſaulted it; But the Prince of *Piedmont* coming in with ſome companies of Carabines and Muſketiers, they were repuls'd. Wherefore they turned to *Cercenaſco*, a Caſtle not far from thence, very convenient for their falling down into *Carignano*, where there is a wooden Bridge over the *Poe*, which the French deſired to be Maſters of, it lying conveniently for them to paſſe unto *Caſalle*, they took it, and left ſome to defend it: But the Duke being deſirous to recover it came before it with many men, when the French were retired to *Pinarollo*, and at the ſame time ſent Marquis *Villa* with 1000 Foot, and 100 Horſe, to attempt *Bricheraſco*, formerly taken, as hath been ſaid, by the French, and fortified. The event of theſe enterprizes were different, for *Cercenaſco* yielded to the Duke within three days, and the Marqueſs though he fell upon the Fortifications by night, and was gotten a good way into them, yet was he forced quickly to retreat, through his mens faults, who being wholly intent upon booty, affo ded thoſe of the Garriſon conveniency to make head and to aſſault them, and to repulſe them whilſt they were in diſorder buſie about booty: The French not content to have beaten them back went with all their Forces to recover *Cercenaſco*, which they could not indure to looſe.

The Duke who was ready with almoſt all his men to receive them, though he was inferiour to them in Horſe, thoſe which were ſent to *Bricheraſco* not being yet returned, *Momorancy* was deſirous to give battle, which if it had been done, would have been upon much diſadvantage to the Duke; but *La Force* would not give way thereunto; Wherefore they retreated to their quarters about *Pinarollo*, and the Plague increaſing very much in both Armies, they kept in their quarters, for many dayes, in the face of one another, as if they had been in tacite League, not doing any thing of moment. The King of *France* proceeded more hotly beyond the Mountains, who entring into *Savoy* with 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, had reduced all *Savoy* into his power, unleſſe it were *Mommiliano*, for Prince *Thomaſo* made no oppoſition, he reſolved to begirt *Mommiliano* on all ſides, and to beſiege it a diſtance; for it was a ſtrong and almoſt invincible place: For being incloſed on all ſides by his Forces, and impoſſible to be relieved, it muſt of neceſſity fall into his hands for want of victuals; So as needing not many men for that enterprize, he ſent part of his Forces to recruit his Army in *Italy*, which had need enough of help: And Prince *Thomaſo* being ſent for back by his Father, carried his men with him from *Savoy* to defend *Piedmont*. Thus both Armies being reinforced, they prepared for greater enterprizes, the French to relieve *Caſalle*, the Duke to withſtand them. This recruit was ſent under *Momorancy*, who was returned from *Piedmont* into *France*, after the buſineſſe of *Cercenaſco*; it conſiſted of 10000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and fell down by the

the valley of *Suſa*: *Momorancy* intending to joyn with the Forces that were in *Pinarolle*, and croſſing *Piedmont* to draw neer *Caſalle*, towards which Marſhal *De La Force* leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in *Pinarolle*, and in the other places, went by the way of the Mountaines to *Giavenna* neer *Suſa*, waiting there for *Momorancy*, who did not much value *Avigliana*, there being almoſt no Garriſon there, for the Duke had ſent for the greateſt part thereof to *Pancaler*: Wherefore he eaſily took it, he likewiſe believed he ſhould eaſily paſſe through the *Canaveſe* to *Caſalle*. *Spinola* and the Duke were much troubled at the coming of this recruit, but much more with the news of the Kings coming with a greater force; who having poſſeſt himſelf (as you have heard) of *Savoy*, was come neer the *Alpes*, and was at the ſame time ſeen upon the Mountain St *Barnado*; So as the Duke perceiving that the King was offended with him, knew not how to fence himſelf againſt this third coming of the French; and *Spinola*, who was ingaged before *Caſalle* but with a few men, fearing leſt, little to his honour, he might be forced as his Predeceſſor had been, to abandon that enterprize; (which contrary to the opinion of all) he had of himſelf undertaken, knew not what to do; Yet being much preſt by the Duke, he ſent 6000 Dutch to the Mountain, who were brought at the King of *Spain*'s charge, but very then, from *Germany*, and ſix Troops under *Pagan Doria*, Duke of *Avigliana*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Brother to Prince *Doria* a young man, and who the year before had entred into the Militia under *Don Gonſallo*, and was in the firſt buſineſſe of *Caſalle*; and *Spinola*, to the end that if the King ſhould come he might not be inforc'd to raiſe the ſiege, or fight, took the Souldiers from working in the approaches, and imploy'd them in making a crooked and high trench, wherewith he invironed the whole Camp. And ſeeing that by this new work, and by the men which he had ſent the Duke, the ſiege would be ſlackned: and having in vain deſired a thouſand of his Dutch from *Collalto*, he ſent to the Common-wealth of *Genoa* for a thouſand men, which he would take into his pay; But neither was this granted him; for hearing of preparations of Armes in the *Provence*, the Common-wealth would not diſfurniſh her ſelf; and this the rather for that having formerly ſent men to before *Caſalle*, ſhe could not receive them back when ſhe needed them, without manifeſt danger of infecting the State, the Plague being very hot in the Camp before *Caſalle*: So *Spinola* was forced to make uſe of thoſe men to defend his own Camp, which he had begun to oppoſe others with; and the Duke of *Savoy* fearing *Avigliana*, ſent *Count Verrua* from *Pancaleri* with 3000 Foot, and *Gambacorti* with 400 Hoſe, to poſſeſſe themſelves of the abandoned Trenches and Fortifications, that ſhut up the valley which leads from *Suſa* to *Avigliana*. As they went thither, they found the Enemy very neer; but having poſſeſt themſelves of the Trenches firſt, the Prince came in with a great body of men, who reinforcing thoſe ſtations with 2000 Foot, incamp'd himſelf with the reſt at *Riano*, within two miles of *Avigliana*: both parties kept within their quarters, facing one another two dayes, ſome ſleight skirmiſhes paſſing between them; the third day the French finding it impoſſible to advance and ſtorm thoſe quarters, reſolved to give over their going that way to *Caſalle*, and endeavoured to retreat joyntly by the Mountain to *Pinarolle*,

and passing over the Mountain *Gieveuna*, to joyn with *La Force*, who was yet there with his men, the way by the Mountain *Gieveuna* was very narrow and hard to passe; so as two Brigadoes being already past over, the rest remained yet in the plain, in danger of being routed if they should be assaulted, for that they could not well be succour'd by those that were already past. The Prince thought it not fit to let slip this occasion, but without tarrying for more of his men, who were not above a mile off, would fall upon them with those that he had ready, hoping that they would suffice to get the victory; He had with him about 5000 Dutch, two of the Princes Troops of Horse, and *Doria's* six Companies which were new men unexperienced, and were not above 300 Horse; The French reere which remained in the plain, was 3000 Foot, and about 400 Horse, the choicest of all the Army, and *Monorancy*, and Marshal *Diffiate*, with some others of the most experienced Commanders, remained in the reere, for the greater security thereof. There was a great Meere or standing water between them, which men past over by two banks: the one whereof was on the back, the other on the flank of the French. *Shamburg* and *Sults* advanc'd by the latter, with half the Dutch, in a close Battaglione, and with the Prince his Troops of Horse, by the other the Prince himself in person, with the rest of the Dutch commanded by *Gallasso*, and with *Doria's* Horse. The skirmish being begun, *Monorancy* divided his Horse into two squadrons, and took a little compasse upon the left hand towards a neighbouring Town called St *Ambrosio*, which led to the way of the Hill: The Prince conceiving that the French fled, and would climbe the Mountain by that way and get into a place of safety, or recover *Susa*, ordered *Doria* to fall upon them with his Horse, and *Gallasso* that he should send 200 Muketiers to back *Doria's* Horse; The Muketiers went not, either for the confusion into which *Gallasso* fell, or for that he would not lessen his squadron: so as *Doria* fought *Monorancy* without his Musketiers, and fought very stoutly, with an equal number of Horse, but upon great disadvantage, for that both he and his Horse were new men unexperienced, and guided for the most part by Leiutenants; whereas the French were veterane Souldiers, choice men, and commanded by *Monorancy*, a Commander of approved and try'd Valour: so as two of *Doria's* Troops running away at the very first encounter, the rest were presently defeated, and *Doria* having received many wounds was taken Prisoner, together with Captain *Robustelli*, who was shot with two pistol bullets. *Rainero Guasco*, Captain of the Carabines, who fell on first, escaped, but was sorely wounded: The Dutch that were on that side, when they saw the Horse run, threw away their Armes, and fled out-right without fighting, though the Prince did all he could to stop them: The other Battaglion which marched on the other side, fought valianly, and slew many of the Enemy, chasing them for a while; and had they been assisted by the other squadron, they would assuredly have got the victory; But seeing their companions run away, they also retreated to their quarters at *Avigliana*, and left the French free to pursue their journey: So as though all the rest of the Princes Army were now come in, yet the French having already mounted the Hills, and it being therefore impossible to pursue them, he forbore to do it. There dyed on the Prince

his

his side about 500, and about 400 were taken Prisoners and wounded; 400 were wounded and slain of the French; and the Prince lost 10 Dutch Colours, and one Cornet of Horse: Being come to *Pinarolo*, they found it as hard to get to *Casale* by that way; for the Duke, to whom many of those were returned from *Avigliana* who were sent thither at the coming of the French, coming into the field, coasted continually along by them on the Plain within 3 miles, to keep them from victuals as much as he could; for being hindred from getting any by the way of the Valley, they could get but very little by the way of the Mountains, and from *Dolpheny* or *France* very few were sent them; so as what by Famine, what by Pestilence, they were much lessened: Wherefore desirous to get out of these streights, and to come into a more fruitful Countrey, (for they saw it was impossible for them to get to *Casale* without passing over the *Poe*, and it was as impossible for them to pass the *Poe*, being therein opposed by the Duke) they turned towards the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, where they knew they might have store of victuals, where they might have conveniency to refresh their wearied Army, and which had suffer'd much by Famine and Sickness; and where they knew they might pass over the *Poe*, which takes its beginning from thence, almost dry-foot, and without any opposition. They therefore came to *Revell*, a Town in that Marquisate, where passing over the River they went directly to *Saluzzo*. The Town yielded immediately, and sent them the Keys of the Gates, that they might get the better conditions: When they were come in, they found very good Quarter, and refreshments of all sorts. They came afterwards before the Castle, whither the Duke had sent 300 Foot but a little before under Cavalier *Balbiano*, which was within three days surrendred to them; whereat the Duke was much grieved, not being able to endure that that Town should be taken from him before his eyes, and his Army looking on. The Duke also past over the *Poe* afterwards, and went with his Army to *Savigliano*, fearing to lose that place also, which though it were weak and open was yet of concernment; for not being above 15 miles off, and seated diametrically opposite to *Saluzzo*, as *Pancaretl* to *Pinarollo*, so was *Savigliano* a fit place from whence to observe the moving of the Army which was lodged in *Saluzzo*. The Duke was sufficiently netled at the loss of so many Towns, and at the receiving of so many blows on both sides of the Mountains; and being desirous to vent his anger in a battle, he sought all occasions to do it; for examining well his own and his Enemies Forces, though he came somewhat short of them in Foot, yet was he stronger in Horse, which was no little advantage for the Victory upon the Plain.

Spinola heard of the Dukes intention, who fearing the success, and the prejudice which in such a case might redound to the Enterprize of *Casale*, he strove by reasons and by perswasions, and with protesting that he would recall the Kings men, to remove from that resolution: He bad him consider, that the men which he had sent him to defend *Piedmont* were the Garrison of the State of *Millain*, and the safety of the Kings Dominions; that they were granted him, to the end that he might by them encamp, and face the French till he might recover his Towns, and to block up the way to all relief, and not that he should

adventure

adventure them in a battle: That therefore he should forbear till the business of *Casalle* were fully perfected; and that then he himself would concur with all his men in recovery of the Towns that were lost, and in the entire freeing of *Piedmont* from the French. The affairs of *Piedmont* and of *Casalle* were reduced to this condition; and to this point was the Duke of *Savoy* brought; so as to boot with seeing part of his Territories lost, part of them incumber'd by the Spanish Army, he was put to wage War in his own Dominions, not as a Prince or Ruler of the Militia, but as a Captain at the will of others; and to back the taking of *Casalle*, contrary to his own Interest, with the evident loss of so much of his State, and with the danger of his own person; when having long disputed with himself touching the business of *Casalle*, he had designed (whileſt he should be the Arbitrator of Affairs, as he thought to have been) to handle the business so as without him no peace should be made. These were the acquisitions hoped for by the present War, this the abitrement pretended unto between the two Crowns at the beginning of the War. These distastes, and some other high carriages in *Spinola* did daily adde to the Dukes disgusts, who was wonted to wage War according as he listed, and being impatient to be govern'd by the Spanish Agents, to shew his resentment against which he had not forborn to draw upon him the anger of that Crown; nor had he stuck to provoke the anger of *France*, that he might resent the Cardinal *Richelieu*'s strange and severe Proceedings against him and his Son; and therefore it was conceived by many conjectures, that stomaching these rigorous dealings, he was inclined to close with the French; and his chief Captains and Officers were often heard to say, that their Prince had lost too much in serving the Crown of *Spain*; and that he ought to think how he might recover himself; that *Piedmont* was ruin'd, as not being able to maintain so many Armies; that the loss of *Casalle* made not for the Dukes Interest; and that therefore it was necessary to close with the French, who had offer'd him great and advantagious conditions, if *Casalle* might be preserved: to this was added, that amidst all these molestations of the two Crowns, it was sufficient for the Duke to keep his Towns, and to Munite them well with Garrisons; and that his betaking himself to the Field was only to please *Spinola*; and *Massarine* being at this time come from *France* with new Proposals, the Prince was heard to say, that the French began to do reason: so as the King of *Spain*'s Commanders, whose ears were continually fill'd with these reproaches, began to mistrust the Duke, and to fear lest he might make an Agreement, not unlike to that of *Susa*: but the news which was divulg'd throughout the Camp and all *Italy*, of *Wallesteins* approaching, and that he would shortly appear in *Italy* with a powerful Army; the taking of *Mantua*, which soon after hapned; and chiefly the Dukes death, which succeeded not long after, freed the Spaniards from these suspicions; whereof they might have been secure enough by the aversion which had been formerly between *Richelieu* and the Duke: but as for *Wallesteins* coming, though he had earnestly desired to enter armed into *Italy*, and to wage War there like another *Totila*, and had much importuned the Court of *Spain* to that purpose, without whose consent the Emperour would not give way there-

thereunto, and offered his beſt ſervice to the King of *Spain*, for the preſervation and encreaſe of his Majeſties Power and Authority, againſt the Potentates of *Italy*, hoping to be as ſucceſsful therein as he had been to the Emperour and Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*; yet the King and Court foreſeeing the ruine which this mans fierce nature threatned to *Italy*, and abhorring to have their Authority increaſed by laying *Italy* waſte, and by ſo much ſhedding of Italian blood; but fearing much more that his Authority would rather be ſuffocated then ſublevated, by introducing ſo many Forces into *Italy*, they would never yield thereunto: And the Duke of *Savoy*, who by ſecret Intelligence (as it was thought) held with *Walleſtine*, and for the emulation and contentions which he foreſaw would ariſe between him and *Spinola*, and who hoped to have occaſion to put in practice his plots which he had contrived with *Walleſtine*, being prevented by death, failed the witneſſing his being diſpleaſed with the preſent Affairs.

At the ſame time the buſineſs of *Mantua* proceeded more fortunately for the Imperialiſts; who, after having had the better in ſome Actions, had the fortune to ſurpriſe the City, and to make themſelves Maſters of it. The Ceſarian Army had lien idle almoſt all that Winter in thoſe parts, being only intent in keeping Victuals and proviſions from being brought thither; but the Spring coming on, it afflicted the beſieged in ſeveral manners, and brought them into great ſtreights. *Nevers* was aware that the Dutch having abandoned *Rodigo*, had fortified themſelves in *Goito*, a place not far from *Rodigo*; and conſidering, that if he could take that place and fortifie it, it would be a very fit place to exclude Commerce between *Goito* and the Dutch Quarters, which were in *Goazzoldo*, and that conſequently *Goito* not being to be relieved, he might eaſily recover it: He ſent five hundred of his beſt Souldiers thither, who, entring *Rodigo* without any oppoſition, began to fortifie it; but this buſineſs proved prejudicial to the Mantuans; for *Galaſſo* going thither with a good ſtrength of men, and having firſt furniſh'd *Goito* with victuals, and left part of the Kings men in *Rivolta*, he came with 200 Horſe, and about 800 of his beſt Foot Souldiers, to *Rodigo*, and having firſt poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the parts thereabouts, he tried whether the Defendants would ſurrender or no, who coming to parley, and finding it impoſſible to defend the place, and deſpairing to be relieved, (for ſome Barques coming from *Mantua* with Souldiers, and ſome Troops of Horſe which were to have aſſiſted them, were with much loſs repuls'd by thoſe that were left in *Rivolta*) they were forced to ſurrender upon ſad conditions, all of them being to remain Priſoners at the diſcretion of the Enemy; except the Captain, who was permitted to return to *Mantua*.

The Mantuans had the like fortune, who in great numbers were led on by the two Marqueſſes *Alfonſo Guerriero* and *Carlo de Roſſi*, to the recovery of *Hoſtiglia*, a great Town upon the banks of *Poe*, where a Company of Dutch were quartered; for *Aldringer*, who had notice thereof, followed them, and being come to *Governolo*, though he heard they were ſtronger then he had ſuppoſed, went on with ſome Forces to aſſiſt his Party; and finding ſome trenches at *la Chiuſa di Serravalle*, from whence, and from a Tower not far off, ſome of his party were much prejudiced,

prejudiced, he, from some of the neighbouring houses which he took annoy'd those that were in the Trenches with his Musket shot; and having sent some of his men to cut off the way from the Defendants, they, fearing to be inclosed, forsook the Trench, and fled towards *Hostiglia*, and elsewhere; but being pursued by the Dutch, many of them were slain; which being known by them who were before *Hostiglia*, they likewise gave over the Siege, and fled away with like fortune: For being pursued by those who were in *Hostiglia*, and by some other Dutch, who, crossing the *Po*, came from *Revere* to aid them, 300 of them were slain, and *Guerriero* and *Rossi* were wounded; and the Quarters about *Hostiglia* were not only freed from danger, but better secured by new Fortifications and Garrisons: He went from thence to *Serravalle*, wherein, and in some houses thereabouts, were many Souldiers; and because it was hard to take it, nor could it be done without loss of men, by reason of its so strong scituation, which incouraged the Defendants to hold out, it was resolved to set it on fire, whereby many of the Defendants perished; and those who escaped the fire fell into the hands of the Dutch, and were forthwith slain.

The Duke of *Mantua* having lost many of his men by these misfortunes, and by the Pestilence, which encreased much in *Mantua*; and the affairs of that City being daily reduced to greater streights, the Siege still continuing, though at a distance, the Defendants began to distrust their safety; and those likewise did distrust it to whom the loss of that City would prove as prejudicial. The Venetians, to whom it belonged to sustain it more then any others, had at first been very forward in imploying all their Forces to defend it; but their succours proving as yet not answerable to the others necessities, or their promises, they had afforded sinister discourses of their intentions: Some alotted the slenderness of their supplies to the difficulty of introducing them; others, to their backwardness; many, to that they did not desire to declare themselves openly, and contrary to the Emperour, of whose greatness they were still jealous, and had great reason to apprehend it; and many, to more hidden and maligne ends, of reducing that Duke into a necessity of throwing himself into their Arms, and of yielding up that City to the Commonwealth, if, not being able to hold it, he should be necessitated to yield it to the Enemy. *Nevers* complained much hereof; and the Embassadour of *France*, then Resident in *Venice*, no less then he; and threatned, That if the Commonwealth should proceed so cooly on her part, his King also, who was less concerned in the Affairs of *Italy* then they, would do the like in *Casselle* and *Montferrat*, and would leave them both to the pleasure of the Spaniard. The Commonwealth being either moved by these speeches, or by the danger that *Mantua* was in, in whose interests she so deeply shared, resolved at last to send stronger succours: She had about 3000 French paid by her, who were brought from *Provence* to *Venice* by Sea, part under Monsieur *de la Valetta*, part under the Duke of *Candale*; to boot with many others of several Nations, to the number of 8000: *Zaccharia Sagredo* Commissary-General in *terra firma*, commanded in Chief; the Duke of *Candale* commanded the Foot; and Don *Lewis de Este* the Horse; and *Feronymo Trevisano* was Field-Commissary: *Vallegio*, a strong

Town

Town in the Territories of *Verona*, towards the confines of *Mantua*, five miles below *Pefchiera*, was made the Rendezvoz for Arms, in purſuit of the Commonwealths reſolution, which was, That *Mantua* ſhould by all means be relieved.

The Commanders of the Army, before the effecting of this deſign, would make *Caſtiglione* and *Morminola*, which were Towns neerer *Mantua*, ſecure, that they might the more eaſily relieve it, and ſecure the coming of Market people, and the fruits of the field to that City; and though they had ſent Forces to poſſeſs themſelves thereof, yet conſidering afterwards, that to boot with the extraordinary expences which they muſt be at in fortifying thoſe places, the buſineſs would not ſucceed according to their intentions, they bethought themſelves better, and upon new reſolutions, to take *Villa-Buona*, *Marengo*, and St *Britio*, places neerer *Valeggio*, not far from *Goito*: The buſineſs of *Villa-buona*, by Orders from *Candale*, was undertaken by Colonel *Vimarcato*, who was ſent thither with his Brigade, and that of *Marengo* by *la Valletta*, who, by order from the General, entred it with a good ſtrength of men; the ſending of a Garriſon to St *Britio* was deferr'd till another time: They began to fortifie both theſe Places, and two Troops of Horſe, and ſome Corſicks, were ſent to *Villa-buona*, to boot with *Vimarcato's* Brigade, which were already there: But *Galaſſo*, who minded what the Venetians did, did not ſlight this their action; but putting the body of an Army together, conſiſting of 10000, what Horſe, what Foot, marched with it to *Villa buona*, and advancing ſome Companies of Croats, they encountred with ſome Capelletti, who being come from *Villa-buona* went to diſcover the Country, and were followed by ſome Light-Horſe *La Valletta*, together with many Volunteers and Lancepreſadoes, went to order the skirmiſh, if any ſhould happen, which being briskly begun, was but ill ſuſtained by the Capelletti; for the body of the Dutch advancing, which followed the Croats, the Venetians wheeled about, and were purſued to their Trenches, where the Souldiers that guarded them, being affraid, began to run; but being rallied by their Captains, and made to take their former ſtations, they did a while withſtand the Dutch, who ſtrove thrice, but in vain, to gain the Trenches, and to drive away the defendants; in which interim, the Dutch had raiſed a Battery of ſix Cannons, which playing upon the Trenches and Half-moons, and indamaging them much, the defendants were forc'd to forſake them, and to retreat in great confuſion and diſorder; for the Souldiers who with much adoe had been made formerly to ſtand by their Captains threats, ſeeing ſome Pike-men give back, were ſurpriſed with ſudden fear, and fairly ran away towards *Villagio*, leaving their ſtations to the enemy; whereof ſome of them following, and ſome having overtaken them with their Horſe, they were inviron'd, and much bloody ſlaughter was made amongſt them: true it is, that news of the Fight at *Villa-buona* being come to *Valleggio*, two Companies were preſently ſent thither, the one of Croats, the other of Capelletti, and Commiſſary *Antonius* came ſoon after with ſome other Troops of Croats and Capelletti; theſe being come to a place which they call *Capitello*, found that they ran away from *Villa-buona*, and the Captains thinking that they were but few that followed them, halted, and putting them-

selves in order, resolved by their opposing to back and secure those who running down right away thought to save themselves in *Valleggio*: but finding not long after that the Dutch were many more in number then they imagined, they alter'd their minds, and retreated also to underneath the shelter of the Cannon at *Valleggio*: whither when the Dutch approached, a new and greater Fight was begun; wherein all the Venetian Horse drew into the Field and fought, but not being able to withstand the Dutch, and being galled by Musketiers, which the Dutch had placed in some little houses hard by, they likewise ran away to underneath the Ditches of *Valleggio*, where being defended by the Cannon, which held the enemy a while at a distance, they secured themselves; the rest who were in *Valleggio* not daring to come out to defend their own men, nor to enter into the Fight, nor to defend the Town which were taken whilst they looked on, and were plunder'd, with great slaughter of the Inhabitants: the Dutch were quarter'd a little way off, and stood all night within sight of *Valleggio*, inviting the enemy to fight, who withdrawing their men into their houses, dreamed not of coming forth, but looking to be assaulted in their own Quarters placed their Souldiers to defend their Rampiers: but the Captains fearing they should not be able to make the place good, by reason of the cowardice and fear which they discover'd in their Souldiers countenances, they resolved to abandon the Town; which whilst they endeavoured to do without confusion, and in good order, and had given fitting directions to that purpose; the Souldiers had hardly notice thereof, when being surprised with greater fear then formerly, they began to run away in greater fear and disorder then they had done the day before: no commands of their Captains being able to stay them, they all fled to *Peschiera* and *Gallasso*, who had expected all night, and till four hours after Sun-rising the next morning, that they should sally out, began to distrust: he had precise Orders from the Emperour, not to enter or indamage the State of *Venice*; wherefore not thinking to assault the enemy in that station, lest he thereby should disobey the Emperours command, he thought to turn upon *Mirandola*, whither he heard that 3000 of the Commonwealths Souldiers were gone: but finding by the firing of the Ammunition in *Valleggio*, that the enemy had abandoned the Town, he altered his mind, and return'd upon *Valleggio*; whither being come, and finding it forsaken, he fell immediately to pursue the enemy, and advanced a little towards *Peschiera*: before he was come half way, he got to the Rear, which was led on by *Candale*, wherein most French were; and after that *Candale* had fought, and made some resistance, at last, being forsaken by his men, part whereof yielded, part fled, he was forced to retreat with the rest, some of which got to *Peschiera*, part to *Castelnuovo*, and others to *Garda*, strong Towns of the Venetians, & were no further pursued by the Dutch: about 4000 Venetian Souldiers died in this conflict; *Gallasso* sent 26 Colours (four of which bore the French Lillies) and three Coronets of Curassiers to *Odalto*, who lay sick in *Marignano*, upon the greater Lake: the Prisoners were many, amongst which *Vallerna*: the number of those that were slain and wounded on the Dutch side amounted not to 400, amongst which the Serjeant-major to *Frederick*, of *Saxony*, great was the reputa-

reputation of the Dutch, after this ſucceſs, anſwerable to the great depreſſion into which the Venetians fell; upon which almoſt all the hopes of the Mantuans depending, were totally loſt; and there not being any in the field who could defend that City, her condition was thought to be ſad; her ſafety being reduced to this point, whether the beſieged or beſiegers could longer ſuffer or reſiſt the hardſhips of the Siege; for the former had no hopes of relief, nor courage to free themſelves; nor had the others hopes of taking the City, or of ending their enterterpriſe, by reaſon of the Cities ſtrong ſituation; Famine, Peſtilence and Military actions had reduced the defendants to ſo ſmall a number, as they had not enough to ſupply the Guards of the City; there was no good intelligence between the Duke of *Mantua* and the Venetian Reſident. The Duke required many things, and the Reſident limiting many of the demands, and of the needs that the City was in, related them to the Commonwealth much leſſer then they were; ſo as the Commonwealth did not ſufficiently provide for the urgent extremities of the City: it was therefore neceſſary to give over much of the defence; which the enemy perceiving, and minding their buſineſs, they watched all occaſions to make themſelves maſters of the ill guarded and worſe provided City, and to end their enterpriſe by ſurpriſal, wherein they had good ſucceſs; for having cauſed ſix Barques to be brought upon Carts from the greater *Caſalle*, a Town in the State of *Millain*, to St. *Georgio*, they put them into the Lake, and put ſome fourſcore Souldiers into them; which making a little before Sun-riſing towards the Gate of the Caſtle which anſwers upon St. *George*, where little fear being had by reaſon of the water, there was but little or no guard kept; and an aſſault being furiouſly given at the ſame time on the oppoſite part of the City, the Souldiers in the Barques clap'd a Petard to the Caſtle Gate, which being ill kept and worſe defended, was ſoon beaten down and maſter'd; where whilſt they were fortifying St. *George* his Bridge, which (as it hath been ſaid) was cut in ſunder in the midſt, was croſs'd over by great Planks, brought to that purpuſe, over which the Dutch Horſe paſs'd, and entred by the Gate which was opened, and poſſeſs'd but a little before, meeting with no reſiſtance: the Dukes Palace was preſently taken, which was neer that Gate, and as rich formerly in Jewels and Houſhold-ſtuff, as any other Princes Palace in *Italy*; though for ſome late years the continual wars had waſted much of her precious things: what was leſt was ſack'd, together with the whole City: the Princeſs got into the Fort *di Porto*, whither the Princeſs *Mary* was forc'd to fly with her tender Babe; the aſſault given laſted till the 14th hour, but the defendants yielding at the laſt, who heard that the Dutch were entred on the other ſide, were purſued by the aſſailants, to the Church of St. *Agneſes*; and thoſe who could get into the ſame *Porto*, which, when they ſaw the City loſt, they ſtrove to make good by ſome works which they made toward the City; but wanting both Counſel and Proviſions, and the defendants being diſmaid, they liſtned willingly to Articles of Agreement, which were quickly propounded by the Dutch, who were deſirous to compleat the enterpriſe: which Articles being agreed upon, the Fort was delivered up to the Imperialiſts. The Duke and his Son, with ſome of their fol-

lowers, as also the Marquess *di Coure*, who as Agent for the King of *France* had tarried always in *Mantua*, were suffer'd to come forth; and being waited upon by some Troops of Horse, they according to Articles retreated to *Ferrara*: The City was miserably sack'd, Military cruelty, avarice and lust had room enough to vent themselves: it would be tedious to relate the monstrous effects and execrable examples which were there acted; as also to describe the miseries, afflictions and indignities which the miserable Mantuans underwent; we will therefore pass by them, as being matter for a Tragical Poem rather, then for an Historical relation: it was really a miserable thing, and much to be compassionated, and of great consideration, that that City which was by reason of its situation thought impregnable, and by experience had proved to be so for so many ages (for it is not known that it was ever taken before) should fall into the hands of the oppugners within less then one year. This loss was very ill resented by the Princes of *Italy*, who had not much endeavoured to defend it, by reason of the multiplicity of Forreigners that were then in *Italy*: nay, it became odious to to the Spaniards, who had so much endeavour'd it, and been at such expence in fomenting it; by reason of the concurrence of authority and precedency of place: the news thereof coming to *Casalle* and *Piedmont*, did equally affect both the Duke of *Savoy* and *Spinola*: the latter not so much for his Kings Interests, for which it made not that the Dutch should get so much footing in *Italy*, as for the emulation he bore to *Collalto*; who proving more successful in what he took in hand, then he had done: he much maligned that fortune should be so favourable to him in a much harder business then that of *Casalle*; and the Duke of *Savoy*, for that judging that the fury of the Forreigners would turn upon *Piedmont*, he foresaw that his State, by becoming the seat of the war, would be exposed to the like calamities and barbarisnes by the same Nations; and that he being every where invironed by armed Forreigners who had no dependency upon him, he should become the mark whereat not only his enemies blows should aim, but even the like to his friends injuries, and supercharges: he was also troubled to foresee the certain loss of *Casalle*, wherein he was forc'd to co-operate; which if it should fall into the Spaniards hands, were it nothing else, how much would it lessen the liberty of his Principality: being therefore born down by so many afflictions of mind, by his bodily labour in war, by the miseries of his Country, and by the death of so many of his Subjects, what by Sword, what by Pestilence; seeing *Savoy* lost, and so many Towns in *Piedmont*; and, that which tormented him most, being struck with consternation, to see all his artificial cunning wherewith he for many years had ballanced the Arms of *France* and *Spain*, and had not only maintain'd his own fortune, but made himself almost Arbitrator between those two Nations, out-done, and deluded by Agents of both those Crowns; and also seeing his reputation so decayed, whereby he thought he had raised his head above the clouds, and did even touch heaven with his finger; and despairing ever so attain again to his former condition and grandezza, he fell mortally sick; and not being able long to resist the violence of that sickness, he died in the space of three days, in the Sixty ninth year of his Age, on

the

the 26th of *July*, in *Savigliano*; leaving his State much lessened and imbroiled.

It is said that his Father, Duke *Emanuel Philibertus*, a wise and prudent Prince; one who was also well read in the wars of his time, between the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and *Francis* the First of *France*, had always admonished him, but chiefly when he lay upon his death-bed, that he should by all means endeavour to keep peace between the two Crowns; it being the foundation and security of his Principality: and that he should meddle the least that was possible in any wars, or contentions which should happen between them: an advice which was not well observed; though by reason of the troubles which afterwards insued in *France*, it proved not unfortunate, but afforded his Son occasion of becoming greater and more glorious: yet when *France* had ceased (as at the present) from intestine tumults, and was reduced under the exact obedience of a King, and of a solid and well regulated Government; he found how wise he might have been if he had observed it. The publick and private actions of this Prince would really afford abundant scope for long and good Discourse, on the one, and on the other side: and perhaps it would not be much amiss to enter upon it; since the discourse thereof falling opportunely with the conclusion of this Book, it would not much interrupt the thred of an Historical Narration, and would much satisfie their curiosity who shall receive satisfaction in reading these present memorials; and yet it will be more wisely done, to leave it undone; for as the private actions of this Prince might well become the Pen of a private Writer, who should undertake to write his Life and Actions particularly; so do they almost misbecome the Writer of a general History: the publick and principal Actions of this Prince, wherein he did very much signalize himself, being written in this Book, without either adulation or rancour; the wise and unbiased Reader, who is to judge thereof, may of himself observe them, and thereout gather that, which as it would be superfluous to mention in this place; so the Author hath not thought fit to describe them, or to observe them distinctly and particularly.

The End of the Eleventh Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XII.

The Contents.

CHarles Emanuel, *Duke of* Savoy, *is succeeded by his Son* Victorio Amadeo; *who finding that the French had taken* Carignano, *goes from* Savigliano *to recover it, wherein failing, he comes to a conflict, wherein the French have the better. The French go from* Carignano *to* Avigliana, *which they take.* Collalto *having taken* Mantua, *comes into* Piedmont *with fresh Forces. Peace is treated of in* Italy, *and in* Germany; *and not being able to be concluded in* Italy, *a Truce is endeavoured; which being refused by* Spinola, *he dies soon after; and after his death, is accepted of by the Duke of* Savoy, *by* Collalto, *and by the Marqueß of* San Croce, *who succedes* Spinola *in the Government of* Millain, *and in being General. The Truce being expired, the French come with new Forces from* France *to relieve* Caſalle; *and being come to the Trenches of* Spinola's *Camp, juſt as they were beginning Battel, peace is concluded in conformity to the peace formerly made in* Germany; *in execution whereof, the intereſſed Princes Agents meet in* Chiraſco, *and there adjuſt the differences between the Dukes of* Savoy *and* Mantua; *a great part of* Montferrat *is aßigned over to the Duke of* Savoy; *and the manner of reſtoring the States of* Mantua *and* Montferrat *is agreed upon: as alſo the like of the Towns of* Piedmont *and of the Griſons Towns; after the effectual reſtitution whereof, the King of* France *demands* Pinarollo *of the Duke of* Savoy, *together with the whole Valley of* Perola, *and obtains it. The proceedings of the King of* France *and*

of

of Swedland *in* Germany, *against the Emperour, are treated of, and the Negotiation and Conclusion of Peace between the Commonwealth of* Genoa *and the Duke of* Savoy: *together with the miraculous Fabrick of the new Walls made at* Genoa, *and the strange preservation of that City from the Plague, wherewith the whole State of* Genoa *was infected, and more then half* Italy. *This twelfth Book and the whole present History is concluded with the Marriage between the King of* Hungary, *Son to the Emperour, and the* Infanta Mary, *Sister to the King of* Spain; *and with the Duke of* Urbin's *death, and the devolving of that State to the Apostolick See.*

THE death of the Duke of *Savoy* proved not so great an alteration to the main of Affairs, by his being succeeded by his Son, who was now almost 40 years old, bred up in his Fathers School, a great Prince, and gallant Commander: so as being instructed by so excellent a Master in the Art both of War and Peace, none doubted but that he would equal his Father in both; and being knowing and partaker of the Affairs of State, and of all his Fathers Councils, ends, and resolutions, having for many years being vers'd in publick affairs, as well Civil as Military, the Principality seemed not to be any thing changed by this new succession, but to be continued in the successor; and his contrary conditions to Duke *Emanuel* afforded better hopes of peace and concord; for instead of the hatred born by the Agents of both the Crowns to the deceased Duke, in his Son the strict bond of Affinity with the King of *France* was to be considered, and of Consanguinity with the King of *Spain*: so as it was to be believed, that the former would not easily consent to the depression of his Sisters Husband, which drew along with it inseparably the like of his Sister: nor that the other would refuse any thing which might make for the good of a Prince annexed to him both in blood and Interest; and yet as Councils of State which give motion to all things, and whereby Princes govern themselves, do not contract Parentage, it was ere long known, how weak curbs Kindred or Conjunction in Blood are, to hold back the force of Domination, and the desire of enlarging Confines, and of bettering the condition of Principality.

The French having pass'd over the *Poe*, and refresh'd themselves in *Casale*, could not go to the relief of *Casale* by that way, neither by reason of the enemies Army which was quarter'd in *Savigliano*; wherefore they resolved to repass back again over the *Poe*, and to return to *Pinarolo* by the same way that they came; and in their March backward they incamped under *Ravil*; but finding it to be too strong they tarried not long there, but returned to *Pinarolo*; and finding the Towns of *Piedmont*, for the most part desolate and void of Inhabitants, by the Plague; and that the new Dukes Army was quarter'd in *Savigliano*, beyond the *Poe*, they fell down upon *Vigone*, *Villa franca*, and *Villa nuova*, and upon other Towns which lay lower; and taking them without any resistance, they came to *Pancalieri*; where they took up the same Quarters, and lodged in the same Fortifications, wherein the Duke had incamped a little before against them: they then had a mind to take *Carignano*, which lay a little lower within two Musket shot of the *Poe*, where

whe e the woodden Bridge was, indeavouring to pass by that way to *Casalle*; they therefore sent some of their Horse, under Mounsieur *De la Tremoville*, to *Corignano*, where taking a strong house which served for a Castle, they advanced to the Bridge. Duke *Victorio* being aware of their ends, came out of *Savigliano*, and marching with his Army on the hither bank, he made two companies of Carabines advance, that they might come the sooner to the Bridge, which got thither just at the same time that the French were come neer the outer-more head of the Bridge; and lighting off Horse back they placed themselves to defend it: And the French leaving a Commander with a Troop of Horse in *Carignano*, retreated to *Pancaleri*: The Spanish Horse came the same night to the Bridge, which the Carabines defended, and the next day the Duke coming thither with his Army, quartered upon the bank opposite to *Carignano*, keeping the Bridge in his possession, which being broken off in the midst, met together by a draw Bridge, which being pull'd upon the Dukes side, fell down on the other side towards *Carignano*, so as the Duke might open the way to his men, and keep it shut from the Enemy. About 4000 Dutch were to come to *Avigliana* under *Count Verrua*; by which recruit the Duke became stronger, he would not refuse to fight the enemy, but resolved to quarter on the other side of the *Poe*, that he might be neerer them; to the which purpose he sent 500 hundred Foot, and a peece of Cannon, under the Camp-Master *Luigi Ponse* a Spaniard, to recover *Carignano*; after the which he sent *Gerardo Gambacorti* with 400 Horse, to the end that coming to the Capuchins place they might shelter the 500 foot busied in the taking of *Carignano*, and might also back the Dutch who were to come to *Avigliana* without any convoy of Horse, to the Camp. *Ponse* went with his men to force *Carignano*; and whilst he was hottest in the business, *Gambacorti* who found that the succour was come, he left a company of *Curasiers* at the Capuchins plain, and advanced with the three other companies of Carabines, towards *Pancaleri*; where meeting with the Enemies Van led on by Marquis *Diffiat*, he began a stout skirmish, at the beginning whereof *Gambacorti* sent to the Duke to advance with the whole Army, or that whilst he fought the enemy, he might retreat with the Cannon, and men which fought before *Carignano*. But the Duke who had received new advertisment from *Verrua*, would come neither that day, nor by that way; but answered, that he would not advance with the Army, but wish'd him to entertaine the Enemy, till the Cannon were withdrawn; The conflict lasted four hours, wherein the French increasing in number, cha'd *Gambacorti* to the Port-cullis of *Carignano*, where by reason of the narrownesse of the place he could hardly have retreated without disorder, had he not been seasonably succour'd by *Martin d' Aragna*, who was sent to him by the Duke with 400 Spanish Musketiers; so as being incouraged by this new recruit, the French were easily repressed, who thinking that the Enemies whole Army had past over the River, together with the recruit, were slacker in their pursuit, and afforded convenience to *Gambacorti*, and to *Don Martin* of *Aragon*, to retreat back in good order by the Bridge, all the Cannon and Foot which were gon to the taking of *Carignano* being drawn off before them. The numbers that dyed in this conflict were equal on both sides; the Duke of *Tremuglia*

muglia received a ſore wound in the knee, by a Muſket-ſhot, and a Captain of Horſe was alſo ſorely wounded; the French quarter'd in *Carignano*, and the Duke on the oppoſite ſhore, obſerving one anothers wayes, and expecting another occaſion for action, which it was not long ere it preſented it ſelf very ſingularly for the French. For the Duke being impatient to tarry on this ſide the *Poe*, and not being contented with his being fenc'd by the water, had a deſire to go to the oppoſite ſhore, and to fortifie the head of the Bridge towards *Carignano*; the buſineſſe being argued, met with variety of opinions; as for the new Fortification, it was conſidered, that by making it the Enemies army would be in a manner beſieged, for it would be forced by the Garriſon of that Fortification to live cloſer and more united, and would conſequently find greater ſcarcity of Victuals and Forrage: And in caſe it ſhould go to *Turin*, as it was feared it would, or would attempt going to *Caſale* by the *Caneveſe*, they might the eaſilier keep behind them, hinder their deſignes, and oppoſe all their attempts. On the contrary it was ſaid, that the fitter, and more opportune the fortification ſhould be, the harder and more dangerous it would be to begin it, and bring it to perfection, by reaſon of the Enemies being quartered ſo neer in *Carignano*; who, were it only for Reputations ſake, could not poſſibly ſuffer that fortification to be made under their noſes. Moreover, that the intended work being divided, and ſeparated by the water from the Army, it would be hard to ſuccour it; that therefore being content to keep the Bridge in their power, which afforded them ſufficient convenience to keep behind any motion of the Enemy, they ſhould make uſe of the ſafety that the River afforded them, againſt whatſoever the French ſhould do. The contrary opinion prevailed for fortifying, which was thus deviſed; that a half Moon ſhould be made on the head of the Bridge towards *Carignano*, which ſhould be flank'd on both ſides, which were to be made on a little Iſland which the *Poe* makes neer the banks; the care of the half Moon was committed to the Spaniards, and the trench on the right hand to the Dutch, and that on the left to the Italians; and they were all ordered, that if the Enemy ſhould aſſault them before they were fortified, they ſhould retreat by the Bridge without making any reſiſtance; if after they were fortified, that they ſhould defend themſelves. They wrought two days quietly in their works, without being troubled by the French, who did but laugh at them; but conſidering the conſequence better afterwards, and knowing what prejudice it would occaſion when it ſhould be perfected, eſpecially if they ſhould be inforced to remove from where they were; They ſent for a good ſtrength of men from *Pancaleri*, and ſallied on the ſudden forcibly from *Carignano*, to diſtribute them whilſt the work was imperfect; 1200 of the beſt and braveſt French gave the firſt furious aſſault, the Dutch making but bad reſiſtance, thoſe very ſame who behaved themſelves ſo bravely in the conflict at *Avigliana*, began to quit their ſtations and fled, without almoſt ſtriking a ſtroke; ſo as the half Moon which lay open on that ſide, after a long and valiant reſiſtance, was loſt, together with many men. Whereupon, the other Trench made by the Italians, who were not able to withſtand the brunt, was alſo abandoned; nor could the Duke ſend any to ſuccour them though he endeavoured it; For the Bridge being

too narrow to passe over many a-breast, the succour was too slender for such an assault; nay, the confusion of those that came in to succour was prejudicial to themselves: for thronging together upon the Bridge, many of them fell into the water and were drowned; those that dyed and were drown'd, on the Dukes side, were 300 foot; those of quality that were slain, were *Don Alphonso Swasso*, Lieutenant to the Camp-Master General, and some Foot Captaines; *Don Martin d' Aragona*, after given great trial of his Valour, was sore wounded and taken prisoner, Camp-Master *Nicolo Doria*, being shot by a Musket, dyed soon after, 200 of the French were slain, and yet both sides were equally affraid, for each party cut the Bridge in two on their side; The French feared another better regulated assault, being very weak, and having lost many men; and hearing that the whole body of the Dutch who were before *Mantua*, was come to the Enemies Camp: And the Duke that the French passing over the Bridge in the heat of victory, might cause great disturbance in the Camp, which was full of fear and confusion. Thus both of them being divided by the River, both of them were Masters of the Field; the French, on that side the *Poe* which was towards the *Alps*, the Duke, on that side which lay towards *Casale*; the Armies increased almost at the same time; for *Collalto* having taken *Mantua* came into *Piedmont* with 8000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, under Marshal *Scomberg*, who being to passe thorow the vally of *Susa*, Marshal *De la Force*, and *Feuquieres*, after having carried ten or twelve dayes in *Carignan*, and having well refresh'd their men with the victuals which they found there, went towards that valley to encounter them; and the Duke, when they were gon, quitted his quarters, and took up new between *Turin* and *Moncalieri*: and having sent 2000 Foot to defend *Turin*, he betook himself to defend the Stone Bridge, which was built over the *Po*, neer *Moncalieri*, quartering 2000 Foot upon the Hill which overlook'd the Bridge on *Moncalieri*'s side. When the French Army was come to *Veil*, it heard that *Scomberg* being come with new Forces from France had taken *Avigliana*, whereunto he entred without any opposition, finding it infected with the Plague and void of inhabitants, as many other Towns in *Piedmont* were; he came before the Castle, which trusting to the strength of its situation, stood upon defence, though the Plague was got amongst the garrison, and though the Castle was onely fortified after the ancient manner; the Duke would have advanced to relieve the Castle, but he was perswaded to the contrary by *Collalto*, who was not naturally given to love danger. *Collalto* foresaw, that by going to relieve the Castle they might perchance come to a battle, wherein the Dukes men being discouraged by the unfortunate successe of the two last actions, would not have behaved themselves better then before, and time depending upon the loss, he thought it would not be wisely done, to adventure the main concernment upon a battle. So the Castle wanting relief, and more straightned for want of water, then by the Enemy, it fell into the hands of the French. This acquisition opened the way for the French into the *Canavese*, and from thence to *Cassalle*, and it was not unlikely but that they might easily passe over the *Poe* over against that City, where being under the shelter of the Cannon of that place, and joyning with the gar-

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rison which was there, they might eaſily paſs the foord, and conſequently relieve *Caſale*: which the Duke apprehending, he ſent *Gambacorti* with 400 Horſe into the Canevese, to the end, that paſſing over *la Dora*, they might maſter that way: and Marquess *Spinola*, fearing the danger, munited the bank of *Po*, with a double Trench, the one againſt the River, the other againſt the City and Citadel, before which they wrought continually, bringing on their approaches; inſomuch as the Spaniards, to whoſe ſhare the taking of the Bulwark of *San Croce* fell, were advanc'd ſo far as they were ready to fall into the Ditch, and attempted the Wall; and when by the ſtrong oppugning and by the ſcarcity of Victuals, the Town was not likely to hold out long, the Siege, defence and ſuccour, were delaied by a Treaty of Truce, which being formerly begun, was not long after perfected: and that the original and progreſs of this Treaty of Truce, and of another Negotiation of Peace which was at this time very hotly handled, and not long after concluded in the Diet at *Ratisbone*, may be the better known, it will be neceſſary to take the buſineſs a little higher.

The Electors not being content to have made the Emperour lay down his Arms, by caſhiering *Walleſtein*, the Duke of *Friſland*, and by diſſolving that Army which was ſo formidable to all *Germany*: they demanded that ſome order might be taken about the ſetling of the affairs of *Italy*, eſpecially thoſe of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*: they honeſted this their demand with the juſtice of *Nevers* his cauſe, who, as they ſaid, was not to be put out of poſſeſſion of his Dominions unheard: they ſaid likewiſe, that it was a great prejudice to the juriſdiction of the Empire, that the Spaniards, under the name and authority of the Emperour, ſhould bereave a Vaſſall of the Empire of thoſe States; to make themſelves maſters thereof; for if they ſhould fall into their hands, it would be hard to exerciſe the Ceſarean authority againſt them, and they would hardly be brought to acknowledge that they held them as in Fee from the Empire: they likewiſe complain'd that Armies were ſent into *Italy* without their knowledge or conſent; alledging that this was contrary to the ancient inſtitutions of the Sacred Empire, which they publickly ſaid were broken and violated, as well in this, as in many other things: they tacitely reproved him for having by the Ceſarean Arms and Authority aſſiſted the rather violent then juſt ends of the Spaniſh Agents, againſt a Vaſſal who was ready to acknowledge that he held thoſe States from *Ceſar*, and did with all ſubmiſſion deſire to be inveſted thereinto: they exaggerated the ſtrange conſequences which would reſult to *Germany* from theſe commotions; for the King of *France*, and Prince of *Italy*, being deſirous for their own ſafety ſake to maintain thoſe States, and that Duke, though they could not directly oppoſe the Ceſarean and Spaniſh Forces in his defence, did notwithſtanding hold intelligence together, and did aſſiſt the German Princes underhand, who were deſirous of novelties, that they might alienate themſelves from the Emperour, and incite the people againſt him; and that they did alſo adminiſter aid to the King of *Swedland*; to the end, that the Emperours Forces being held play in *Germany*, might not foment the Spaniards in *Italy*: they perſiſted the more confidently in theſe their complaints, for that they ſaw the Emperour unarmed, and

themselves favoured, and set on by the King of *France*, with whom they held strict and secret Intelligence. That King had sent Monsieur *Leon*, Embassadour to the Diet, to justifie in appearance his assisting a Vassal of the Sacred Empire, against the Spaniards, who under the colour of the Sacred Empire, strove to oppress him, and to possess themselves of his Dominions, to make way for the Monarchy of *Italy*, which they so much coveted; but in effect to sollicite the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, who were ill satisfied with the present condition of affairs, and to encourage them to joyn in beating down the Austrian greatness, and to favour the Duke of *Nevers* his cause, which the Pope did also favour, who was very desirous to keep those States in the House of *Gonzaga*, to the end, that by excluding the Spaniards from thence, *Italy* might not hazard the loss of Liberty: but he chiefly favoured the emulation which all the German Princes bore to the Spaniards, by reason of the excessive authority which the King of *Spains* Agents arrogated unto themselves in *Cesars* Court; wherein pretending to be above all, they seemed as if they would govern the affairs of *Germany* as they listed, and the Emperour as well for his conjunction in interest, as for his necessity of being supplied with moneys, was forc'd to adhere unto them: which the Germans not being able to tolerate, they did oppose their aids and interests: so as under colour of the justice of *Nevers* his cause, and of preserving the rights of the German Empire, they cross'd the Emperor in this very cause, and would maintain it against the Spanish Agents, who endeavoured to suffocate it by power in *Cesars* Court, as they did to oppress it by Arms in *Italy*: wherefore they reiterated their former Protestations, not to joyn in the defence of the war made by the King of *Swetland*, whose actions increasing in fame and reputation, began to make men bethink themselves. The Duke of *Savoy* also and *Collalto* fomented the speedy conclusion of the peace, who both of them writ to that Diet, and told the Emperour and the Electors, that *Piedmont* could no longer maintain the war; whose affairs running manifest ruine, the Duke was forced either to succumb to the King of *France*, or to agree with him: if either of which should happen, all things would necessarily be ruined. The Emperour, who had no Forces on foot, and saw such an aversion in the Electors, and in so many other Princes, to the wars of *Italy*, being scandalized at the unjust proceedings against *Nevers*; the Emperour being also touched in conscience, and desirous of his Sons election, for which he had already given way to much greater things, easily consented to all their desires: many things were therefore treated of, many things pretended, and neer concluding, in favour to the Duke of *Nevers*, and to the great prejudice of the Spanish pretensions. Don *Carlo Doria*, Duke of *Turcis*, was then Embassadour in extraordinary from the King of *Spain*, in *Ratisbone*: being sent to that Diet to further the Election of the King of the Romans, in the person of the King of *Hungary*, Son to the Emperour, married at this time to *Mary*, *Sister* to the King of *Spain*: but this Election not being to be treated of in this Diet, because it was not intimated thereunto, as was necessary by the Laws of the Empire; and for that the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, (disgusted by the Emperour, and almost quite alienated from him) were neither

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come thither, nor had ſent their Proctories thither: And after Orders taken in the Diet for the Affairs of *Germany*, and of the Empire, the Negotiations were reduced to the Affairs of *Italy*, and particularly, to the Duke of *Nevers* his Cauſe.

Doria, who ſaw upon what diſadvantagious terms the Peace was treated on for the King of *Spain*, and how far the French prevailed by the help and Intelligence held by the Electors; and that the Emperour being forced by the leudneſs of the Times, and of his own Intereſts, could not govern his pretenſions as he would have done, but was forced to incline towards giving them ſatisfaction, even much to the prejudice of his own Affairs; he earneſtly deſired, and obtained it, That he not being ſent to Treat of Peace in the Kings Name, might be permitted to acquaint the King upon what Conditions the Agreement was negotiated, before it was concluded. Thus having gotten a ſuſpenſion for two moneths, they forbare to conclude what they were already agreed upon.

Whilſt the peace was treated on in *Ratisbone*, it was not abandoned by the Nuntio *Panciruelo* in *Italy*, wherein all parties were well inclined unto it: the King of *France*, Duke of *Savoy*, and *Collalto*, for the ſame reaſons for which they did ſollicite it in *Germany*, and the two laſt, becauſe they liked not the buſineſs of *Caſalle*. The Duke, by reaſon of the great prejudice which would reſult to him, if it ſhould ſucceed happily; and *Collalto*, out of the emulation he bore to *Spinola*, and his hatred to the Spaniards; which reſpects, on the contrary, made *Spinola* very much deſire it, leſt that the bad correſpondency with the Duke, and *Collalto*'s emulation, might ruine it, to his great diſcredit, *Collalto* having appeared ſo averſe unto it, as that he would not grant him one bare thouſand men, though he caſhiered them after *Mantua* was taken, and *Spinola* needed them much before *Caſalle*: ſo as *Spinola* being inforc'd by ſo many difficulties and diffidences, had promiſed the Nuntio to quit the enterpriſe, if the French would forego the Dukes Towns which they had taken, and would retreat to beyond the Mountains: which Agreement being accepted by the King of *France*, would have been effected, had not his authority been reſtrained by new Orders from *Spain*; for Abbot *Scaglia*, who was ſent, as hath been ſaid, by the late Duke into *Spain*, had acquainted that Court with *Spinola*'s averſion to the Duke; with the bad intelligence which paſs'd between him and *Collalto*, and what ſad conſequences might thereupon inſue to the prejudice of the common cauſe: he had alſo accuſed *Spinola* of being too apparently inclined to making peace, upon any whatſoever conditions, ſuch as would not only be diſhonourable for their Forces, but apparently dangerous for the common affairs; and that it could not be known whence this ſhould proceed, unleſs it were from his bad inclination towards the Duke, with whom he had proceeded ſo ſeverely: ſo as nothing but ruinous effects to the common affairs could be expected from ſo great a diſcrepancy of humours, ends and wills; ſince the Duke not being able any longer to endure it would be forced to uſe any means for his own honour and ſafety: to theſe powerful reaſons, he added no leſs prevailing proofs: amongſt others, the rough draught of certain Capitulations of Peace, written by *Spinola*'s Secretary,

whereby

whereby though the King of *France* was obliged to free the Duke of *Savoys* Dominions, and to withdraw his Forces into *France*, yet was there no caution mentioned for the observance thereof; so as it was in the Kings will and choice whether or no he would observe what he was bound unto by the Articles, though all things should be punctually observed by the rest: nor was this all: he covenanted by the same Capitulations that all the Potentates of *Italy* and *Germany*, the Electors by name, should favour the States of *Mantua* and *Monferrat*, in case they should be molested by any; and the Duke obliged himself to afford passage and victuals to the French Armies, if they should be sent to succour those States: a League, or rather a Conspiracy, of all these Princes against the Emperour and King of *Spain*, if at any time the Emperour should upon any just cause proceed against his Vassal, or if the King of *Spain* should assist the Emperour; and yet, said *Staglia*, *Spinola* winking at so great indignities and prejudices, would willingly have accepted and subscribed it, had it not been abhorred by the Duke and by *Collalto*, with the unanimous consent of all the Captains, as being too insolent and too unworthy of the Cesarean authority, and repuls'd as too prejudicial to *Piedmont*, and to the State of *Millain*. These and other reasons prevailed sufficiently with the *Conde Duca*, who was more inclined to the Duke of *Savoy*, then to *Spinola*: so as there needed not many perswasions, to induce him to limit *Spinola's* authority in the point of making peace: so as when *Mazarine* going into *France* to Negotiate with the King, return'd to *Italy*, with the conclusion agreed upon by the King, he found all broken off and in disorder by new Directions: in this interim the old Duke being dead, a suspension of Arms was treated of by the new Duke, between himself and the Commanders of *Cesar*, and the King of *Spains* party, on one side, and the French Commanders on the other side, as well in *Italy* as out of it: by which all hostility and innovation of the Fortifications, hostile acts, and taking of Towns was inhibited: that the City and Castle of *Casalle* should be assigned over to *Spinola*, and that he should furnish the Citadel, being paid for it, with Victuals during the time of Truce; that if the peace should be concluded in *Ratisbone*, it should be observed on all sides; if not concluded by the 15th of *October*, that the Truce should cease, and that it should be lawful for the French afterwards to endeavour the relief of the Citadel, and for the others to defend it; and that each of them might use their Arms, and do all hostile acts, as before the Truce; that if the Citadel should not be succoured during the whole moneth of *October*, it should be delivered over to *Spinola*, who was to have Hostages given him, for the performance thereof: that if it should be succoured, *Spinola* should re-deliver the Castle and Citadel. The French Commanders durst not accept of this Truce, without expres's order from the King; though *Toras* inform'd them often what want they had of Victuals, Moneys and Men, many whereof were dead of the Plague; protesting that he could not keep it longer then *September*: this Proposal being sent to *Paris*, it was easily agreed to; for there they desired time for the delivery of *Casalle*, to the end, that thereby they might make the peace which was in treaty at *Ratisbone*, upon better conditions; or might have time to relieve it, if peace should

not

not be concluded: Whereupon Monsieur *de Bresse* was immediately sent to *Italy*, with express Orders to the French Commanders and to the Duke *de Mayne*, who, as hath been said, was in *Casalle*, that they should accept of it: but some time being this mean while past, *Casalle* was not in the former condition; for the besiegers, as hath been formerly said, were gotten into the Ditch, and the Neapolitans, who besieged the City, were fallen upon the Walls: and the Plague having consumed many of the defendants, it might probably be supposed that for want of men the like might befall that place, as had hapned to *Mantua*; it being likewise known that those within the Town were in great scarcity of Victuals, wherefore *Spinola*, making his advantage thereof, would no longer listen to any suspension, to any Truce or peace; especially as concerning making the Citadel longer-liv'd, by furnishing it with Victuals, and not innovating any thing during the Truce, nor making new defences against such succours as should come when the Truce should be expired.

Spinola was at this time much wearied both in body and mind, by the labours he had taken, and by the agitation of spirit which he had suffered in these present Occurrences: the lessening of his power had wounded him sorely: wherefore falling sick, and his malady both of body and mind encreasing, he soon became unfit for managing so important an enterprise, or indeed for any other enterprise: it was therefore requisite to send for the Marquess of *San Croce*, who was then at *Genoa*, and for the Lord Chancellor and those of the Cabinet Councel, from *Millain*; who being come to the Camp, opened the Kings Orders, which provided for a successour in case *Spinola* should die; and therein they found *San Croce* nominated; to whom *Spinola* relinquish'd the Government of all things.

Spinola went from the Camp, and retired at *Castelnuovo di Scrivia*, in the *Turtonese*, to be cured of his sickness; but being ancient, and his sickness encreasing, he dyed on the 25th of *September*, two moneths after the late Duke of *Savoy*. The Affairs of War and Government were less in reputation by *Spinola*'s death: the Duke of *Savoy*, wearied with the troubles of a long war, which he saw was still maintained in his Country, and not being pleased that the Spaniards should suffer him to lose his State, so they might get *Casalle*, listned willingly to the offers of *France*; which promised to restore him to the entire possession of all that had been taken from him, and, moreover, satisfaction and recompence for his pretences to *Monferrat*; for the King of *France* finding what difficulty and danger there would be in relieving *Casalle*, by reason of the Dukes opposition, laboured to win him over from the contrary party; and if the Duke could be safely re-possess'd of his own by peace, wherefore should he wait for the recovery thereof by the uncertain and ruinous events of war? moreover, by favouring the business of *Casalle*, he made fetters for his own slavery; since then by preserving that place, he might recover his own State, and have satisfaction for all his pretences, what reason had he to endeavour the getting of it, with so much loss to his Subjects, and prejudice to his own Dominions: but these practices met with these difficulties: the Duke would not part from the Cesarean and Spanish side, without being effectually restored to all that had been taken from him;

and

and the King would keep it as a pledge for the restitution of *Mantua* already lost, and of *Casale*, if for want of relief it should chance to be lost. Yet this treaty being on foot made the Duke more remisse in his joyning with *Spain*, and desirous to handle the businesse so as that the Spaniards should desire a general peace, whereby he was sure to be restored to his former condition, and that *Casale* should not fall into the Spaniards hands: yet he wisely cloked these his ends with several artifices. He answered the French, who promising speedy possession of all that he had lost, earnestly prest him to declare for their King, that he could not in honour passe so suddenly from the friendship of the King of *Spain*, to enmity with him; and that it would be too great an indignity that the same Sun, which at his rising saw him a Friend to that King, should at his setting finde him his Enemy. That there should some time be allowed between the one and the other; as Summer turnes not suddenly to Winter, without the interposing of Autumn; nor Winter to Summer, without the like interposal of the Spring; he offered notwithstanding, to declare himself neutral for a while, till businesse might be brought to some reasonable composition, and that in case the Spaniards should fail of doing what became them, he would be ready to declare for *France*, and to oppose those who would oppose reason. These were the points discuss'd in these present negotiations; but neither was *Collalto* right to the King of *Spain*'s cause, for though now that his rival *Spinola* was removed, it appeared that he might more favour the enterprize of *Casale*, had it been for nothing else but that the easinesse of the success wherein he had cooperated, might double the glory which he pretended to by the taking of *Mantua*; yet through the hate which he bore to the name of *Spain*, he held better intelligence with the new Duke then with the Spaniards; and persisting in his first resolution of minding the defence of *Piedmont*, and the opposing of the French more then the taking of *Casale*, he would not afford any help thereunto.

This his ill will proceeded not from the aversion of the Cesarean Officers to those of *Spain*, but from ill offices done him by the Spanish Agents to the Emperour; for thinking that he bore no good will unto the King, they had used all the means they could to remove him from his charge, and that he might be sent for back into *Germany*; and certainly it had been done, had it not been for his Wife, whose favour with the Emperour defended him against the endeavours of the Spaniards. The Duke being therefore inclined to the French, for the recovery of his State, or to the preservation of *Casale*, for his own independency; and knowing that the losse of that Town would marr the general peace, which was the onely thing which could put him into his former condition: and *Collalto* being totally inclined to favour the Dukes interest, and *Sancta Croce* not being of so warlike a disposition as was *Spinola*, but being rather mild and remiss, and much addicted to civil negotiations, much lesse to the troubles and dangers of war; it was necessary that those that looked asquint upon the taking of *Casale*, having more field-room allowed by the weaknesse of the present Government, should openly vent their dissatisfaction, and shew the greater resentment. The first action of want of respect towards *Sancta Croce*, and

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of great prejudice to the main affair, was the Truce and ſuſpenſion of Arms, which *Spinola* refuſed, and which was now accepted of by the Duke in favour to the French, and by *Collalto* in favour to the Duke, which had it been never ſo little a while delay'd, the City and Citadel of *Caſſalle* would certainly have been ſurrendered. This ſuſpenſion being by them accepted, and ſubſcribed without *Santa Croce* his knowledge, nay contrary to his will, was preſently ſent to *Santa Croce* to be by him ſubſcribed. This appeared to *Santa Croce*, and to the other Commanders, to be an action, as indeed it was, ſo proud and arrogant, as if the Duke and *Collalto* did thereby arrogate unto themſelves the ſupream arbitracy of things, even about *Santa Croce*'s ſelf; Yet wanting Courage to contradict it, or to reſent it, he unwillingly gave way unto it; and the fear of the Dukes and *Collalto*'s alienation prevailing over his dignity, he ſubſcribed the Truce and ſuſpenſion of Arms; For had he done otherwiſe, the common cauſe being by them abandoned, or indeed croſs'd, might be reduced into great ſtreights. The Truce being thus by common conſent accepted, the King of *Spain*'s Forces quit *Piedmont*, & retreated to the State of *Millain*, *Collalto* ſtaying behind with the Ceſarean Forces. Thoſe who were before *Caſſalle* retired likewiſe into the State of *Millain*, to refreſh themſelves, after the labour which they had taken in the ſiege, except 2000 who entred the City & the Caſtle, which by the Articles of Truce were aſſigned over to *Santa Croce*, and ſome few Foot, who ſtay'd to guard the Artillery and quarters. *Santa Croce* ſpake with the Duke, and with *Collalto*, in *Pontoſtura*, after that the Truce was ſubſcribed. They ſeemed to be both of them willing to refer all things belonging to the management of the war to him, and by reſpectful and reverent behaviour, ſought to mitigate his anger, and to excuſe what they had done; it was not known whether they did this really to make ſatisfaction for what they had done, or to draw money from him, which they very much preſt for; for they were known to be in truth otherwiſe minded. Yet ſo weak of counſell was he, as he did not onely take all in good part, but ſought to buy their good wills with ready monies; whereof though he himſelf were in great ſtreights, he diſburs'd 200000 Ducats, part whereof the Duke received, part *Collalto*. And becauſe by the Articles of Truce all making of Fortifications was forbidden, *Santa Croce* imploy'd himſelf in making proviſion of faggots, and of other materials, upon any occaſion which might happen when the Truce ſhould be expired; which notwithſtanding he proceeded in but ſlowly, by reaſon of the great hopes he had of peace, which being joyned to his abhorrence of war and expences, all proviſions ſeemed ſuperfluous.

Theſe hopes accompanied and nouriſh'd with great deſire, had alſo made the Court of France negligent in making new recruits for *Italy*, had not Cardinal *Richelieu*, contrary to the opinion of the whole Council, laboured to perſwade the King to the contrary: Shewing him that in caſe Peace ſhould not be concluded in the time prefixt for *Truce*, it would be neceſſary that the Citadel ſhould be ſurrendred; which being come into the Spaniards hands, the ſtate of affairs would be reduced to ſuch a condition, as it would be bootleſſe to hope for any ſatisfaction or peace; and that the ſo great experience, the ſo great labour and trouble which they had been at for the maintaining of *Caſſalle*, would together with the reputation and honour of the Armes of *France* be loſt; the King

being perswaded by these reasons gave order for the levying of as many Souldiers as could be, whereof a body of 1200 being raised was sent to *Pinarolla*, under Marshal *Marigliack*, which was a good recruit to the French Camp, it being much diminished. The 15 of *Octob.* drew neer, and no news being heard of Peace, they treated of proroguing the Truce, whereof *Santa Croce*, who naturally abhorr'd the thought of War, and the Commanders and Councils no less then he were desirous, by reason of the confusion and difference of opinions and humours which was amongst them, and for the distrust they had of the Duke and of *Collalto*, which made them despair of good success; but the French, whose numbers were increased, fearing that they might dissolve by delay, and building very much upon the necessities and weakness of the Enemy, refused it, as did also the Duke and *Collalto*, being displeased that the first suspension granted by them was ill resented. Wherefore because the world thought, and the Spaniards seemed assured, that what they had done was at that time very seasonable, they were now very backward; to the end that the good of the former suspension might appear by the contrary effects, and that so *Santa Croce*, and the rest who had blamed it, might learn at their own cost to listen better in the future to their Counsels. But the condition of affairs being much alter'd from what it was when the Truce was made, made the present refusal be approved; the French were then weak, and despaired of relieving the Town, by reason of the stout opposition: the City & Citadel were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of victuals, & by the advancing of the siege it was now clean contrary; the French were very strong in *Piedmont*, they met with little or no opposition, the City and Citadel were that mean while maintained with victuals by the Spaniards, and they had some provisions lay'd in for the future; The siege was much lessened, their courage cooled, preparations slackned, and, in fine, the affairs of the Camp were much worse in Counsell, Courage, and Union, and the reputation thereof was much diminished. The Truce being expired, and nothing that was done in *Ratisbone* being known in *Italy*, the French betook themselves to relieve the Town, but without victuals, or any other provisions for sustenance of the Citadel which they were to relieve; their whole Forces consisted of about 15000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, to boot with some 4000 which were left in *Piedmont*, under Monsieur *Di Tanane*, to entertain, or to give pretence to the Duke, and to the Dutch who remained in *Piedmont* after the Truce, to keep from joyning with *Santa Croce*, if he should oppose the succour; and to infuse more terror into the Enemy, they us'd many tricks and inventions to make their preparations appear greater, and the number of their men more, as well of those who remained in *Piedmont*, as those who went to the relief; There were three Marshals chose, who were to manage the whole businesse, *Sforza*, *Scomberg*, and *Marigliack*, and these were to command every day by turnes; the Duke demanded men from *Santa Croce* to oppose them, but did not obtain them, were it either out of distrust, or that knowing all the Dutch were in *Piedmont*, would have the remainder for his own safety sake keep before *Cossalle*. Wherefore seeing that neither the Dutch nor the Duke moved, the French Army past over the *Po* a little below *Saluzzo* without any opposition, and came to *Scarnafixe*, where they mustered on the fifth of *Octob.* and march'd on the next day,

day, having with them only six small pieces of Artillery. The Duke of *Mayenne* being gone to *France* after the Truce was concluded, was not present in this action. The marching of this Army, and the so constant resolution to relieve the Town, afforded much discourse touching the Duke and *Gallias*, whether they held private intelligence with the French or no; it being thought, that otherwise it was impossible three Marshals should take a journey of fourscore miles in an Enemies Countrey, where they had no strong Holds for the safety of their march, or upon any occasion for their retreat; and therefore subject to be assaulted not without manifest danger, and forc'd to fight in any disadvantagious place with a fresh, nimble Army, stronger then theirs. And say they had been sure to meet with no opposition, or had had a safe Conduct sent them by the Enemy; yet they might have supposed that they should meet with greater difficulties and dangers when they should be at the end of their march, and be come within sight of the Enemies Camp. For the Enemy being very well intrench'd, munited with Artillery, and being possess'd of the City and Castle of *Casale*, they must necessarily either assault them upon too much disadvantage within their Quarters, or besiege them there; either of which would certainly have been a desperate business, but it was a no less dangerous and ill advised Enterprize to attempt the relief of a famish'd place without victuals, which had more need of speedy food for nourishment then of men to defend them: Whereinto if they should have gotten, who sees not they must have surrendred the Town the sooner, being to be the sooner famish'd by the entrance of so many men, and would have stood in more need of victuals. The Army being parted from *Scarnafixo* march'd to *Raconiggi*, from thence to *Semariua del Basco*, then to *Carexolo*, that they might from thence come into the County of *Asti*, getting victuals from the neighbouring Towns: Whilest they advanced apace, and in good order, without any opposition, the others were not idle before *Casalle*; for having notice of the Enemies coming, they began to make Trenches, as well against the Citadel as against the coming of succour, but more diligently on the side of the Hills, by which way they thought they would march, it being the higher and more advantagious; they therefore placed many pieces of Artillery there; they likewise sent for those men back who were at the beginning of the Truce sent into the Territories of *Millain*; and upon dispute whether or no they should meet the Enemy if they advanced, it was resolved to wait for them in the Trenches, that they might not lose that advantage by going to meet them which they were sure to have by waiting for them. Whilest these Preparations were making came news of the peace which was made between the Emperour and the King of *France* his Agents at *Ratisbone*, by which many things were stipulated: Those wherein *Italy* was concerned, were,

That upon the Duke of Nevers *his humbling himself to the Emperour he should be re-invested into possession of his two Dukedoms, and received into protection by the Emperour: That upon notice of the peace all hostility should cease in* Italy: *That* Trino *should be given to the Duke of* Savoy, *together with as many Towns of* Montferrat *as might be worth* 18000 *Crowns yearly rent. The Emperour being desirous to better the Treaty at* Susa, *were it either*

cular for that is drawn in some sort belonging to him, for as the thought we become was made of that Treaty, it being made without his authority, or were it to recompense the Duke for the losses he had suffer'd in this present War, wherein he had been ever constant to the Imperial Party, he ordered so many Towns of the Dutchy of Mantua to the Duke of Guastalla as were worth 6000 Crowns per annum, to the Duchess of Lorain what the Arbitrators should adjudge unto her within a certain prefix'd time: That the Dutchy restoring Mantua with the Forts, and the Town of Canetto, should depart Italy: That the Spaniards should give over the Siege of Casalle, and should withdraw from Piedmont to the State of Millain: That the French should pass back over the Alps, quitting all the Towns of Piedmont and Montferrat, except Pinarolo, Briechera, Susa, and Avigliana: That the Duke of Savoy declaring Prince should withdraw his men into Piedmont: That Casalle and all the Forts and Towns of Montferrat should be restored, except such as should be assigned over to the Duke of Savoy: That Nevers should have leave to furnish such Towns as did belong unto him with Garrisons, as his Predecessors had done: Those things being done, that the Emperour should restore the City and Forts of Mantua, and the Town of Canetto, to be assigned over to the new Duke; and that at the same time the King of France should restore the four Towns held by him in Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy; and that the new Fortifications which were made in them since they were taken should be demolished: What else should be done, that the Emperour would abandon all the Towns and places which he had taken in the Grisons Country, the Valtoline being likewise comprehended; and would slight the Fortifications, upon condition that they should not be made use of by any: That the Emperour and King of France should give Hostages to the Pope, for the observance of what was agreed upon.

This was the contents of the agreement, and conditions of the peace of *Ratisbone*, for what belong'd to the affairs of *Italy*: And many other things relating to the affairs of *Germany* were likewise stipulated, which because they concern not our History, we will pass over.

It was evidently seen what use the French Agent made in this peace of the Emperours necessity, and of the desire he had to have his Son chosen, and how much the Electors were swayed by the interest of the Crown of *France*, being desirous to allay the great ends of the Spaniards, and to moderate the Emperours Authority and Inclination towards them, confiding upon the late Intelligence held by them and the other Germane Princes with the King of *France*, and upon the helps which they hoped for from him in these present occurrences. The Court of *Spain* was not well satisfied with this peace, thinking that the Emperour without any respect had unto the Crown of *Spain*, the Interests or Affairs thereof, and without any care of the Common Cause, had wholly applied himself to satisfie the desires of the Enemies thereof, granting them more then they could have demanded or hoped for; and not being able to endure that they could not with the Forces of so many Kingdoms obtain the demolishing of the Citadel of *Casalle*, they complained that the expence of so many moneys, such Forces, and so many men, had not only not produced the fruits by them desired, but had irreconcileably alienated from them an Italian Prince, Lord of two States confining upon that of *Millain*; had not got *Savoy*, had scandalized

lined the world; raised jealousies in the Princes of *Italy*; and which most troubled them, had more confirmed, and almost established and radicated the power of *France*, not only in *Italy*, but in *Germany*: So as the Italian Agents, not knowing whether they ought to accept of this peace or no, especially since they were sure it was not accepted nor approved of by Don *Carlo Doria*, the Embassadour for *Spain* in that Diet, they forthwith sent to *Spain* to know that Kings pleasure; and expecting Orders from that Crown, they continued the Siege before *Casale*, and kept out the French succour. *Collalto* was sick at this time in *Verceil*, and having accepted and published the Capitulations without participating them to Sr *Grace*, *Fabio Maffeini*, the Popes Agent, went immediately with them to the French Army, to the end that acquainting them that all things were agreed upon, they might proceed no further. He found it in *Canale*, a Town in the Territories of *Asti*; and desiring to know the pleasure of the Commanders, he received a very doubtful answer. The French alledged, That the command to relieve *Casale* was immediately from the King, whereas the Agreement made at *Ratisbone* came not from the King, but was made only by the Kings Agents: And therefore not knowing what to do in this case, they seemed much perplexed and irresolute. The truth was, that being uncertain whether they would be accepted or not accepted by the Spaniards, by reason of the disadvantagious Conditions for them, whom they found not any way obliged thereunto, and finding that the time prefix'd for putting what was agreed on in execution, touching the Duke of *Nevers* his Interests, which was the chief point of the present War, was somewhat long, they had reason to doubt, That should they supersede never so little, their Army might be dissolved before the time of executing the Articles; and it was to be apprehended, That when the Spaniard should be free from fear of their Forces, they might know the advantage, and make use of the occasion, by continuing to besiege the Citadel, now that they were sure not to be molested, which if they should once be Masters of, there was no hope, no means left, to see the Peace performed. They therefore resolved to advance to relieve the Town, without losing any time, thinking, that if they should succeed therein they could not miss of some advantagious Composition, whereby the State of Affairs might be compounded with more reputation and safety. The small opinion they had of the Spanish Army, and their firm belief, that neither the Duke nor Dutch would joyn therewith before *Casale*, did the more encourage them, and made them hotter upon the Enterprise. *Mazarine* wrote from the French Camp to the Duke, That in respect of the Peace made at *Ratisbone*, the French would proceed no further: And the Duke shew'd this Letter to *Galasso*, who was head of the Dutch that remained in *Piedmont*: And that they might have no occasion to remove, he, contrary to what he had formerly refused, immediately allotted them excellent Quarters. And though the Duke appeared to have done all this for the safety of *Piedmont*, against the French, who were yet there under *Tavanes*, yet the jealousie encreasing daily, that he held intelligence with the French, hoping to be by them restored to his State, he was suspected to dissemble therein: Nor was *Mazarine* exempt from like suspition, who, though as

Agent

Agent from the Pope, he seemed to be a friend and mediator between all parties, yet the Pope himself appeared to be inwardly more inclined to the preserving than to the taking of *Cassalle*; and his trusting to the French too much, when he writ to the Duke that they should advance no further, not suiting with the wariness and sagacity of a Mediator, made the Spaniards suspect the more that he did not proceed sincerely with them. But the streights that the Spanish Commanders were in forc'd them to swallow down any thing, and with less speculative considerations, to dissemble also, and to minde the Kings business, which they saw was in too apparent danger; and their perceiving that both Friends, and Enemies, and Mediators, and all, both internal and external accidents, did conspire and co-operate the ruine of the Enterprise, did weaken their Counsels, and confound their Resolutions. At the first news that was heard, that the Enemy, being entred into the Territories of *Asti*, did advance, *Ferosymo Gambacorti* was forthwith sent against them with a thousand Horse, with whom the Dutch Horse which were quartered in *Acqui* were ordered to joyn; and the Duke of *Savoy* was also to send them 3000 Foot from *Piedmont* side, to the end that with this body of men they might, if not directly, at least indirectly, oppose the French, by molesting them on the Rere, on the flanks, and by keeping them from Victuals: But neither did the Dutch Horse nor the Dukes men appear; the Horse being past over the *Tanaro* at *Govone* was entred into *Piedmont*, and was joyn'd to the others of their Nation; and the Dukes men were not past St *Damiano*: And the Duke trusting perhaps to *Mazarine* his Advertisement, did not only not think of making any opposition, but indeavoured to keep the Dutch in *Piedmont*; so as *Gambacorti*'s Expedition wrought no effect at all; onely that watching the Enemies ways, and finding that they advanced, he speedily gave notice thereof to the Camp, that they might be prepared to receive them; whereupon it was necessary to have recourse to *Collalto*, and to get him to send for all the Dutch from *Piedmont*, to joyn with the Kings Forces against the French: But *Collalto* shrinking up his shoulders, and persisting in his opinion, would have the Dutch stay to defend *Piedmont*; and the Peace made at *Ratisbone*, which he had proclaimed, whereby all hostile acts were forbidden him, did honest his denial: Wherefore the Camp being full of confusion and terrour, by reason of the uncertainty of the coming of the Dutch, and the certainty that the French did advance, quaked for fear. All men laid this hard dealing of *Collalto* to a tacite Intelligence with the Duke, and (by the Dukes means) with the French: But provision came seasonably from *Germany* against this so bitter and necessary accident. Don *Carlo Doria*, seeing it was impossible for him to hinder the conclusion of Peace at *Ratisbone*, which he judged to be so prejudicial to the Kings honour, & to the safety of his Affairs, and that he could not stave it off till the Citadel of *Cassalle* should be taken, obtained Letters from the Emperour to *Collalto*, wherein he was ordered, That since by the Articles of Peace he could not have to do in that business in his behalf, and since it was not known whether the King of *France* would accept of the Peace or no, especially not being obliged to do it, That in case the French should not allow thereof, he should obey *San Croce*, and assist him with all his Forces.

Thus

Thus the Cause and Title being altered, the War which was made before in *Cesar's* Name, was made in the Name of the King of *Spain*; and the Emperours Forces, which were Principals at first, became accessory to the King of *Spain's*: and the Kings, which were accessory, became upon this occasion Principals. *Collalto*, who before refused to send a thousand men to *Casale*, and suffered all things to run to ruine, having received new Orders from the Emperour, summoned all his men into the field. *Galasso* was come thither the night before the French appeared, with some of them; the rest came the night after. *Gambacorti*, after he had coasted along the French Army to the Confines of the State of *Millain*, retreated to the Camp: And the French parting from the Territories of *Asti*, went to *Annone*, where finding the Gates shut, they agreed for passage with the Towns-men, without giving or receiving any molestation. They came from *Annone*, by the Valley of *Grana*, to *Occimiano*, where staying that night, and the day following, they had notice, That the Spanish Camp was well fortified with Trenches and Artillery towards the Hills, and that therefore they might with less danger assault them on the Plain, where the Fortifications and Trenches were weaker, and imperfect: Wherefore they resolved to advance by the way of the Plain. Advancing thus on that side where they were least expected, they took *Frassinetto*, together with the neighbouring Bridge over the *Poe*, by which Victuals and forrage were brought to the Camp from *Alessandria* and *Occimiano*, and whereby the Spanish Army was debard'd Commerce with *Alessandria*; and there not being many Carriages nor Barques in the Camp, wherewith to throw over another Bridge, they began to want Victuals; and the penury grew the greater by the coming of the Dutch; nor had they draught Horses for the Train of Artillery, so as it was hard for them to bring them from the Hills, where they were already planted, to the Trenches towards the Plain, where there were not above eight little Pieces. All of them were so troubled with doubt, whether the Dutch would come to the Camp, or no; and with fear, That if they should not come all would be ruined; as their coming was not sufficient to cantel their fear, nor to curb their confusion: They wanted old and experienced Camp-Masters, and Serjeants, to put their men in Battle Array: *Galasso* was the only man who, by order from *San Croce*, took that care upon him, and who discharged it like a Souldier. The French seeing that, contrary to their opinion, the Dutch were come unto the Camp, found the disadvantage of their own Forces; they were not only much inferiour to the Enemy in number, (20000 Foot and 5000 Horse being computed to be in the Spanish Camp) and for that the Spaniards Horse were better then theirs, and in better order, but for that though their Trenches were imperfect towards the Plain, yet were they so high as they were able to withstand the first on set, wherein the French are usually the best: But the good order wherein the Spanish Army stood did chiefly amaze them, which was thus; A great number of Pikemen and Musketeers stood on the front of the Trenches, behind which were two ranks of Battaglions in order, but at such a distance from the Trench as the Horse which were on the Wings of the Squadrons, and had their out-lets, might manage themselves in the space

which

which was between the Trench and the Squadrons, and might commodiously go out and annoy the Enemies on the Flank who should assault the Trenches, or over-run the Country as occasion should require. It was, notwithstanding, impossible to *Spinola* a *Francese*, who advanced in a double Front, divided into three Bodies, each one led on by a Marshal, with the Horse on their sides, and preceded by some forlorn hopes; and yet the diffidence, irresolution, and the fear of what might happen, in *San Croce*, kept things equally ballanced; these desired Agreement rather then Battle; and the others, though they more needed Agreement, yet seemed they less desirous of it; and the seeing the Enemy so forward to accord, made them the more backward; and God knows whether the Mediators dealt sincerely in the business, or no? *Mazarine* went several times between the one Camp and the other, but in vain, the French being still resolute to relieve the City, and to fight; at last, being got neer the Trenches, their Horse on the left Wing were set upon by some few Horse led on by *Ottavio Picolomini*, who was advanced with them rather to discover then to fight; so as all men thought they would have joyn'd Battle; for some of the French Horse went to encounter them, and they came to the giving of fire; but *Mazarine* coming at the same time from the French Camp, cried aloud, *Halt, Halt*; whereupon all hostile Acts ceasing, they came to this Agreement.

That Toras *should come out of the Citadel with all the French, where the Duke* du Mayne *should tarry with* 1000 *Montferrians; and, That they should swear to keep the Town in the Emperours Name; That the Spaniards should do the like for what concern'd the Castle, and the City, and the Towns which they were possess'd of in* Montferrat; *That the French Army should retreat into* France, *and the Spanish into the State of* Millain; *That for all things else the Peace of* Ratisbone *should be observed.*

This being thus setled, *San Croce*, together with the Duke of *Lerma*, and Don *Philip*, son to the late Marquess *Spinola*, came out of the Trench, and the Duke of *Nocera*, and Count *John Serbellone*, and about 30 other Lords; the three Marshals came out of the French Army, with the like number of Lords and Commanders; and here in the same place which was intended for Battle, they mutually embraced each other; and Peace was established on the 26 of *October*, the year, 1629. which was readily put in execution for what was then to be done: A rare and perhaps unheard of example, That two Armies, of two such enemy Nations, being so neer, nay, after the Skirmish was begun, should not only abstain from fighting, but should lovingly embrace one another with those hands which were ready to be imbrued in one anothers blood. All men praised the courage and counsel of the French, and their happy success, who, though far inferiour in Forces, could, notwithstanding, make such excellent use of the Enemies fear, as to make them agree and condescend unto what was contrary to all reason. And all men, on the contrary, wondred that the Spanish Army should be so void both of courage and counsel, as not knowing how to make use of so many advantages, but totally yielding to the Enemies pretensions, they should so easily grant unto them that main point whereupon the whole success of the present War did consist, and which being still maintained, would have established the foundation of the grandezza of all the Kings

Affairs,

Affairs, and would have kept his Dominions in perpetual ſecurity; and which being quitted, occaſioned the loſs of regal authority and of that preeminency and ſafety of the Kings States, for the maintenance whereof Arms had with ſo much ſcandal been taken up; and which was the greater wonder, that they ſhould abandon their own and their Kings pretenſions, then when they were upon the point of obtaining them; for it was moſt certain that the French Army was weary with ſo long a march, was leſs in number then what it appeared to be, worſe in order for Arms, Horſe, and all things appertaining to war, then upon the preſent occaſion was requiſite; ſo as if the Spaniards had been more reſolute and bold in their proceedings, the French would either not have dared to have hazarded a Battle, wherein they were to fight againſt well-armed Trenches; or if they ſhould have fought, they muſt neceſſarily have been defeated: but *San' Croce*, who was not any ways experienced in matter of war, apprehended, and was afraid of all things.

The two Armies being retired from *Caſalle*, the Duke *de Mayne* remained with the Montferrians maſter of the City, Citadel and Caſtle of *Caſalle*, under the Ceſarean Commiſſary; who though he was above all others, and had the chief command in outward appearance; yet being only to command ſuch things as *de Mayne* would obey, he was ſuperiour rather in ſhadow and ceremony, then in ſubſtance: ſo little good was got by what was agreed upon. *San' Croce* went to *Sartirana*, and brought his men back into the State of *Millain*: the French divided their men into two parts; the one part whereof marched under Monſieur *d' Arpaſone* through the Territories of *Aſti*: the other, wherein were the three Marſhals, through the *Cabereſe*; the reſtitution of the Towns in *Montferrat* remained for the full and perfect execution of the Agreement: but Letters being come this mean while to *San' Croce* from *Spain*, with particular Orders what he was to do with the Citadel, which was undoubtedly held in that Court, that it would be loſt, as not being to be ſuccoured; *San' Croce* doubted that the new agreement would not be well reſented there; and as in great reſolutions the thing choſen is almoſt always repented, the difficulties of what was found fault with being always imagined to be paſt; and the conſideration of what convenience might have reſulted from the thing rejected entring in the place thereof: ſo *San' Croce* having forgotten the dangers and difficulties of war, and being fuller fraught with the conveniencies and advantage of Victory, being alſo ſtrucken with the Letters from Court, began to repent what had been done: wherefore he made ſeveral excuſes to keep from reſtoring the Towns of *Montferrat*: which the Nuntio and *Mazarin* perceiving, they entred their proteſtations againſt the danger which might inſue by the re-entrance of the French into *Caſalle*, they not being yet gone far from thence, and who might bring things into greater confuſion then they were before: the ſucceſs differ'd not from the ſuppoſal; for the Marſhals ſent Monſieur *di Grange* immediately thither with 2000 Foot; who obſerving the time when the Ceſarean Commiſſary was gone out, entred by the gate of the Citadel, and ſhut it upon the Commiſſaries face, who returned; at which the Spaniſh and Dutch Commanders were much amazed, and

very angry; and to boot with their many complaints of it, the Dutch pursued those French which marched through the *Canavese*, and the Duke of *Lerma*, and Duke *Nevers*, march'd after those that were gone by *Asteginus*, with intention to fight them, and so vindicate the affront: but the former having pass'd the *Dora Baltea*, and broken the Bridge, and the others being already come to *Villanuova*, it proved all in vain: upon consultation of this new accident, several things were propounded; amongst the rest, that since for certain there was but little Victuals in *Casalle* nor in the Citadel, and that the French who were entred thereinto had brought none with them, the Victuals which were already there would soon be spent: so as falling to the Siege again, and the Winter coming on, it was probable that the French, whose weakness was better known after the Town was gotten, then it was before, would not be able to relieve it; that it would be sufficient to imploy the Dutch in the Siege, and that the Kings men might be withdrawn to Winter in the State of *Millain*, and so be ready to succour the Dutch if they should be assaulted by the French; and that if the Dutch should tarry, or perish in that Siege, it would be of more advantage, then prejudice, in regard of the jealousie that the State of *Millain* had of them. It was therefore concluded that, since the place could not hold out long, it must necessarily soon fall into their hands, and that the French mens cunning would redound to their own apparent loss and prejudice: yet the weariness of war having corrupted the Commanders taste of Victory, it was carried, that affairs should again be composed; whereunto the French, who were gotten into the Citadel, were not averse, for the danger of the the Siege, they being victualled but for a few days: so as by the intercession of the Nuntio and *Mazarine*, they came to this agreement, that the French should quit *Casalle*, that the Spaniards should bring in a thousand sacks of Corn into the Town, and should restore such places as were to be restored; to see which agreement performed, the Marshal sent Monsieur *di Freshe* into *Casalle*, who was very neer breaking it again; for upon the entring of the Corn, and going out of the French, *Freshe* hearing that the Spaniards, who had already quitted *Rossigliano*, St *Georgio*, and other places, were not yet gone out of *Villanuova*, took occasion not to go out, but recalled the French who were already gone: but *la Grange* being against it, who would observe the agreement, and would not suffer his men to re-enter; the Spaniards being intens'd at this second action, made their Souldiers return into *Pontestura* and *Rossigliano*, and their men drew neer *Occimiano*, *la Villata*, and other Towns neer to *Casalle*, seeming as if they would reassume the Siege: but the Nuntio *Rancirolo* and *Mazarine* interceded again, and they and *Grange* laying the fault upon *Freshe*, the same agreement was again made, and was duly kept. The French went out of *Casalle*, and the Spaniards out of the Towns whereinto they were re-entred; and *San' Croce* ordered *Carlo Guasco*, Governour of the lower *Montferrat*, that he should remove the Ammunition out of *Nizza*, quit the Town, and assign it over into the hands of those, to whom it should be ordained by the Cesarean Commissary. Affairs being thus accommodated, the Dutch went to quarter some of them in the *Valtelina*, some in the Mantuan Territories, and some under *Gallasso* in the lower *Montferrat*, forcing

cing Contribution from all the Feudatories of the Empire in *Italy*, and quarter; raising great sums of money from them: they put for the like with the Genoese, desiring quarter of the Commonwealth for part of their men: but the Genoeses refused, and prepared Forces to repulse them, being more afraid of the Plague which they might bring with them, then their Arms; therefore by the interposition of the Governour of *Millain* the Dutch were satisfied with some drinking money given to their Captains; another accident hapned, which afforded new cause of complaint, for the not observance of agreements. The Duke *du Mayne* was in the Citadel with some few Souldiers, for *Montferrat* being partly incumbred by the Dutch who were quartered there, partly possess'd by the Duke of *Savoy*, could not furnish men enough for the Garrison, it being also much impoverished of people by the Plague: fearing therefore some bad accident, especially since the Emperours, nor King of *Spains* Forces were not yet disbanded, he acquainted the Marshals with the danger, who were quartered with their men according to Articles, in the Towns of *Piedmont*; the Marshals dismiss'd 400 Swissers, who were of the Kings Guard, and who were under them, and sent by their tacite Commission into *Casalle*, and were there received: but the Spaniards exclaiming against it, to appease the rumours, they were soon sent out: the resignation of the Towns of *Montferrat* remain'd for the intire execution of the peace of *Ratisbone*, which resignation was much sollicited by the Duke of *Savoy*, out of a desire that he had to end the differences, and his pretences to *Montferrat*, that thereby he might have *Senes*, and his Towns in *Piedmont*, which were still detain'd by the French, released; who not being able to quarter their men commodiously there, dispersed of them contrary to Articles, in many of the neighbouring Towns: at this time *Collalto* died, who was the third Captain General of this present war: he died of the disease whereof he had been almost always afflicted, and much more by reason of the distaste he had received: for at last, by the much pressure of the Spanish Agents, he was sent for back into *Germany* by the Emperour, to give an account of his actions, and of his unfavourable proceedings in the business of *Casalle*, and in the King of *Spains* affairs; he having done little else in all his Government, but disturb'd and hindered *Spinola's* and *San Croce's* designs, in keeping the Siege from success; and this not so much to vent his emulation, as by the unfortunate success thereof to signalize his glory the more in taking *Mantua*: wherein notwithstanding he had imployed little more then his name and authority, having been almost always sick, and for the most part but of the Dutchy of *Mantua*: the business being still managed by *Gallasso* and *Aldringer*. To this was added that that City being rather taken by stealth then by force of Arms, and that stealth succeeding, when the City by reason of the great mortality of Souldiers and Inhabitants was like an expiring carcase, it lessened much the glory of the Victory, and take away the difference of success, their glory will assuredly be greater, that suffer'd before *Casalle*, then theirs who had the Victory at *Mantua*.

Collalto being dead, who had full and free authority from the Emperour to make peace, and to set a value upon the Towns of *Monfer-*

rat which were to be reſtored, they ſent into *Germany*, expecting new Commands, and new Deputations from the Emperours Court: they were likewiſe to expect the ſame from *France*; for it was known that that King ſent Monſieur *di Servien*, Secretary of State, into *Italy* with full authority. *Ceſar* ſoon confer'd the Command upon *Gallaſſo*: but the Secretaries not appearing after many days expectation, made it be much ſuſpected what the Kings mind was touching the obſervance of the peace, to which he profeſs'd publickly he did not hold himſelf bound; and therefore men knew not what to think touching the reſtitution of the Towns in *Montferrat*: the reaſon alledged by the King of *France* why he held himſelf not bound, was, that he having made another League with the King of *Swedland*, in favor of the German Princes, againſt the Emperour, much about the ſame time that the peace of *Ratisbon* was in treaty, or was as good as concluded; and the Articles of *Ratisbon* repugning this League and Union, as alſo the King of *France* his protection of the German Princes, that King not willing to part from the League, nor from the protection therein contained, pretended that his Embaſſadour who under-writ the Articles of *Ratisbone* had neither Commiſſion nor Command to oblige him the King touching the affairs of *Germany*, but only for thoſe of *Italy*: ſo as being queſtionleſſy free from thoſe of *Germany*, he alledged he could not be bound to obſerve thoſe of *Italy*, by reaſon of the correſpondent connexion that the one had with the other: he therefore proteſted, that if he ſhould agree to that peace for what concern'd the affairs of *Italy*, he would not do it, as bound thereunto by the Articles of *Ratisbone*, but out of his meer well-willing to the peace and quiet of *Italy*. The Spaniards ſuſpected alſo, that the delay made by the French Deputy proceeded from ſome end the King might have to keep the Spaniſh and Dutch Forces idle in *Italy*; which, the peace being once agreed upon, were deſtined, the Spaniſh for the relief of *Flanders*, againſt which the Hollanders made great warlike preparations; and the Dutch, to ſuccour *Germany*, where the King of *Swedland*'s proceedings proſpering exceedingly, they very much preſs'd for aſſiſtance and ſuccour: ſo to hinder the hazardous affairs of the Emperour and of the King of *Spain*, in both theſe places, from being relieved by thoſe ſuccours; for nothing being to be treated of in *Italy* without the French Deputy, the Spaniſh and Dutch Forces were neceſſarily to remain in *Italy* till that buſineſs ſhould be perfectly ended: only in favour to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Agents who were in *Italy* choſe *Cheraſco*, a Town in *Piedmont* for the place of conference, where the Duke kept his Court, it being a place leaſt infected with the Plague; whereat the Duke of *Nevers* complain'd very much, as of a thing that would redound very much to his prejudice; for that the deciding of ſo weighty and important a buſineſs being to be made in the face, and before the eyes of his ſo great contradictor, the ballance would not be ſo rightly guided as it ought: at laſt, the French Deputy appeared in *Italy*; who being kept ſome days in *Suſa* by the Marſhals, came to *Cheraſco* about the midſt of *Febr.* in the year 1631: where Monſieur *Pancirolo*, *Mazarine*, *Gallaſſo*, *Thou*, the Spaniſh Embaſſadour for *Piedmont*, and Marſhal *Scomberg*, were preſent:

The Negotiation being begun, the firſt thing that was handled was that

which concerned the Duke of Savoy's pretensions to as many Towns of Monferrat as were to be assigned over to him, to the value of 18000 crowns annual revenue. And the Duke persisting that the Towns revenues should be rated according to the antient Rent, and not as they went now, contrary to what the Mantuan Agents pretended, as an expedient for this and all other differences and pretensions, the annual Rent of 18000 crowns was by the Deputies reduced to 15000, according as the King of France had declared by the Articles of Suza. For payment whereof fourescore and foure Towns were assigned to the Duke of Savoy, amongst which Alba and Trino; But because it appeared that the revenue of these Towns came to much more then 15000 crowns, the Duke of Savoy was injoyn'd to pay for the overplus 300000 crowns to Nevers, and to quit the Infanta Margarite's portion, which Nevers, as heir to Duke Francis, did owe; In lieu of which portion, the Duke of Savoy, and (in his name) the Deputies and Arbitrators did assign to the said Margarite La Motto, Riva, and Coltanza, three of those Towns which were at the present assigned to the Duke of Savoy, it being lawful for him to redeem them at any time upon payment of the portion. And by this assignation all the Duke of Savoy's claimes and pretensions to Monferrat were understood to be fully satisfied. As for the performance of the other points, it was agreed, that within two moneths space Nevers should be put into possession of all his Dominions, except what was assign'd to the Duke of Savoy; that between the eighth, and the twentieth day of Aprill, all the Dutch and the French should forego Italy, that the first should return to Germany, the others to France, leaving those who were in the Mantuan Towns, which were reserved to the Emperour, and those in the Town of Piedmont, which were reserved for the King of France. That the Duke of Savoy should also withdraw all his men into Piedmont, not removing those who were in the Towns assigned now unto him. That within 25 dayes the Duke of Nevers should be invested into his two Dukedoms, in the same manner as his Predecessors had been. That this being done, the Forts which have been erected upon occasion of these present Wars, in the States and Towns which had been taken, should be demolished by the 23 of May, on which day Mantua and the Forts thereunto belonging, and Canetto, should be consigned to Nevers; and the Towns in Piedmont, which were held by the French, should also on the same day be delivered to the Duke of Savoy, and presently after all the Grison Towns, and places which were held by the Emperour, as well in Rhetia, as in the Voruline, should be set free. But the difficulty consisting in the sure performance of what was now agreed upon, each party doubting that the Towns of Mantua and Piedmont being to be delivered on the 23 of May, it might so fall out that neither of the parties, either out of their own wilfulness, or for fear of being deceived, would make restitution, or that if the one party should do it, the other party might not do so, which would redound much to the prejudice of the things agreed upon, as also of the satisfaction of all, and of the publick peace: It was therefore concluded, that within the 15 dayes prefixed for the demolishing of the Forts, Hostages should be delivered up to the Pope by the Emperour, and by the King of France, to be detained by the Pope, till all things were performed.

The Pope refused to receive Hostages for restitution of the Towns in Rhetia, for that it did not suit with Religion, nor with the Majesty of the Popedom, to co-operate in making Towns be restored to Here-

ticks

ticks, which were posses'd by Catholicks; and the French not being to be satisfied in this point without caution, it was agreed upon by an Article apart, between the Duke of *Savoy* and the French Agents, to which *Gallasso* seemed to give his consent; That the Duke at the same time should restore his Towns to him, should put into *Susa* and *Avigliana* a Garrison of Swissers, confederates with the King, and *Valleggians*, who were to be chosen and pay'd by him the Duke, and who should swear to restore them to the Duke, after the due observance of what was agreed upon at *Cherasco*. Though this capitulation seemed to be the Emperours intention, and that of the two Kings, who would have had freed *Italy* of the Dutch, and French, at one and the same time; that without disadvantage of either party all places retained should be restored: yet to cause, for assurance of this agreement, it was resolved in the 16 Article of the Peace at *Ratisbone*, that hostages should be given, who were to be named by the Italian Agents, who were likewise to chuse to what Prince they should be given; and moreover the said Agents were allowed liberty to do any thing else therein, which should seem best and safest to them; and they choosing the Pope, who refused to receive Hostages. This accommodation was found to satisfie the French, who received some prejudice in the point which concerned the Grisons; but the more the French were therewith satisfied, the more unsatisfied were the Spaniards, and by their means the Emperour. The judgement given at *Chierasco* was also suspected by reason of the exorbitant assignment made unto the Duke of *Savoy*, of so many great and noble Towns in *Montferrat*; which to boot that by the common present calculation they came to 100000 ducats annual revenue, it was too prejudicial to the Duke of *Nevers*, and weaked the rest of his State so much, as not being able to undergo the burthen of maintaining *Casale*, nor to supply it with sufficient victuals; the Arbitrators who were aware of it, ordered that the Duke of *Savoy* should permit *Nevers* to extract 10000 sacks of corn yearly, at the price of the Market; which extraction, to boot with the limitation of time prefixed, reduced the maintenance and nourishment of that Town to be at the Duke of *Savoy*'s pleasure; who by denying it, might besiege it, and bring it into great streights. It therefore seemed strange, that the Agents of the King of *France*, who had by his Arms protest himself to be *Nevers* his Protector, should consent to what was so prejudicial to their Kings Client, and the restoring of 500000 ducats, together with the freeing of *Nevers* from payment of the *Infanta Margarita* portion, being nothing else but a forcing of *Nevers* to alienate so great a part of his State at so mean a price as those two sums came to, made more for *Nevers* his prejudice, and consequently made the Arbitrement more exorbitant, and the conditions more unjust.

At this time the Duke of *Feria* was again made Governour of *Millain*, in the place of *Sancta Cruce*, with whom the Court of *Spain* was very ill satisfied by reason of his ill government of the Kings business: And though *Feria* did not like the thus dismembring of *Montferret*, especially since the Duke of *Savoy* being possest thereof by the King of *France* his means, he was in appearance likely to depend more upon him than upon the King of *Spain*, who would never condescend

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that he should be Master of one foot of ground in *Montferrat*; yet *Feria*, and the other Spanish Agents, dissembling their inward resentment of this point, as not appertaining to their King, they exclaimed mainly, and protested against what concern'd the Garrison of *Susa* and *Volgliana*; and *Feria* writ to the Emperour and to the King of *Spain*, that they should not allow of the Articles of *Chiasco*, nor to the restitution of *Mantua*; he also complained of *Cullasso* in the Emperours Court, as if adhering too much to *Collalto*, he had inclined more to the Duke of *Savoy* then to the King of *Spain*: And it was bruted abroad, that *Cullasso* having received great sums of money from the Duke, had joyned with the French, in being so favourable to the Duke of *Savoy*, in the assigning of the Towns. And, as if affairs had been in a worse case then ever, *Feria* staid the Brigadoes which were sent for *Flanders*, and the Dutch, who according to the Articles of *Chiasco* were ready to depart; notwithstanding that the Emperours affairs being ill handled by the Swedes at this time did very much require succour. The business being thus interrupted, and all parties being much incens'd by this backwardness in *Feria*, it was thought he the more desired to embroil business, that he might have occasion to exercise his warlike Talent, then to appease them; wherefore as a friend to novelty he was commonly noted to be of an unquiet spirit: And this was observed even in the Court of *Spain*, which was held to be very ill satisfied with the peace of *Ratisbone*, and worse with the agreement of *Cafalle*; it was therefore thought that *Feria* coveted to repair his Predecessors fault, and to signalize the beginning of his Government by actions contrary to his. But a Decree made by the Emperour after the peace of *Ratisbone* did much trouble all mens minds, by which he confer'd all the authority of the Sacred Empire which could be confer'd, in amplest manner, upon the King of *Spain*, against contumacious and rebellious Subjects: A Decree commonly practised in *Germany* against disobedient Princes, by which that Prince who is warranted to make War is permitted to possess himself of the disobedient Prince his Dominions, no restitution being to be made till he have paid the whole charge of the War: By vertue of this Decree, all Princes and Officers who are Subjects of the Empire are bound to pay obedience to him who hath this Commission, as they should do to the Emperour, and also to deliver up unto him all Towns and Forts, and without making any reply, to turn their Arms and Forces whithersoever that King commands.

This Decree was occasioned by what had hapned before *Cafalle*, after peace was made, by the King of *France* his protesting that he held himself not bound to observe the Articles of that peace, and by the agreement of *Chiasco* which gave little satisfaction; for the Emperour finding that the French were not content with the peace, but that the King of *France*, at the same time that that peace was made, had made a new League with the Swedish King, clean contrary to the Articles of *Ratisbone*, and that he furnish'd him with moneys for the War of *Germany*; and knowing that he could not possibly repair the affairs of the Empire both in *Germany* and *Italy* at one and the same time, he thought fit to leave the care of the affairs of *Italy* to the King of *Spain*, the greatest Prince and Feudatory of the Empire: And the Duke of *Feria* being

being substituted by the King in this Commission, *Gallasso* who managed the War, and *Aldringer* who had *Mantua* in possession, as also all the Italian Princes, Feudatories to the Empire, were to obey him, and to assist him, as they would have done the Emperours self; and *Aldringer* was bound to deliver *Mantua* unto him, and all the Towns which he held in that Dukedome; for that *Nevers*, who having incurr'd the penalty of High Treason, by reason of his contumacy and disobedience, had no right to that peace, but was relapsed into his former fault; and the Duke of *Feria* by virtue of that Decree might proceed against him with all the Forces of the Empire. For fear that this should be put in execution, the Venetians, the French, and all Princes who cared for the affairs of *Italy*, apprehended that all things would be ruined, if *Mantua* should be assigned over to the Duke of *Feria*; they were therefore necessitated to endeavour by all means that the peace might be observed and ratified in the first place, and afterwards reform the Articles of *Chiarasco*, in satisfaction to the Emperour and Spaniards. Thus the agreement of *Chiarasco* being of force, it was instituted touching the restitution of the Towns and places belonging to the Grisons, whereof the doubt remained, that the French, instead of the Garrison which by the agreement they were to put into *Susa*, might keep *Bricherasco*; but that *Gallasso* should be constituted in *Mantua*, and *Toras* in *Turin*, for hostages; the one for the restitution of *Bricherasco*, the other for the Towns and places belonging to the Grisons: And because this new agreement was made on the 19th of *June*, the time of the former agreement being already expired, others were made like unto the former. In this second agreement the Duke of *Feria* was likewise limited more precisely touching the Garrison of *Millain*, and the number of the men were lessened which he was to keep there for Garrisons, contrary to what in the preceding peace, and particularly in this last of *Chiarasco*, was observed; for whereas in the former it was said, that the Kings Forces should not so tarry in the State of *Millain* as to cause jealousie in the Neighbours, in this last they obliged the Governour precisely, to send 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse out of *Italy* and *Rhetia*, of the extraordinary Forces which were in the State; and that if after the restitution of the places there should yet remain a greater number of Horse or Foot then is usually kept in that State, they should be dismiss'd, or should be so disposed of as no more should remain there then was usually kept in Garrison in the time of peace. This agreement was perfectly observed: At the time appointed the Duke of *Mantua* was re-invested and restored to the City and State of *Mantua*, freed of all the Dutch, who shall for the future be no more called the Duke of *Nevers*, but Duke of *Mantua*: The Towns of *Piedmont* were also restored to the Duke of *Savoy*; and lastly, for full and entire performance of what was covenanted, the Hostages were set at liberty; so as *Italy* was likely to return into her former serene peace.

But new clouds soon appearing amidst this cleer weather drew all mens eyes upon them; and seeming big of thunder, lightning and storms, made it be feared they would break out into some dangerous tempest. The King of *France* some few days after the Towns and Hostages were with satisfaction to all parties restored, demanded some

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things of the Duke of *Savoy*: which being directly contrary, not only to the Covenants, but to the fundamental points of the peace of *Ratisbone*, and of the Agreements made at *Cherasco*, did disturb the Affairs in several manners, perplex'd the minds of the Italians, and gave the Spaniards more cause of complaint, and greater reason to think themselves injured then before: he demanded the assignment over unto him of *Susa* and of *Avigliana*, or *Pinarello* and *Perosa*, or of *Dimone* and *Cunio*, or lastly, *Savigliano*, together with all the Towns that are upon the passage to Castle *Delphine*: the reason of these his demands, he said, was, that he might have a way open to come into *Italy*, upon any novelty that might be attempted by the Spaniards, to the prejudice of his Confederates, and to secure himself of the Dukes friendship; whom he once more saw inclined to joyn with the Spaniards against him. The occasion of these demands were alledged to be, for that together with the ardent desire which the Spaniards, as he said, seemed to have, to exclude the new Duke of *Mantua* out of *Italy*, that they might unjustly usurp the States which did by right of succession devolve upon him; and besides, that they for the same purpose had gone against the Articles of *Susa*; and with their own Forces, and those of the Dutch, called into *Italy* by them, and paid by their moneys, had assaulted his Dominions and taken *Mantua* from him; they now endeavoured to come to a third assault, when by reason of the restitution of the Towns of *Piedmont*, and the French their retiring into *France*, they were themselves alone in *Italy*, arm'd in the Field, the Duke being weak and unable to resist them, for want of moneys and men, who were consumed by War and by the Pestilence, wherewith his States had been so sorely afflicted. The King justified these his doubts and jealousies; for that though the Duke of *Feria* had given his word to *Galasso*, that he would cashier the extraordinary Forces out of the State of *Millain*, and reduce the Souldiers to the number that were usually kept in Garrison in time of peace, according to the last Article of *Cherasco*; he, on the contrary, had retained most of the Foot, to boot with *Scomburgs* Regiment, and the Neapolitan Horse, which he had not only not dismis'd as he was obliged to do; but had raised others by the Marquess *Rangone*, and drawn them neer the Confines of *Millain*; and that many Captains and Officers, under colour of Reformadoes, were sent by him to *Naples*, to raise more men, and bring them into the State of *Millain*; that *il Signore Merodes*, a Captain of the Emperours in *Alsatia* had encreased his Troops with the men that were sent into *Flanders*, and that joyning with Archduke *Leopold* he threatned innovation against the Grisons; and that in the mean while, *Merodes* and his Lievtenant did by several ways molest those people, and pick new occasions to break the peace: that the Duke of *Feria* being desired by the Nuntio *Pancirvolo*, and press'd thereunto by the French, to cashier those men, so to remove all occasions of new jealousies, he openly denied to do it; and this for nothing else, but for that, as he said, the new Duke of *Mantua* had put new Garrisons of French Souldiers into *Casalle*, contrary to Covenants; and for that the Grisons, contrary to the Articles of *Ratisbone*, had fortified the passes of *Staine*, and of other places; and that therefore it was necessary to provide against these inconveniences by way of anticipati-

on, left other more great might follow thereupon: that the Spaniards, who were now more powerful in the Emperours Court then the Dutch themselves, had labour'd very much, even since the Treaty of peace, that the Emperour would deliver the City of *Mantua* into their hands; and that not being able to obtain it, they had treated with the Imperial Officers who had the Government of that City, to deliver it up unto them; and that they had proceeded so far therein, as they failed but a little of having it done, had they not been hindred by such Officers as were faithful to the Emperour, and who would not consent to so great a piece of treachery: he also said that the Emperour bare no good will to the new Duke, nor was pleased with the peace that he himself made; for that the next day after the investment was granted, he by a secret Article, procured by the Spanish Agents, had declared the investment should be null and of no effect, if at any time the Articles of *Ratisbone* should not be observed; and, as if this were directly contrary to the same Articles, wherein he in express words covenanted that the investment should be granted in the same manner as it had been formerly granted to the former Dukes, the King alledged that that Declaration was procured only to serve for a pretence that the Spaniards might once more assault that Duke, and bereave him of his Dukedom upon any slight occasion: since they and the Emperour, who were parties in this business, were made judges of the breach thereof, and accusers of those that should break it: he further argued that the Spaniards fomented the civil dissentions of his Royal Court, and were of intelligence with his Brother and Mother, who were at this time fled from the Court of *France*, and were gone into *Flanders*: to the end, that he and his Kingdom being troubled with intestine dissentions, might not apply themselves to the Affairs of *Italy*, and so they might assault the Duke the third time with greater Forces: nor herewithall contented, that they endeavoured to draw the Duke of *Savoy* to joyn with them in their Plots contrived against the quiet of his Kingdom, as was discovered by Letters of the Spanish Embassadours Resident with the Duke of *Savoy*, which were intercepted; and as might be better comprehended by the Abbot *Scaglia*'s going into *England*: which Abbot being Embassadour from the Duke of *Savoy* in *Madrid*, at the same time when the Towns of *Savoy* and *Piedmont* were restored, was sent at the King of *Spains* charges into *England* to treat of new Leagues against *France*: he further urged the Cardinal of *Savoy* his going into *Flanders*, at the same time that the Queen-mother was to be there, and the imprisonment of the Baron S. *Romano*, who after having treated in *Millain* with *Feria*, and afterwards with the Spanish Embassadour in *Turin*, was gone into *Languedock* with the Dukes Pass-port, and with Order to raise men for the Kings Brother: moreover, Orders given for the going of 500 Spaniards, and 2000 Italians, at the same time, to *Barcelona*, to put those designs in execution which might by all men be imagined. Monsieur *di Servien*, who was the Kings Embassadour in *Turin*, having delivered the Duke a long Discourse in writing upon these and other lighter complaints, he at last required an answer from him to these the Kings demands, within three days, to the end, that the King might know how to dispose of his Forces that were yet in the Provinces which

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confine upon *Italy*; putting him also in mind, that he the Duke having gotten so great a part of *Montferrat* by the Kings means, and being consequently the only man that had got advantage by the late warr, he was bound both, for convenience and gratitude, to do some thing for the safety of the Affairs of *Italy*, and to the satisfaction and reputation of the Kings Forces. The Duke immediately acquainted the Governour of *Milan* with the Kings demands, and with the threats which might apparently be seen, in case he should deny them: adding, that he the Duke not having wherewith to resist, must be forc'd to chuse the lesser evil, and to comply with the Kings will, unless he were furnish'd with 20000 effectual Foot, and 1000 Horse for the defence of *Savoy*, and with 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse for the defence of *Piedmont*; and if they were paid what was his due, he should submit to the Kings will. The Governour not being able to furnish him with so many men at the present, offer'd to lend him as many as he was able now, and that he might be assur'd that for the future he would procure him what assistance he could for the preservation of his Dominions. The Duke, not content with these uncertain generalities, agreed with the French Ambassadour to assign over *Pinarolo* and *Perosa*, and *Sus* to those very Switzers to whom *Sus* was assigned the year before, upon Oath that they should hold them for the King for six moneths space, and that time being ended, that they should re-assign them over again to him the Duke, unless by his own consent the time of assignment to the King should be prorogued: that the King might put a Governour into them, who should be the same Oath. The Duke obliged himself also, and promised not to co-operate with them who should go about to trouble the peace of *France*, during the Kings Mothers, and his Brothers absences: and to give free passage for the French to enter *Italy*, if they should be brought thither by any novelty against the Duke of *Mantua*. There was not any one who did not resent this so sudden and unexpected demand, and who did not wonder, and were not amazed at the Dukes so ready yielding thereunto: for as none were so void of reason, as not to think that it was agreed upon long before between him and the King; especially by the many accidents and circumstances which went to the approving thereof. The Cardinal of *Savoy* went to *Paris*, a little before the French restored the Town of *Pinarolo*, and Prince *Thomas* with his Wife and Children, on whom, the Duke having no Children, the succession of *Savoy* fell: the occasion of the Cardinals going thither was given out to be, for his own respect, that he might go from thence to *Flanders* to visite his Aunt the Archdutchess; and for others to be present at some solemn Festivals which were to be had in that Court. When the Cardinal was come to *Paris*, he did not pursue his journey, but tarried there with his Brother, till such time as *Pinarolo* was assigned over into the Kings Officers hands, which being done, they all returned to *Piedmont*: the going of these Princes to that Court, and their tarrying there till the assigning over of *Pinarolo*, made all men think that they were sent thither, and kept as Hostages of the secret Agreement between the King and Duke, contrary to the Articles of *Ratisbone*: the secret Capitulation of the first Agreement of *Cherasco*, against which the Duke of *Feria* did so much exclaim, seemed to say as

much. *Servien*'s long delay in coming into *Italy* touching a business of so great importance, and wherein haste was required by all parties, though it was then attributed to some other cause, was afterwards held for certain, that it was done to give time for this resolution which was not as then ripe, nor digested: the notable prejudice suffer'd by the Duke of *Mantua*, so openly taken into protection by the King of *France*, and consented unto by the same Kings Agents, in favour to the Duke of *Savoy*, who had been a profess'd enemy to the Kings interest, and who besides having cost that Crown so great an expence of men and moneys, had also made him lose whole Armies, and his reputation, in the enterprise of *Casale*, was commonly judged to be the price and the reward of this secret Treaty between the Duke and the King of *France*, touching the concession of *Pinarolo*: which may appear to be clearly comprehended by the very writing delivered to the Duke, by the Embassador *Servien*, wherein after the tacite threats in case of denial, he endeavoured to perswade the Duke to give way unto the demands, by way of gratitude for the great obligation which he had to the King, by whose favour he had gotten so great a part of *Montferrat*. The Kings suffering himself for so frivolous and sleight occasions, which by treaty might easily be compounded, to be brought to resolve upon a thing of so great moment, when *France*, which required peace and restauration, broke forth into combustion of Civil War by the flight of his Mother and Brother, made all men believe that without assurance of having it readily granted, he would not have adventured to make such a demand: which if it had been denied, obliged him to undertake greater wars then those which, after so much expence of moneys and blood, he was to thank fortune for his coming off with honour, with Forces already wearied, and little better then beaten, and upon a less just title then the former. On the other side, the great respect, not to say fear, which the Duke when he was already restored to all his Dominions, shew'd to have of those Forces, which when he was in a worse condition he had so boldly resisted, his so much distrust of aid from *Spain*; by which being assisted, he nor his Father feared not to provoke the French Forces, but having by his so high and almost impossible demands rather rejected, then desired those succours from the Duke of *Feria*, which he might have received, and was bound to accept of, rather then to quit so many places of importance.

The Duke not being moved also to just demands, which rather then to have granted, he was upon all accounts to have run any whatsoever Fortune, by having yielded to the worst demand, and more prejudicial to himself of the four, his no show of resentment after such an assignation, but his pretending a reward for it from the Crown of *Spain*, as if he had once more thereby secured the State of *Millain*, confirmed the general prejudiciate opinion, that his demand was no news unto him, but a thing long before agreed upon; this general opinion was afterwards better confirmed by the sale made by the Duke the next year of the same Towns to the King, and of their Territories, wherein many other Towns were contained, and by this sale it was comprehended, that it was not his alledged zeal to the publick peace, nor the security of his Client and Friends, but his desire to have a gate always open in-

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to *Italy*, which caused the King to make such high and strange demands, and so contrary to the Covenants of *Ratisbone* and *Chierasco*, agreed unto by his Agents in his name, and ratified by the King himself, in the effectual restitution of the Town of *Piedmont*; the 500000 Ducates which the Duke of *Savoy* was to restore to the Duke of *Mantua*, for the overplus of the Towns in *Montferrat* assigned to him by the Arbitrement of *Chierasco*, the which the King being obliged to make good to that Duke, he afterwards profes'd that he kept them against the same Duke of *Mantua*, for the charges he had been at in making war for the defence and maintaining of his dominions, was considered in the price of so many important Towns. The Duke granted, and afterwards sold unto the King those Towns upon which the liberty and subjection of *Piedmont* did depend, and wherein his sovereignty did consist, and his not being onely a great and free Prince and master of himself, but an Arbitrator of great affairs between two mighty Kings; and their worth being inestimable, the Towns of *Montferrat* which were assigned, were sold at a very under rate. For if Duke *Charles Emanuel* did grant all the Country of *Bresse* to the King of *France*, a large Country and of great revenue, onely that he might keep *Saluzzo*, and thereby remain free and absolute master of *Piedmont*, the French being excepted, what comparison is to be made between *Pinarolo*, and all the valley of *Perosa*, in consideration of the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, especially the great opportunity and consequence of *Pinarolo*'s situation being considered, and what proportion can the Towns assigned in *Montferrat* bear with *Bresse* which was granted, so great a Country and so full of numerous Towns? Yet the now Dukes action was excused by the necessity he was in to comply with the Kings pleasure, who being possess'd not only of the Towns lately granted in *Piedmont*, but of all *Savoy*, and so many other Towns of *Piedmont*; and having no hopes ever to regain them by force, it behoved him to do as the times required, and of two evils, to chuse the least, since affairs were brought to such a condition, as he was rather to thank the King for what was in the Kings power to deny him, then to forego what not being able to regain, was really rather to be esteemed the Kings, then his; and which being denyed gave occasion, not onely to retain that, but all the other Towns that the King was possess'd of. Cardinal *Richelieu* being proud of so advantagious an acquisition, covered that it might never be cancel'd out of the memory of man, but remain in perpetual witnesse of what he had done for the Crowns advantage; he also had contracted a particular and intense hatred against the Duke upon many accounts, but more particularly for having been brought to great extremities, both by the last Duke, and by this, when he went the preceding year with an Army into *Piedmont*, so as Revenge being added to the propagating of the Kings affairs, he thirsted to see the House of *Savoy* reduced to such a weak condition and subjection, as the Dukes thereof should never be able to hold up their heads, or to gain-say the Kings pleasure, nor ever to put such tricks upon any of the Kings Officers or Commanders as they had done upon him, and so to leave the impression of his resentment for ever engraven in the depression of that Principality; and not finding any better means how to effect it, he inform'd the Duke

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that he had no other way to regain what he had loſt, then to loſe *Pinarolo*, and the valley of *Peroſa*: For the King, who profeſs'd himſelf not bound to obſerve the peace of *Ratisbone*, was not to receive any prejudice by not accepting thereof, ſave only that *Mantua* ſhould not be reſtored to the Duke of *Nevers*, a loſſe wherein his Kingdom was but little concern'd, that City being ſo far diſtant from the confines of *France*; Whereas by keeping *Savoy* and *Pinarolo*, with all the Towns he had in *Piedmont* to his poſſeſſion, he got incomparable more advantage, which might largely make amends for the loſſe of *Mantua*, as well for what concern'd himſelf, as for what concern'd the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom he might procure whole *Montferrat* in lieu thereof, together with *Savoy* in fee, and ſo better both his own and his Clients condition: For if *Nevers* ſhould be Lord of *Savoy*, he would become a greater Prince by the vicinity of his French Dominions thereunto, and the King by retaining the ſovereignty of *Savoy*, and poſſeſſing *Montferrat*, and the Towns he had taken in *Piedmont*, he would extend the skirts of his Dominions, and his authority equally on both ſides of the *Alps*, with much advancement of Majeſty and Reputation, by the great adherence that he would thereby get in *Italy*, and with much prejudice to *Piedmont*, which being ſurrounded by the Kings Forces, would in many reſpects be ſubject to the Crown of *France*; and therefore the King being to receive ſuch advantage by not accepting the peace, he would not by accepting it deprive himſelf thereof, unleſs he might be ſure to retain *Pinarolo*, and the valley of *Peroſa*. To theſe ſo harſh and ſo ſevere conditions it may be believed, that fair promiſes were added of allowing the Duke of *Savoy* a good part of *Montferrat*, if he would give way to the Kings will: Wherefore the Duke being forced by neceſſity, and incited by appearing advantage, could not but conſent to what was demanded.

Thus the King of *France*, under the colour of maintaining the liberty of *Italy*, and of the Italian Princes, and under pretence that the Spaniards ſhould not curb the Duke of *Mantua*, did himſelf firſt curb the Duke of *Savoy*, and made a Prince almoſt his Subject, who was not only an Italian, but one ſo neerly allied unto him: but neither was the Duke of *Mantua*, when he was reſtored to his State, in free and full liberty of Principality; for beſides the ſo great diſmembring and leſſening of his reſtored State, he being to receive a French Garriſon in *Mantua* and in *Caſale* (for that it was impoſſible for him to keep thoſe places well Garriſoned) became ſo dependant upon the Kings pleaſure and will, as the Kings profeſs'd protection to him, did almoſt impoſe as much ſubjection upon him, as the Spaniards could have done: it being likely that the Court of *Spain*, which, as hath been ſaid, was at firſt ſo neer granting him free and unconditional poſſeſſion, would have conſented thereunto much more willingly, if the new Duke ſhould but have permitted them to put a Garriſon into *Caſale*: in which caſe the King of *Spain* would, moreover, have been bound to protect him and *Montferrat*, juſt as he had done the Dukes his Predeceſſors, which he had ſo conſtantly done, with ſuch profuſion of his Subjects blood, and of his own moneys, as without ever pretending any recompence, he kept their State untouched againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince ſo

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neerly allied in blood unto him; and the subjection of the Duke of *Mantua*, in respect of *Montferrat*, did double the subjection of *Piedmont*; for as *Pinarolo* being assigned over unto the French opened a gate of free entrance into *Piedmont* whereby to be oppress'd: so was *Casalle* another gate, which kept the Spaniards from coming to succour *Piedmont* when it should be infested by the French; and neither of these Princes being any ways able to resist the French, if once they were masters of these places, it was cleer enough seen into what condition the Liberty of their Principalities was reduced. The Grisons fell upon no less inconveniences, for under colour that the places that were restored might not be again seized on by the Austrians, the King kept means how to enter there, by putting French Garrisons into them: The King of *France* his authority did hereby so encrease in *Italy*, if not in Propriety and Dominion of State, at least in such adherence, as they not being able to do with all, he might make use of his adherents States, as of those that were Patrimonial to his Crown: but the more the Duke was to be excused for his being necessitated to yield *Pinarolo* to the King, the less was his loss therein compassionated; for he and his Father, whilst he was alive, had made that Principality hateful to the Italian Princes, by their joyning with the Austrian Forces, whilst they were thought to aspire after the oppressing of *Italy* by oppressing the Duke of *Nevers*: wherefore the Italian Princes rejoyced, that as those Dukes had co-operated to enslave *Italy*, they had reap'd the fruit and reward of deserting the Common Cause, and were themselves taken in that snare of subjection, in which, so they might have part of *Montferrat*, they cared not though others, together with themselves, had been taken; and the same Italian Princes were not displeased to find that there was a means found to fix the staggering of their conceits, wherewith they had tormented others; and would not suffer any secure foundation to be laid for the common concernments: they were likewise much more contented, for that the more they saw the Duke waver in the favour of the French, they thought the commmon affairs the safer; and they were the surer that the Spaniards having lost all hope of winning that Prince over to them, and knowing that the French, by the Territories of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, did almost confine upon the State of *Millain*, they would be forc'd to be the better content, and would lay aside much of their haughty conceits and pretentions, by which they aspired to give Laws to all men, and to suffocate the Liberty and Sovereignty of the Princes of *Italy*; and though the double and clandestine dealing between the King and Duke were contrary to the peace of *Ratisbone*, and to the Treaties of *Cheraſco*, yet winking at so great a gainsaying, they allowed of the Kings justification; and, on the contrary, the Declaration made by the Emperour touching the investment of the Duke of *Mantua* the day before, was judged to be clandestine; and yet he who shall justly consider the cause which moved the Emperour to make that Declaration will find that he was not to be blamed for it; nor had any, and much less the King of *France*, reason to complain of the Articles which were granted before; for the Articles of *Ratisbone* being reciprocal between the Emperour and the King, it was clear that the one party observing them when the other did not, it was lawful for

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the observer to withdraw from what he had on his side done: but the original fault of the first moving against the Duke of *Mantua* conveighing finister influences into all actions which did depend upon that moving, did little justifie any action which might any ways prejudice the Dukes interest; and the Italians minds being incumbered by fear that the former wars of the *Valtoline*, and then those against *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, aimed at the inslaving of *Italy*, they allowed no place to any more subtile interpretations or considerations, to define what was just and honest; since justice and honesty seemed to have taken up the highest seat in the balance, which did secure the Liberty of *Italy*; and whatsoever co-operated to lessening the Spanish greatness, being held good for the common liberty and safety, was esteemed just and honest; according to that saying, *salus populi suprema lex esto:* for this respect the Duke of *Feria's* suspition was not thought just, who seeing the French brought into *Mantua* and *Casalle*, and the Grisons parts garrison'd with French, pretended that it was against the Article of Peace, the events soon shewed that the pretence was not vain, since it was seen that those places fell into the hands of the French: so as their actions were applauded, and the Spaniards suspitions blamed; some of the Italian Princes joyed to see that the French were became, as it were, Arbitrators of *Italy*; and little less then masters of *Mantua*, *Montferrat*, and *Piedmont*, and *Concha*, if for no other cause, at least for that they thought them, by reason and opportunity, to be of equal power and authority to the Spaniards, and peradventure superiour to them, by reason of the adherence which those Princes would rather have with him, then with the King *Spain*; for they desired to keep the Spanish Forces curb'd by those of *France*, the Spaniards being grown jealous and hateful to them: this was the success of the ill advised, ill govern'd, and worse justifiable Spanish Forces; this was the fruit they reaped of their so much stirring, to no other end, but that they could not tolerate that a Prince who depended upon *France* should have any possessions in *Italy*: nor were the King of *France* his Forces less fortunate out of *Italy*; for to boot with the Garrisons put into the Grisons Country, whereby they depended no less upon his arbitrement then did the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, he did at the same time assault *Lorrain* with a powerful Army, being offended with that Duke, who had received and fomented the Duke of *Orleans*, who, as hath been said, was fled from the Court; and the Duke of *Lorrain* having no means to defend himself, the Emperour and all *Germany* being sufficiently molested, and a great part of *Germany* possess'd by the Swedes, he was forced to humble himself to the King, and to sue for peace, which was not granted him without parting with some of his chefest Towns; and being thus received into protection, he obliged himself not only to give free passage to the King through *Lorrain*, whensoever he would go with an Army into *Germany*, but to joyn with him in that war, and assist him with a certain number of men, whilst he went to defend the liberty of the German Princes, the ancient Friends and Confederates of his Crown: wherefore when the King drew neer *Germany* with his Army, the Ecclesiastick Electors, and many other German Lords and Princes, put themselves under the protection of the Crown of *France*, pretending fear of

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the Swedish Forces, but in effect to have a Protector of their greatest liberty to which they aspired against the Austrian authority. Much about the time that the Peace of *Ratisbone* was concluded, a League (as hath been said) was made between the King of *France* and the King of *Swedland*, in defence of all common Friends, and of all the German Princes in their oppressed Liberties, and to restore *Germany*, and the Princes thereof, to the same condition they were in before the war began: in which League the King of *France* obliged himself, to pay 400000 Crowns a year unto the Swede for maintenance of his Army: which was as much as to set up a Standard in maintenance of the German Rebellion, unto which all male-contents might have recourse: nor did the design prove vain; for after the famous Victory of the Swede and Duke of *Saxony*, before *Lypsick*, as hath been elsewhere said, wherein the Emperours Army and that of the League was discomfited, and almost all slain, and wherein *Tilly* was also sorely wounded; the Protestant Princes openly adhered unto the Swede, and joyn'd with him against the Emperour; and those who in respect of the Catholick Religion could not openly adhere unto an Heretick Prince, who was manifestly bent to take the Empire from the house of *Austria*, and to overthrow the Catholick Religion; and who were unsatisfied with the Austrian Dominion; taking pretence from their fearing the Swede, had recourse to the King of *France*, by whom being taken into protection, they covenanted neutrality between the Swede and the Emperour, and to permit the King of *France* to pass armed through their Territories; by means of which protection they were secured from the Swedish Forces; and the Emperour who was by this means bereft of the adherence and help of almost all the German Princes, and also openly assaulted by the Swede, and his adherents, and molested under-hand by the King of *France*, was brought to so low a condition, as not being well able to withstand so many enemies, the affairs of the Empire were in a very sad condition; to this was added, that the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was head of the Catholick League, and the greatest maintainer of the Catholick Religion, and who next to the Elector of *Saxony* was the greatest support of the Empire and of the house of *Austria*, especially after *Saxony* his revolt, was also, though very secretly, confederated with the King of *France*; which King by Articles of Confederacy was bound to maintain the upper *Palatinate*, and the Electoral Dignity, for ever, in this Duke, and in the house of *Bavaria*; which State and Dignity being forfeited by the Prince Elector *Palatines* Rebellion, were for some years before confer'd by the Emperor upon this Duke of *Bavaria*: the occasion which moved this Prince to this resolution was commonly attributed to jealousie of the peace made at this time at *Madrid*, between the Kings of *Spain* and *England*; for knowing that the King of *Spain* was displeased at the conferring of the Electoral State and Dignity upon him, and that the authority and power of the house of *Bavaria* should be so encreased, and that he had opposed the Emperour in conferring it upon him; and knowing that the King of *England*, whose Sister was Wife to the Palatine, labour'd hard that the Palatine or his Son might be restored to their former condition, he thought he had just occasion to doubt, that the Peace made between the two

Kings, who were for several respects desirous to deprive him of it, might tacitely contain some Agreement between them, to his prejudice. And on the other side, having soon after that Peace was concluded sent the Abbot *Scaglia* into *England*, in appearance to treat of Truce and Peace in the Kings Name with the Hollanders, but in effect to treat of a League against him, as he complain'd, and as the King of *France* had heard; therefore both *Bavaria*, and the King of *France* easily joyn'd in this Convention, for their own safeties sake, and that they might make plots not inferiour to those that were plotted against him. And that they might the better alienate the Bavarian from the Emperour, the Kings of *France* and of *Sweden* promised him the Imperial Crown, whereof (when the Emperour should be beaten) no Germane Prince seemed to be more capable then he, as being the most powerful of all the Catholick Princes, and who had most care of the Catholick Religion; and for that he, as one of the Electors, had a Vote in chusing the Emperour; and his Brother, who was Elector, and Arch-bishop of *Collen*, another Vote; with whom the Arch-bishop and Elector of *Triers* would joyn, who was the first that had joyned in League with the King of *France*, and had received a French Garrison into that State, particularly, into the Fort of *Hermenestein*, a strong Fort, and of great consequence, being scituated where the *Mose* falls into the *Rhyne*: The Votes of the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, who were declared Enemies to the House of *Austria*, and who depended upon the Swedish King, would likewise have concurr'd in the same Election, when the Bavarian should be by that King promoted to the Empire, as he had promised.

The Duke being therefore fed with these hopes, and apprehending that the Austrians would deprive him of the Palatinate, and Electoral Dignity, and that they would restore it to the Palatine, totter'd in his intelligence with the Emperour, and met with a new accident, which gave him more and better reason to alienate himself from the Emperour. The Emperour being reduc'd to great streights by the Swedish Forces, by the rising of so many people, and by his being deserted by so many Germane Princes, had (as hath been elsewhere said) for the last remedy of the imminent danger the Empire was then in, which also threatned him, sent for *Wallestine* Duke of *Fritland*, and had once more made him general of all his Forces; for he was the only man on whom it was thought the welfare of the Empire might safeliest depend. There had been such high distastes between this *Wallestine* and *Bavaria*, as the Bavarian in the Diet of *Ratisbone* had been the chief cause of his being laid aside; and, doubtlesly, had the Bavarian openly declared against the Emperour, and had adhered to the contrary Parties, the Affairs of the Empire would have been but badly sustained: But were it either, that he received such assurances from the Emperour as took from him all distrust, or, that his hopes of attaining the Empire seemed but small, especially since both the Kings who offered and promised it unto him were known to be ambitious of it themselves; or, that he was at last wisely aware, that the two Kings did desire to separate him from the House of *Austria*, only that they might weaken it, and so the more easily suppress it, whereupon his ruine would assuredly succeed;

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he medled not with any novelty, but ſtood firm and conſtant in defence of the Catholick Religion, and of the Imperial Majeſty. To this was added, that the chief ends of the two Kings, and of all the German Princes, was to reſtore the *Palatine* to his former ſtate and dignity: whereof they were much more troubled then was the King of *Spain*, to ſee *Bavaria* maſter. He therefore had no reaſon to truſt them in what was directly contrary to the end of the common Arms, and to the univerſal deſire and conſent of whole *Germany*, which for the common concernment could not ſee the *Palatine* deveſted of his Dominion, and *Bavaria* indued therewith; and as it might be ſuppoſed, that the two Kings, out of theſe reſpects did promiſe that unto him which they could not poſſibly effect; ſo it might alſo be comprehended, that the ſame *Bavaria* ſeemed to make league and union with the two Kings, ſo to keep the Auſtrians from depriving him of the State and Dignity which they had confer'd upon him; ſo uncertain and fallacious are the unions and confederacies of Princes.

In this wavering condition were the Affairs of *Germany*, whereof the King of *France* ſeemed to be become no leſſe Arbitrator, then of thoſe of *Italy*; for the Swede differ'd much from him in point of Authority, and profes'd to depend much thereupon, notwithſtanding all the victories he had gotten, and all the happy courſe of his proſperity; and the King of *France* his being deeply ingaged in the affairs of *Germany* took him much off from the Wars of *Italy*; whereat, though the Governour of *Millain*, and the Spaniſh Agents, were much troubled, fearing his Forces which they ſaw were received into the Towns of *Italy*, yet did not his Forces do any thing after the aſſignment of *Pinarollo*; all things paſſing quietly on, unleſs it were the preparations, and ſeveral levies of men, the Spaniards being obliged to keep greater Garriſons, upon occaſion of *Pinarollo*, *Caſſalle*, and *Mantua*.

The new Duke of *Mantua*, though peacefully poſſeſs'd of his States, was not at all happy in injoying them; for, not to mention the troubles which he paſt thorough, the monies ſpent, and the dangers which he ran in arriving at the ſucceſſion thereof; his Dominions were ſo leſſened, ſo diſmembred, ſo conſumed and waſted both in men and monies, as his need of aſſiſtance from other Princes, to maintain them, was greater then the authority or Grandure that he got by them; and having ingaged his Lands in *France*, in defending and maintaining his Dominions in *Italy*, he loſt the advantage of both his chiefeſt Towns, being poſſeſs'd by others, he held little more then the bare name of Principality left him: Nor was he in a more free and abſolute condition of Prince, then when he was a Subject in *France*, and vaſſal to that Crown; ſo as, he who would juſtly conſider this Prince his condition, muſt think that his happineſſe, in ſo great poſſeſſions, redounded to his greater misfortune, and that it had been better for him to have wanted them. To ſo many calamities and miſeries was added the death of his two onely Sons; the Eldeſt, who was Prince of *Mantua*, dyed in *Goito* ſix dayes before that Town was reſtored. So as the ſucceſſion of his Family fell upon a young Infant, and Son to Princeſs *Maria*, who after Duke *Vincenzo*'s death was married, as hath been ſaid, to the Duke of *Retell*, the preſent Dukes eldeſt Son, who had he lived muſt have been Prince of *Mantua*;

the other, who was Duke *De Mena*, or *Du Meyne*, dyed some few moneths after in *Mantua*.

To compleat the quiet and felicity of *Italy*, the composure of the differences between the Common-wealth of *Genoa*, and Duke of *Savoy* yet remained; which being severall times treated of, given over, and re-assumed, could never be brought to perfection. For after that by Marquess *Rambollier's* departure from *Madrid* the businesse was left unperfect; *Dom Ramires de Prado* was sent by the King of *Spain* to the Camp before *Rochell*, with commission from the King and Common-wealth, to negotiate and to conclude that peace: Where, after much discourse, they came to this conclusion; that *Zuccarello* should remain to the Common-wealth, upon the payment 100000 Crowns to the Duke, but with conditon that the Dukes right should be preserved to what soever more monyes he had disbursed, when he first bought that Marquesate. Neither of the parties, nor yet the King of *Spain*, were pleased with this peace. For the Common-wealth was not only troubled at so excessive a sum, at which they themselves against reason were assessed, but much more for that a gate was left open for the Duke to make new pretentions, which might occasion new Wars. The Duke, on the contrary, complained that his interests were valued at no higher a rate, and moreover did not accept of the Peace, because the conspiracy of *Genoa* hapning at the same time; he took new occasion of complaint, and altercation, upon the impunity which he pretended unto of the Conspirators, which was denyed by the Common-wealth: And pretending that their punishment was a breach of the Truce agreed upon but a little before, he thought that so great an innovation not being imbraced, nor salved up by the peace of *Rochel*, that capitulation was void; which did not perfectly compose the ancient grievances, and left the greater and more modern complaints undecided. And he being at that time joyn'd with the Crown of *Spain*, upon occasion of the Wars of *Montferrat*, neither had the King of *France* any authority to make him observe it; nor would the King of *Spain* exasperate him, to the prejudice of the new conjunction: And therefore easily laying aside the Common-wealths complaints, touching the prejudice which she pretended to receive by that peace, he did not inforce the execution thereof upon her. Thus this peace by the repugnancy of the parties, and by the tacite consent of the Arbitrators, remained unperfected; and the continuing of these differences seemed then to make for the King of *Spain's* advantage; for the Common-wealth being necessitated to keep in Arms, and to entertain many to defend her, the King had an Army maintained at the Common-wealths charge, whereof he might make use according as the Wars of *Montferrat* should succeed; this agreement then not being admitted of, and new occasions of distastes hapning, the Affairs between these two parties were in greater disorder then ever, and the Spaniards were not well looked upon by the Common-wealth, for having sided with the Duke in his complaints. In these difficulties did things continue during Duke *Emanuels* life; when he was dead, the composure of all differences was by his Son absolutely refer'd to the King of *Spain*; Wherefore the Common-wealth willingly accepted of the bargain, but with very expresse and precise exclusion of that point,

point which concerned the impunity of the Conſpirators, of whom they would not ſuffer any mention to be made, it being ſo exorbitant a thing, of ſo bad example, and ſo contrary to the dignity and ſafety of Princes,

The Court of *Spain* was not well ſatisfied with this excluſion, as if it did miſ-become the Majeſty of the King, that the Common-wealth ſhould proceed with ſuch limitations and reſervations, when the Duke referr'd all things abſolutely to the King; at length, after many replies, the Commonwealth yielded, and put her ſelf freely upon the comprimiſe: And the buſineſs being long diſputed in that Court, between *Franceſco Lomellino* the Common-wealths Embaſſadour, and the Dukes Embaſſadour Abbot *Scaglia*, and no reſolution being made in that point, firſt the Pope, and then the King of *France*, after the re-aſſigning of *Pinarollo*, offered their indeavours and Authority to the Common-wealth, in the compoſure of differences, acquainting her, that they would give her better ſatisfaction then ſhe could hope for from the Court of *Spain*: But the Common-wealth, which had already referr'd all unto the King of *Spain*, thought her ſelf not in a condition to accept theſe offers; wherefore thanking both of them for their favour ſhewed towards her, ſhe excuſed her ſelf for not being able to accept of the Grace done unto her by his Holineſs, and his Majeſty, without being faulty to his Majeſty of *Spain*, ſince ſhe could not alter nor vary any thing from what ſhe had once granted him. At laſt the Articles of Peace were concluded in *Madrid*, and publiſhed about the end of *November*, 1631. which in ſubſtance were;

That both Parties ſhould be obliged to reſtore what had been taken; by which it was declared, That the Common-wealth ſhould reſtore the Towns and Places which ſhe had taken from the Duke, the Artillery, Gally, and all Priſoners, and, That the Duke ſhould do the like: That the Commonwealth ſhould keep Zuccarello, *paying unto the Duke in four payments* 170000 *Crowns of Gold, in full for whatſoever he could pretend unto upon that account: That all things held in Fee, or Rented, together with all Repriſals and Confiſcations made during the War, ſhould be reſtored to the former owners: That all who had ſerved the contrary Parties in the late War ſhould have general Pardon granted them; namely, ten of the Conſpirators, who were never to re-enter the Common-wealth, under pain of the former puniſhment, and of not enjoying the preſent Grace.*

The Commonwealth accepted *Il Rodo*, though unwillingly, rather for that they thought it not fit to countervene what had been adjudged by an Arbitrator choſen by themſelves, then that they did not think themſelves grieved by the great ſum of money, in which they thought themſelves injuriouſly ſentenced; and much more, by the impunity of the Conſpirators, to which they thought they ſhould not have been compelled, as was promiſed them when they reſolved to come to a free comprimiſe: But the Duke, on the contrary, exclaimed againſt this Decree, and refuſed to accept of it; wherewith the King thought himſelf as much injured as he had been formerly diſpleaſed with the Commonwealth for limiting the comprimiſe. The Duke complained, that the King had been too ſparing in limiting the Conſpirators, as well in number, as in the Conditions of their Pardon, pretending, that all the Con-

Conſpirators ſhould have been freely pardoned, without any limitation; he demanded, That the Galley might be reſtored in the ſame equipage, and with the ſame Galley-ſlaves that were in her when ſhe was taken: That the Artillery ſhou'd be brought into *Gavio*, where it was left; and, That it might be lawful for him to ſend men to bring it from thence in a military manner into *Piedmont*: That for the payment of the 170000 Crowns of Gold, the quality of the Crown in Gold ſhould be declared; and, That the Commonwealth ſhould be bound to aſcertain the payments at the prefix'd times; and, That good ſecurity ſhould be given for it in *France*, or in ſome other Parts, wherein he might confide. The King being much diſpleaſed with this ſtubbornneſs, would by no means be brought to any other Declaration, or alteration of *Ill Lodo*, the rather for that he feared the Duke was thus backward by the Court of *France* its ſuggeſtion; and it ſeemed that that Court thought her ſelf prejudiced by this Decree; for that theſe differences being to be determined, according to the Peace of *Monſone*, by both the Kings, the King of *Spain* had ended it himſelf, without participating therein with the King of *France*, not making any account of the Peace of *Monſone*, nor yet of the Peace of *Rochel*, which by common arbitriment was adjuſted between the Commonwealth and the Duke. It was therefore ſuſpected, That the Duke, in favour to the French, to whom by the aſſignation of *Pinarollo* he ſeemed to be joyned, would never be ſatisfied with any Declaration that the King could make, to the end that by this Appeal he might be looſe, and, with ſcorn to the Spaniſh Authority, put the whole negotiation and deciſion into the arbitriment of the King of *France*. This ſuſpition was increaſed by the King of *France* his offer to the Commonwealth, That he would end this buſineſs with more ſatisfaction to her, if ſhe would put it to his arbitriment.

Affairs ſtood thus in ſuſpenſe for ſome moneths, during which time the Duke complain'd that ſo many of his Patrimonial Towns ſhould be detain'd from him by the Genoeſes, and ſaid, that he would have recovered them by force of Arms; which if he ſhould have done, his friends would not have been wanting in aſſiſting him, whereby the King of *France* was underſtood: He therefore cauſed new rumours not only between him and the Genoeſes, but even between the two Crowns, which would neceſſarily be engaged in defence, the one of the one party, the other of the other. The Cardinal Infanta, Brother to the King, being come into *Italy*, he was impowred by the King, and by the Parties, with faculty to decide theſe points; and the controverted points being formerly diſcuſs'd before the ſaid Cardinal, by *Jovan Michael Zoagli*, Reſident for the Commonwealth, and by the Abbot *de la Torre*, Reſident for the Duke in *Millain*, the Cardinal declared, That as for them who had ſerved either party with Sword in hand in the wars, the Pardon ſhould be underſtood to be free and general; but as for thoſe who had been guilty of any Commotion ſince the year 1625. it ſhould be in the King to declare, whither they ſhould be comprehended in the Pardon, or no: That the Galley ſhould be reſtored in the condition that it was in at preſent: That the Artillery ſhould be delivered by the Commonwealth in *Savona*; and by the Duke in ſuch places as ſhould be neereſt the Commonwealths Territories: That the Crowns

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ſhould be underſtood, according to the Spaniſh valuation; and that no mention ſhould be made of the Dukes putting in ſecurity. The Duke accepted of this Declaration, but not the Commonwealth, in reſpect of the firſt point, wherein power was reſerved to the King, if it ſhould ſo fall out, whether offenders ſhould be pardoned or no; as well becauſe the arbitrement ſeemed to exceed the Articles of *Madrid*, as alſo that they deſired the buſineſs might at once be wholly decided, and that no power ſhould be left in the King to meddle any further in the Commonwealths juriſdiction, by any Declaration: eſpecially ſince the general word Commotion might be underſtood to reach to many other things, not at the preſent thought upon; in reſpect whereof the Commonwealth held it not good to have any occaſion of coming to diſpute with the King; whereupon the Cardinal made a new Declaration, wherein he pronounced, that none of thoſe who were Priſoners for any commotion or other fault, unleſs ſuch as were named in the peace of *Madrid* ſhould be conceived to be comprehended in the pardon, ſave only ſuch as were Priſoners of War; and that the King ſhould make no further declaration touching any that were guilty of faults; all things were hereupon ended, and put in execution; and an end was put to this War made by the Duke, upon account of *Zueccarello* in appearance; but in effect, by many Princes who envied the Spaniſh grandeza, that they might leſſen it by leſſening the power of the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, ſo annexed and ſo oppertune to the power of *Spain*. The Commonwealth ſpent in this War above ten millions of Crowns, which were raiſed, partly by Taxes from private Citizens, partly by Gabels and new Impoſitions: true it is, that many Fortifications were computed into theſe expences; for, not to mention the leſſer, *Porto Maurizio*, *Savio* and *Savona*, were fortified with Curtains and Bulwarks Royal; but ſtately and worthy of wonder is the compaſs of the new Wall made about the City of *Genoa* its ſelf, upon Mountains which do inviron it, which beginning from *Capo de la Lanterna*, which is on the Weſt, and going round upon the back of the Mountains towards the North, terminates in the Valley of *Biſagno*, and joyns with *Capo di Carignano*, which is the utmoſt and moſt Eaſterly point of the City; and turning from thence inward, along the Maritime ſhoar, joyns with the ancient Walls, incompaſſing about eight miles; the whole Work is almoſt of Free-ſtone; and ſo is, for the moſt part, the very Caſtle it ſelf, which ſerves for Curtain and Bulwark; except in ſome places, where being unequal, it is fil'd up with a ſtrong Wall; which being pargeted with Lime and Mortar, is not only ſtrong, but very beautiful: this Fortification is exactly help'd by nature; for the Mountains upon which the new Walls are built, to boot with their great height, are ſo ſteep and craggy on the out ſide, as the Walls need fear no aſſault; the foundations ſo ſound and firm, as they fear no mining, and ſeated ſo far off, as they are not ſubject to battery; any hoſtility would be obviated by the very tumbling down of ſtones: the Country thereabout is ſo barren, as no enemies Army can keep long there; there wants earth to make Approaches and Trenches; and yet, as if the nature of the ſituation were niggardly unto them, and ſcanting of munition and ſtrength: the Walls are wrought

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with such Art, Diligency and Industry, as Bulwarks are erected at due distances; the Curtains proportionably extended, and the Ditches round about from 50 to 100 foot broad, and 12 or 15 foot deep in stone; nor doth less diligence appear to be used on the inside; round about which there goes a way, which is at least 60 foot broad, very convenient for carrying Artillery, and for ordering defendants upon the Walls: the Bulwarks have dis-inhabitated the Cottages upon those Mountains, and made Lodgings for Souldiers, digging Cesterns in the very Rocks: so as there is nothing left unprovided for, either by Art or Nature, which may make for the safety and defence of this great Fabrick. Art and Nature have been no less propitious and favourable in the Valley of *Bisagna*, where the situation is plain, and where there are no Rocks: the Plain lies between two little Hills, which thrusting out like two wings, serve to the inward Works for two Flanks or great Bulwarks, from whence the Artillery may clear all the parts below; for the currant of the River being for the most part gravelly, defends it, moreover, the Bullets of the Artillery lighting from the two Hills upon the stony bed of the River would scatter such store of gravel upon the assaulters, as it would be impossible for them to advance: so as this part, which otherwise would be less defensible then any other part, is as strong as the rest; nor hath so large a circuit need of many defendants for being almost unaccessible every where, the only Sentinels which keep from Scaladoes, and stoln accesses by night, which are only to be feared, are sufficient to guard it from any other misfortune: few and slender *Corps de guards*, disposed in fitting places, will suffice to keep off any unexpected attempt; for those mountainous and rocky places are not subject to any long thought on assaults: there were divers Inscriptions engraven on the Gates, amongst which this, made by the Author of this present History, was reputed none of the worst.

Quartum murorum ambitum aggeribus, fossa propugnaculis vallatum, stadiis 62 per juga montium, per ima vallium, per Maritimum littus deductum, Genoensium Respublica Libertatis Munimentum excitavit.

Cœptum Opus, Anno 1630.

Perfectum, 1633.

The Commonwealth having thus by peace put an end to the troubles of War, might with much reason hope for better time for the future: the Commonwealth was at this time likewise free from another imminent which threatned her; the Plague which, as hath been formerly said, raged in all that part of *Italy* which lies between the *Alps* and the *Apenine*, even to the Adriatick, pass'd also into *Tuscany*: so as the State of *Genoa*, being every where begirt by so pestilential a disease,

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it seemed almost impossible she could escape it; and yet such diligence was used, so good Orders given and observed for three years space, as the State of *Genoa* was not at all touched therewith, except in some part of the Western River, and beyond the *Apennine*. The Affairs of *Italy* being thus peaceably setled, this present History might seem to end opportunely here; but three things (which for not interrupting the History, have not yet been spoken of, and which may fitly be brought in here) may not be pretermitted, without a blemish to this Narration. The first whereof is, that the *Infanta Maria*, Sister to the King of *Spain*, Wife to *Ferdinando* King of *Hungary*, and Son to the Emperour, came from *Spain* into *Italy*, the year 1631, to pass into *Germany*; and thinking it dangerous to go through *Lombardy*, by reason of the Plague which was then very great there, she thought to come in her own Gallies through the Adriatick to *Trieste*: but the Venetians not being willing upon any whatsoever occasion to wave their pretensions; and the King of *Spain* not being able by reason of so many Wars to assemble a powerful Fleet; and howsoever not thinking it fit to expose his Sisters life to the hazard of a Naval fight; and the Venetians on the other side, to conveigh her with their own Gallies to *Trieste*; she therefore passed from *Naples*, where she had been all that Winter, and came to *Ancona*, and there going into the Gallies of the Commonwealth she was brought in great glory and splendor to *Trieste*, from whence she went to *Cesars* Court.

This same year 1631, *Francisco Maria*, the last Duke of *Urbine*, of the Family of *Revere*, died; who drew his ancient original from the State of *Genoa*, from whence came *Sixtus quartus*, and *Julius secundus*, Popes of famous memory, by whose means that Dukedom came into that Family: he died, aged 82 years, in Castle *Durante*, not far from the City of *Urbine*, whither he had retired himself to live privately, that he might the better attend his souls health; for some years before his death, he had not only sent for some Prelates from *Rome*, to satisfie the Pope, who were to govern that State in his name, but, he had also brought Pontifical Garrisons and Commanders into his Forts, who were to swear to keep it in his name whilst he lived, and in the name of the Church when he should be dead: he had that happiness dying, which did sufficiently make amends for the loss of his State; for though that State could not come to his Niece after his death, he saw her Mistris of a much greater, having married her to *Ferdinando* the Second, great Duke of *Tuscany*; he likewise invested *Julio de la Rovere*, a Gentleman of *Genoa*, and a Venetian, being his neerest Kinsman, with the Towns of *Tomba*. *Ripa* and *Monteralto*, seated in the jurisdiction of *Sinigaglia*; to the end, the memory of the Dukedom might not be extinguished after his death, but that some foot-steps of his name and Principality might remain in the Family of the *Revere* in that State. Thus did Pope *Urban* by industry and negotiation get the possession of that Dukedom to devolve to the Apostolick See, without either Arms, or trouble, or any of those great oppositions which he would have certainly met with, had they not been wisely foreseen and diverted: by this Dukes death the *Prefectura* of *Rome* was also vacated; a place of great preeminence, worth 12000 Crowns a year, which was hereditary, and which be-

ginning in *Francisco Maria*, Duke *dela Rovere*, continued in *Guido Ubaldo*, and in this last Duke *Francisco Maria*; and the Pope confer'd it upon his Nephew Don *Tadeo Barbarino*, and upon his descendents.

The burning of *Vesuvius*, a great Mountain neer *Naples*, was also memorable, which hapned about *Christmass*, and was so great and full of terrour, as a greater hath not been known nor read of: Some earthquake preceded the night before; and the Mountain breaking out into horrible thunder about break of day, it threw out a great flame, mixt with much ashes, and great stones, which, those that saw it say, were thrown above the first Region of the Air, and the ashes were carried by the wind into the Archipelagus; the stones, which in great number and quantity were vented out, fell down at *Melfi*, a hundred miles off: Great store of fiery rosin issued likewise out of the same Mountain, which branching forth into seven Rivolets, not unlike a swift Torrent, fell into the neighbouring Sea, to the infinite prejudice of many people, and of some Towns, which were thereby burnt. The same Mountain, on the opposite side belch'd out a swift River of water, which, causing great inundations, occasioned no less mischief then that of the fire, which burst out on the other side. The Sea, were it either by reason of the Earthquake, or for some other hidden cause, fled from the shore; in *Naples* the Ships lay on ground; and had not the Sea suddenly returned to its former Channel, they would have incurr'd danger of being broken. Neer to *Sorento* the Sea flew a mile from the shore; and (which is most miraculous) the rosin, which being fired fell from the Mountain into the Sea, kept burning for above twelve miles, insomuch as when the fire ceased, great store of Fishes, rosted by the fire, floated upon the superficies of the Sea; but none would eat them, for that very ancient Writers witness, That the like accidents having hapned in the Sea of *Sicily*, the eating of such Fish caused death.

It would be tedious to relate many other monstrosities which hapned thereupon; especially since many Learned men have written whole Volumns upon it, with many Philosophical and Natural Observations, and Considerations, which are indeed rare and curious, but not worth an Historical Narration.

The End of the Twelfth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XIII.

The Contents.

The Peace of Italy, *obtained by the Articles of* Ratisbone *and* Cherasco, *gives place for a digression of things which hapned elsewhere. This present Book tells you of the Duke of* Orleans *his going from* Flanders *into* Languedock, *and how, being routed by the Kings Forces, he was taken Prisoner. The Infanta Cardinal, Brother to the King of* Spain, *his Voyage from* Barcellona *into* Italy. *The Duke of* Feria *his marching from the State of* Millain *with a great Army, going for* Germany, *to make way for the Cardinal Infanta, who prepared to go for* Flanders: *What the said* Feria *did in* Flanders. *From hence we pass to the Narration of the Wars in* Germany; *to the King of* Swedland's *death, and the like of* Wallestine, *with a brief Examination of his actions, intentions, and of his end. The Emperours Army takes the Field, led on after* Wallestine's *death by the King of* Hungary, *Son and General to the Emperour, with what he did till the Cardinal Infanta entred* Germany, *who parting with a great Army from* Millain *towards* Flanders, *joyns with the Emperours Army, and fights the Army of the League of Germans and Swedes before* Nordling, *wherein the Austrians have the better. The Infanta passes with his men into* Flanders, *where, when he came, he found a League made between the King of* France *and the United Provinces, against the Spanish Empire in those parts, which occasions an open breach between the two Crowns; the occasion of which breach, with the reciprocal complaints, faults, & excuses made by both*

Parties are diffuſedly related; and how after the Battle which hapned upon the Confines of France *and* Flanders, *between the Armies of the two Crowns, the War paſs'd into* Italy.

THe Peace of *Ratisbone*, had it been readily embraced, and punctually obſerved by the King of *France*, it was probably hoped would have put an end to all the troubles and commotions of *Italy* and *Germany*; but being openly refuſed by the ſame King for what concerned *Germany*, and excuſed but in appearance only, and in reſpect of the buſineſs of *Pinarolo*, for what concerned the Affairs of *Italy*, it reduced the Affairs of the Empire and of Chriſtendom into greater troubles and perturbations then thoſe which they were in before. *Italy* would not therefore not onely not receive that eaſe which was hoped for, for new and greater troubles proceeding from the not obſervance thereof, greater prejudice and commotions did likewiſe reſult from thence, which before we proceed to ſpeak off, it may not be onely ſeaſonable, but neceſſary to take the buſineſs a little higher, and to touch ſuccinctly, and by way of compendium, upon what hapned out of *Italy*, in *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*; To the end that the knowledge thereof may make the way more eaſie for the narration of thoſe things which hapned afterwards in *Italy*, and which will be the proper ſubject of this preſent Hiſtory. Nor ſhall this anticipated Digreſſion be any interruption to the relation of the principall affairs of *Italy*, which though they were ſomewhat moleſted after the aſſignment of *Pinarollo*, yet being ſomewhat more quiet for a few years, they will afford a fit opportunity for a ſhort and ſuccinct relation of the warlike actions which hapned elſewhere in the time of her troubleſom peace. So as what ſhall be ſaid of forreign ſucceſſes will ſeem a continued Story of the Wars and Commotions of *Italy*, and which ſhall afterwards be re-aſſumed; and the forreign accidents which hapned during the peace of *Italy*, being very remarkable for their weight and concernment; as they deſerve not to be paſſed over ſo the pleaſure and advantage which may be gotten by the knowledge of them will ſufficiently ſatisfie for the paines and time that ſhall be imploy'd in the reading thereof.

The League which was made between the King of *France* and the *Swede*, not long after the Peace of *Ratisbone*; and the ſame Kings taking the German Princes into his protection, to the prejudice of the Emperours authority, obliged the King of *Spain* to provide for, and carefully to watch over the maintaining of the Auſtrian Empire in *Gemany*, againſt which all the Plots and Forces of the King of *France* were ſeen to be prepared. For the Declination of the Catholick Religion, which ran a hazard amidſt ſo many troubleſome Wars, did not onely depend thereupon, but even the declination of his own Dominions, and of the chiefeſt concernments of his Crown. Moreover the aſſignment of *Pinarollo*, which was rather forced from the Duke of *Savoy*, then voluntarily yielded after the peace was made: and the Citadel at *Caſſalle* being ſtill poſſeſs'd and garriſon'd by the *French*, though the King of *Spain* ſeemed to wink at them; yet ſince they ſtruck ſo ſore at the very foundation of his affairs, and of his Dominions in *Italy*; they neceſſarily invited him to reſent, or to repair theſe ſo high attempts againſt the Peace of *Ratisbone*;

bona, and the treaties of *Chiraſco*, agreed upon for the Peace of *Italy*.

The King of *France* his continual ſuccouring and fomenting of the Hollanders did likewiſe prepare things for a manifeſt breach of the common peace; yet both theſe Kings ſhun'd coming to an open declaring of War; but inwardly hatching their reciprocal injuries, they prepared either to revenge received wrongs, or to keep off thoſe which were threatned. But the King of *Spain* was at the preſent troubled moſt, to ſee that the King of *France* joyning with the Hollanders, and Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, prepared to oppoſe his Brother the *Infanta* Cardinal *Ferdinando*, his journey into *Flanders*, wherein the Cardinall was firſt to adviſe, and then to ſucceed his Aunt *Clara Eugenia*, who was now grown very old in the government of thoſe Provinces: And the King thinking that by reaſon of ſo many oppoſitions, it would be ſafer for him to go by *Italy* and *Germany* then by Sea, he knew that it was neceſſary to make way for him by powerfull Armies; wherefore to boot with the great preparation of Arms and Men, made to this purpoſe by the Duke of *Feria* in the State of *Millain*, it was alſo thought neceſſary to moleſt *France* on the parts towards *Spain*, as well in regard of this expedition, as for relieving *Germany* and *Flanders* oppoſed by the French, that thereby the King of *France* being ſtrongly aſſaulted on that ſide, might not onely be diverted from oppoſing the Cardinals journey, but alſo from fomenting the Wars of *Germany* and *Flanders*; the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to the King of *France*, who was already gon, together with the Queen-Mother, from the Court into *Flanders*, was thought to be a proportionate means, anſwerable to the aſſiſtance given by the King of *France* to the Rebel Hollanders: Who by making head, and holding intelligence with many French Lords that were diſpleaſed at Cardinal *Richelieu* his too great authority, and at the Government of thoſe times, plotted new broyles in *France*; he holding intelligence with the Duke of *Momorancy*, Governour of *Languedock*, and peradventure with the Duke of *Guiſe*, Governour of *Provence*, obtained 2000 excellent Horſe from the King of *Spain*; with which paſſing at unawares thorough *France*, without any oppoſition, (for none durſt take up Arms againſt the Kings Brother without expreſs command from the King) he came to *Languedock*; and by the aſſiſtance of the King of *Spain's* Army in *Catalogna*, he thought to raiſe commotions in the Kingdom, and to make a ſtrong faction, whereby he thought to allay the Cardinals authority, and to alter the Government quite; But being at the very firſt overcome by the Kings Forces, and taken Priſoner together with *Momorancy*, that fire was quench'd almoſt before it was kindled, which would otherwiſe have held *France* long in combuſtion, and conſequently have kept the King and *Richelieu* from plotting miſchief againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Yet this did not retard the *Infanta's* journey; who mounting into the Gallyes at *Barcellona*, ſome moneths after *Orleans* his impriſonment, came from thence to *Genoa* the year 1633. where being received with great pomp, he ſaw and admired the great Fabrick of the new Walls, paſſing from thence to *Millain*, he found the Duke of *Feria* buſie in raiſing an Army for his conduct, and ſo intended to go ſpeedily for *Flanders*.

War grew hotter in *Germany* after the battle of *Lutzen*, and after the King

King of *Sweden*'s death; for neither the Swediſh Commanders, nor the German Princes who were alienated from the Emperour, were any whit diſmaid after the Kings death; for the Swedes, as if their dead Kings Spirit were revived in them, continued the War with the like Courage and Fortune, and the Princes and people of *Germany* being deſirous of their pretended Liberty, to the recovery whereof they were with much ſatisfaction led on by the King, and almoſt put into poſſeſſion, being reſolved not to fall from ſo exalted a beginning by the death of their Leader, were wholly intent upon this, and joyn'd in heart and in intelligence; and avoiding all Striſe and Emulation, they formed a Faction which maintaining the dead Kings Quarrel might quell the Auſtrian Authority, and might bring them to their deſired Liberty.

Duke *Bernard Waimer*, deſcended from the ancient Dukes of *Saxony*, was choſen ſomewhat tumultuouſly by the Swediſh Army to be their Captain General, the next day after the battle of *Lutzen*; he was a Captain of Courage and Authority, and very highly eſteem'd in the Army for his experience and Valour; and moreover a great Enemy to the Auſtrian Name, for that his great Grand-Father had been bereſt by *Charles* the Fifth of the Electorall dignity, and of the Dukedom of *Saxony*; and he himſelf as deſcending from him, was kept from it by the ſubſequent Auſtrian Emperours. He muſter'd the Souldiers that remained after the battle, and finding them to amount to the number of 16000 he went with them to joyn with that part of the Duke of *Saxony*'s Forces, which not being preſent at the Battle was yet freſh and intire; and entring therewithall into *Saxony*, he drove out the Ceſarean Garriſons who were poſſeſs'd thereof before, and did not onely recover the City of *Lipſwick*, but all the reſt of the Dukedom, not meeting with any oppoſition; for *Walleſtein* the Emperours General, being rather conquered then Conquerour, had quitted the Field and his Cannon to the Enemy after the battle, and was retreated with the remainder of his Army into *Bohemia*; where (partly) minding the recruiting of his Army, (partly) detain'd by the rigor of the Winter, he ſuffered the Enemies Army to go whither it lifted. But the German Princes having obtained the ſame aſſiſtance from the Deputies of the Crown of *Swethland*, which was given them during the Kings life; and ſeeing the League confirm'd between the King of *France* and Crown of *Swethland*; for the affairs of *Germany* they met in a Dyet about the beginning of the year 33, with the chief Officers and Captains of the Swediſh Army, wherein they agreed upon Nine Articles, for the maintaining of the common cauſe; and for the maintenance of the War, which they reſolved to continue in *Germany* with like fervour. They made *Oxenſtern* ſupream Governour of the common affairs, who was Chancellor of *Swethland*, and who coming into *Germany* with the King, never parted from him; a man of excellent Wiſedom and profound Counſell, very valiant, and long experienced in Civil and Military Government; to whom they gave a certain number of Deputies, choſen out of divers Provinces of *Germany*, which the Dutch call Circles, who were as ſo many Senators to aſſiſt in Counſell with him. They then divided all the Forces of their joynt union into four parts,

and

and made four Armies of them, which were to carry on the War in four parts of *Germany* under four Commanders. *Arnheim*, the Duke of *Saxony's* General, a ſtern Captain, and little ſhort of *Walleſtein* in Military Affairs, was to enter *Sleſia* with the firſt Army, of which Province the Duke of *Saxony* meant to make himſelf Maſter. The ſecond was given to the Duke of *Lunenburg*, who was therewith to fall upon *Weſtphalia*. The third was aſſigned to Duke *Weymer*, who falling from the General-ſhip, to which he was choſen by the Army by this reformation, was to enter therewith into *Franconia*. Marſhal *Horne*, and Col. *Bannier*, were appointed to command the fourth, two of the moſt famous Captains of the Swediſh Army; and *Suevia* and *Alſatia* fell to their ſhare. Theſe going into their ſeveral diviſions, kindled a fire like ſo many Infernal Furies in four parts of *Germany*; which burſting forth into a greater flame afterwards did lay it ſo waſte and deſolate, as the deſolations made during the Kings life were far inferiour to them. For overrunning ſeveral Provinces, which were ſometimes taken by the Swedes, ſometimes retaken by the Imperaliſts, theſe Provinces ſerved onely for a Theatre or Scene, whereon horrible ſpectacles of ſad events were repreſented: it would be tedious, and not ſuiting to our purpoſe, to relate diſtinctly the encounters, loſſes, and victories, or the ruine of the poor people, the ſurrendrings, ſacking, and the firing of Cities which were taken, and of making Provinces Wilderneſſes, for the ſeveral actions of every ſeveral Army, would adminiſter ſubject enough for a particular Story. We will therefore limit our ſelves to thoſe which were moſt famous, and which belong chiefly to the main of the Empire, and particularly, to ſuch as may by connexion participate with the adventures of *Italy*, or which may have ſome influence upon them: And ſo keeping to this, as to the main body of the Tree, ſince we cannot imbrace the reſt, we will leave out the Boughes and Branches, which will contribute but a little to the ſtructure of this Digreſſion; the intention whereof is onely (as hath been ſaid) to make the way plain for the narration of what hapned afterward in *Italy*, by a ſuccinct Narrative of what hapned out of her.

Horne and *Bannier* having done many things with good ſucceſs in *Alſatia* and *Suevia*, ſate down before *Briſack*, a very ſtrong Town upon the left ſide of the *Rhine*, between *Baſil* and *Strasburg*, a place of great conſequence, not only by reaſon of the neighbouring Bridge, but for the ſituation thereof, which lay very convenient for *Italy*, *Burgondy*, *Alſatia*, and *Lorrain*; and having made good progreſs before it, they had brought it unto great ſtreights: it therefore behoved the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, for their joynt intereſt, to have an eye to it, and to endeavour, that the loſs thereof might not redound to the too great prejudice of the confining Provinces, and to both their affairs; and particularly, that the loſs thereof might not be too great an obſtacle to the Infanta's journey; who thinking to enter into *Lorrain* by *Alſatia*, and from thence into *Flanders*, by the Dukedom of *Luxemberg*, which was his ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way; could hardly proſecute this his intent, if that Town ſhould be taken by the enemy. The Emperour had no Forces in thoſe parts, ſave what were under *Aldringer* in *Bavaria*, the groſs of his Army was towards *Bohemia* under *Walleſtein*; and *Aldringers*

gers Forces not being sufficient of themselves to relieve *Brisack*, it was resolved that the Duke of *Feria* should in all haste joyn with *Aldringer*, and go together with him to the relief of so important a place; and thus as a forerunner make way for the Infanta's passage: the Swedish Commanders had intelligence of this, and of what Forces were to come; and finding themselves too weak for them, they thought they might easily hinder them by making themselves masters of *Constance*, an Imperial City, seated upon that Lake which the neighbouring *Rhein* makes, and which taking its name from that City is called the Lake of *Constance*; wherefore *Horne* leaving *Banniere* before *Brisack*, with as many forces as were sufficient to maintain the Siege, went with the rest to the taking of *Constance*, which if he should do, he might keep the two Armies from meeting; and hearing that *Feria* advanced apace with a powerful Army, he would not betake himself to the tediousness and uncertainty of a Siege, but fell to take it by assault, before that by *Feria's* coming the two Armies should joyn; but his design proved vain, as did also his fierce assaults wherewith he thought to effect his intent; for the defence being stronger then the assaults, by reason of the continual re-inforcement of munition that entred the City daily, the business drew on in length, till such time as *Feria's* Army appeared. *Feria* came from the State of *Milan* about the end of *August*, and passing through the *Valteline* was come to the Confines of *Germany*; he brought with him 10000 Foot and 1500 Horse, all choice and veterane Souldiers, very well in order, and led on by valiant and experienced Captains; *Girardo Tambacorti* commanded the Horse, Count *John Serbellone* the Artillery, *Fovan Diaz Samorano* commanded the Spanish Foot, Count *Salms* and *Scomburg* the Dutch Foot, which were divided into two Regiments; the Marquess *Taracusa*, the Neapolitans; and Count *Panigarola*, the Lombards; when these came to the Confines of *Burgendy*, 4000 Foot and 500 Burgondian Horse were added, and when they were pass'd *Tirvolo*, *Aldringer* joyn'd also with them, with the Cesarean Army; which was come from *Bavaria*, and they went joyntly together toward *Constance*: The City was freed at the very news of the approach of so great Forces. *Horne*, so famous and so valiant a Commander, would not tarry to see them come: but leaving many Arms, and some Artillery in the Trenches, retreated more inward into *Germany*; and joyning with *Weymer*, they received many Recruits, which came from the more inward Countries, under the young Duke of *Wittenberg*, the *Palatine*, and the *Rhingrave Otto*; and being thus re-inforced, they resolved to encounter the Enemy, who pursued them: they therefore incamp'd and fortified themselves in some Woods and Hills, not far from *Dutling*, where they waited the enemies coming: but when they came neer, they durst not come forth into the open Campagnia, nor accept of Battle which was offer'd them; but suffer'd themselves to be insulted over within their Trenches, by some Troops of Dragoons, and Files of Musketeers, which advanced from the enemies Camp; after which they retreated to beyond the *Danow*, burning the Bridge which they pass'd over, to keep themselves from being overtaken by the enemy; so they retreated into the Country of *Wittenberg*, thinking that the enemy being to take *Rinfeld*, and three other lesser Cities,

Cities, before they could come to *Briſack*, *Briſack* would be forced to ſurrender for Famine, before the ſuccour could come: but *Rinfeld* and all the other Cities yielded at the firſt appearance of the enemy, within 24 hours; and *Feria* and *Aldringer* made ſuch haſte, as coming to *Briſack*, they found the enemy retreated from thence; having brought in the ſuccour, they made not any abode there, but hardly affording their men leave to breathe, they went towards *Alſatia*, and regained many Towns which had been taken by the enemy; and made good progreſs in thoſe parts; and had made greater, and peradventure had wholly defeated the enemy, if *Aldringer* had co-operated ſincerely in the begun enterpriſe, and in their ruine; or had not the Dutch genius, naturally averſe to that of the Spaniards, gain-ſaid ſo gallant proceedings. *Feria* was entred *Germany* with Title of the Emperours Commander, from whom he had received ample Letters Patents, whereby he was not to be ſubject to the command or ſuperiority of any other Captain: this ſo large and independent authority of *Feria* cauſed not only envy and emulation in *Walleſtein*, who hated the name of a Spaniard, but jealouſie and deſpite; for not being able to indure that by the entrance of another Army into *Germany*, which ſhould have no dependence upon him, that ſupream and univerſal authority ſhould be leſſened in him, without which he profeſs'd he would not have taken upon him the Generals command, and therewith the defence of *Germany*, he began to doubt that that body of armed men, which had no dependence upon him, had been ſecretly procured by the Spaniards, who much diſtruſted his intentions; and been brought into *Germany* by them, not only to moderate his authority, but his actions alſo; and to oppoſe his forces and his ends, and his too high machinations, which he found the Spaniards feared he had plotted in his mind; and by expreſs Order from the Emperour, not being able to keep *Aldringer* from going from *Bavaria* to joyn with *Feria* in *Alſatia*, yet he ſent him ſuch Orders (as *Aldringer*, in his own diſcharge and juſtification, made known after *Friſlands* death) as the execution thereof was likely rather to occaſion the ruine of that Army and Enterpriſe, then the preſervation thereof; he could not tolerate that that Army ſhould advance with ſuch ſucceſs ſo far into *Germany*, whilſt he ſtood looking on: whereupon *Aldringer*, that he might obey the Orders of the General (whoſe exceſſive authority, joyn'd to his fierce genius, was more formidable, and more punctually obſerved, then the Emperours benign Orders) did not co-operate ſincerely in enterpriſes with *Feria*; but abuſing the beſt occaſions of warfaring, was not only a hinderance, but a confuſion, and prejudicial to the proceedings which had been effected, if he had proceeded ſincerely with *Feria*: the neceſſity that both of them were in to paſs with their Armies into *Bavaria*, whither they were ſent for with much anxiety and eagerneſs, by the Emperour, occaſioned yet more harm, and had likely to have been the whole ruine of *Feria*'s Army; which that it may be the better underſtood upon what occaſions they hapned, we muſt leave *Alſatia* and the parts of upper *Germany*, and paſs into *Saxony* and the lower *Germany*; and anticipately relate ſome accidents which hapned there.

General *Walleſtein*, having tarried after the Battle of *Lutzen* almoſt

all the Winter in *Bohemia*, though he was very sollicitous in raising men, and in recruiting his Army, that he might come into the Field in the beginning of the Spring; yet reflecting upon the miserable condition of *Germany*, upon the uncertainty and danger of War, and upon the ruines which might thereupon ensue, he applied himself to reduce the publick safety into some sort of security, by counsel, and without effusion of blood; he therefore laboured to bring the Duke of *Saxony* off from the League of the German Princes, and to reunite him upon any terms to the Emperour; which if he could have done, he verily believed that that Prince being the fundamental Basis of the aforesaid League, he being removed, the League would immediately fall to the ground; and that the Elector of *Brandenberg* and many other lesser Princes would follow his example: so as that faction which joyn'd in Arms with the Swedes against the Emperour, being weakned, would infallibly be dissolved; and that the Cesarean party being so encreased, the lesser Princes would come in to *Cesar*, some suing for pardon, some for composition; and then the Swedes being but few in number, destitute of the German assistance, and bereft of the Maritime parts, would be brought to such a condition, as not being able to receive any supplies from their own Kingdom, they would be shut up, and as it were, imprisoned in *Germany*, and left to the discretion of the Cesarean party. Thus he thought it a better and a safer way, for the publick safety, to quench so great a fire of War by these Articles, then by the shedding of blood; this which might really have been believed to be an assured wholsome Counsel, if it had been practised by fitting and adequate means, would doubtlesly have brought the Affairs of the Empire into a better condition of safety; but being endeavoured by odd and foolish ways it did no good, but injured the publick welfare very much, and wronged the Inventer thereof much more; for *Fritland* coming out of *Bohemia* in the beginning of the Spring, in the year 1634, with a powerful Army, he past therewith into *Silesia*; where lighting upon the enemy in the parts about *Swainitz*, who were far short in numbers to him; instead of giving them battle, wherein he might have been sure of Victory, he was the first who desired agreement and composure of differences: to which purpose a Truce was appointed for 15 days, to negotiate it; during which time, so shameful Agreements were capitulated, as it was reported, between General *Wallestein* and *Arnheim*, and other of the Colleagues Deputies, as none more pernicious, nor ruinous for Religion, and for the Sacred Empire, could have been made; thereby whole Provinces of the Empire, were divided to the advantage of the Confederate Princes. *Wallestein* claimed the Kingdom of *Bohemia* for himself, in just reward of many labours undergone, and dangers by him run for the good of the Empire; many other things were agreed upon in favour to Heresie; such Laws were given to *Germany* as pleased the Confederate Princes, enemies to the Emperour; and for the upshot, General *Fritland* obliged himself to joyn his Forces with those of the enemy, against whosoever should dare to oppose the putting of those Capitulations in execution, not excluding the Emperour himself, who received so much prejudice thereby, and whose concernments were so ill dealt with: these Capitulations being agreed upon, which seemed rather

rather to be horrible treasons and seditious Rebellions, were subscribed by General *Wallestein*, and were delivered to *Arnheim* and the rest who negotiated therein; which when they were divulged, gave, not without reason, great cause to suspect and distrust the actions and intentions of the Propounder, and who being servant to the Emperour had agreed thereunto; whereupon, though *Wallestein* did afterward profess, that his intention in propounding them was to deceive the enemy, and to induce them by so large concessions, to drive the Swedes out of *Germany*; which when it should be done, *Cesar* would be superiour in Forces, and might give them the Law, and force them to accept of any conditions. *Arnheim* and the other Deputies having received the Capitulations took their leaves of *Fritland*, and were already gone; when not being gone one league off, they were troubled, that in this Agreement no mention was made of the Swedes, whether they were to tarry in *Germany*, or to go out: which hapned, because each party standing upon their advantage in the Negotiation, desired that such proposal should be made by the other side; but being afterwards aware, that what was agreed upon was not safe, unless the establishment of this point were therein comprehended, they resolved to return to the Camp, and have it cleared by the General; who being interrogated thereupon, it is not known, whether as being terrified thereat, and repenting what he had done, he imbraced the occasion which might make for his justification; or whether continuing in his first design of bringing the business to that good end for which he profess'd he had moved it; he freely answered, that the Swedes were to be prosecuted with the common forces, and extirpated as disturbers of the publick peace of *Germany*; and he was so resolute in this point, as no reason which could be alledged to the contrary being able to alter his determination; (and *Arnheim* and his companions consenting, by no means, that the Swedes should be driven out) the Capitulations were cancel'd, and the Treaty of Agreement was at the same time almost concluded, and broken: yet the Capitulation was so detestable, as all men were generally much scandalized with it: the rather for that *Wallestein* strove not to regain his credit afterwards by contrary actions, nor to cancel the sinister opinions which he had thereby purchased: but, as if he scorned the vulgar opinion, giving them new colours, he did consolidate them more and more, till in time they proved pernicious to him. The Capitulations being broken, *Wallestein* sent part of his Forces to assault *Saxony*; which made the Duke thereof recall his men from *Slesia* to defend himself; *Arnheim*, immediately after he had received his Princes Orders, marched with his Army towards *Saxony*; leaving a Garrison in *Slesia* under the old Count *de Toure*, a chief Lord of *Bohemia*, whose authority was so great in the Diets of that Kingdom, as the *Palatine* acknowledged his promotion to that Crown from thence, which made the Count be declared a Rebell by the Emperour: *Arnheim* also left Colonel *Tubal* one of the chiefest of the Swedish Commanders, to accompany the Count. *Wallestein* kept behind *Arnheim*, having also left as many men in *Slesia* as *Arnheim* had done; but when he saw *Arnheim* so far advanced, as he could not return to succour the Count in *Slesia*, he faced about, and returning speedily to *Slesia*, he came thi-

ther just then when his men were ready to fight the enemy, and he did so surround the enemy, as he took the Count and Colonel Prisoners, and gave life and liberty to all the other Souldiers and Officers, upon condition that they would march into the Emperours quarters, and joyn themselves to the Cesarean Army; but the Colonel finding a means quickly how to escape, made men suspect that *Wallestain* had underhand given him his liberty, as he had openly given him his life. The Count having bargained for his own liberty delivered up the Towns in *Slesia* which were yet in his power; and those of least consequence being delivered up, the *Duomo di Proslavea*, which was the chiefest, and which commanded all the Province, and which by agreement was to be delivered up, held out; so as the Counts presence being requisite for the surrender thereof, he was set at liberty, upon condition that he should return prisoner, if the *Duomo* were not effectually delivered up: which not being done, and the Count not returning, *Fristland* was still more blamed of collusion with both the prisoners; and much more, for that having sent so many of the enemies to the Emperours Army, he was thought to have done it, for that owing their lives to him they should upon all occasions depend upon him; yet professing himself abused by the Count, and breathing out nothing but revenge, he went with his Army to *Turingia* and *Lusatia*, Provinces which belonged to the Emperour, but were in the Duke of *Saxony* his possession; and prosecuting his former designs he seemed resolved to make that Duke and the Marquess of *Brandenberg* make peace with the Emperour; he therefore made much progress there, took many Towns, amongst others, *Franckfort* upon the *Odar*, and *Lansperg* in *Marca di Brandenberg*, both of them great Cities, and of much consequence; whereby he made way for passing further into the march in the Country of *Brandenberg* and in *Pomerania*; in which case if he should come to the Coasts of the *Baltick* Sea, he would keep (as he threatned to do) the Swedes from being relieved from that Kingdom, and from returning thereinto: these threats, accompanied by the multitude of his Forces, and by his happy success, did so terrifie those Electors, as finding themselves unable to make resistance, they press'd very eagerly for relief from the Confederates; protesting that that if they were abandoned, they must be forc'd to abandon the Common Cause, and joyn with the Emperour. *Oxenstern* and the other Heads of the League were divided in their judgements, not knowing whether they were to abandon or to relieve those Princes; for by abandoning them, to boot with the great errour they should commit therein, and to boot with the loss of reputation, they foresaw the manifest ruine of their party and union. On the contrary, if they should relieve them, they must quit all upper *Germany* to the Emperour, so full of Cities and Towns upon the *Rheine* and the *Danow*, which so much to their praise and encrease of Dominion they had won; and from whence they got infinite contributions of Moneys, Men, Victuals and Munition; which Towns and Territories being abandoned were necessarily to fall into the Emperours power, if they should go to relieve *Saxony*; and they should thereby infinitely weaken themselves and strengthen the Emperour: so amidst these streights they pitch'd their thoughts upon *Bavaria*, which *Aldrin-*

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ger being gone into *Alſatia*, was beſt of all defence; and they held it their abſolute beſt courſe to fall upon it with all the Forces they could aſſemble; taking it for granted that when they ſhould have won that Dukedom, the way would be open for them to enter *Auſtria*, and to come even to *Vienna*; they were confident that by this noble and generous diverſion, without loſs of honour, or of any thing they had gotten, nay by making yet much greater acquiſitions, they might bring that relief to the Electors which they could not do if they ſhould go directly to their relief with all their Forces, without manifeſt loſs of honour and what they had gotten; for the Emperour being aſſaulted in the midſt of his Empire would be forced to recall his Army from offending the Electors, to defend himſelf, ſo as *Fritlands* cunning would be deluded, and his counſels countermined wherewith he had incited unto himſelf to deſtroy their League: The ſucceſs out-did the expectation of ſo noble and generous a reſolution; for Duke *Wymer* being deputed to execute it, he with 50 Cornets of Horſe, and 15000 Foot, took both ſides of the *Danow*, and coaſting along came to *Ratisbone*, where ſitting down at unawares, he after ſeveral batteries forc'd it to ſurrender within 12 days: having gotten it, he advanced and took *Birnbingen* and *Aechendorfe*, great Towns upon the *Rhene*, and with ſuch gallant acquiſitions advanc'd towards *Auſtria*; ſo as the Court of *Vienna* was in more fear then the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenberg* had been by *Wallenſteins* proceedings: it was therefore reſolved to ſend him preciſe Orders to return, and relieve *Auſtria*: who being unwilling to give over ſo happy ſucceſs, and the great advantage which he hoped to reap thereby for the publick welfare, was troubled much at *Cæſars* Commands; thinking that if that part of *Germany* ſhould withſtand the enemies aſſaults a little longer, the aſſailants would be forced to change their courſe, and leave *Bavaria* and *Auſtria* free to the Emperour, ſo to relieve *Saxony* and the lower parts of *Germany*, which for their own ſafeties ſake they could not abandon; but this his backwardneſs being badly interpreted by the Court, which was not well ſatisfied with his late and former actions; as if being more deſirous that *Bavaria* ſhould be loſt, then relieved, he valued not the danger of *Auſtria*, ſo as he might revenge himſelf upon that Prince; he was at laſt, but much againſt his will, forced to obey the Emperours re-iterated Commands: he therefore abandoned that Country, and quitted the ſo many Triumphs which he had won; and when he was come within twenty leagues of *Ratisbone*, hearing that that Town was ſurrendered, he advanced no further; but finding that the enemy drew neer *Paſſau*, a very ſtrong place, ſituated upon the *Danube*, and which being thought to be the gate of *Auſtria* was of no ſmall concern, he ſent 3000 Foot to defend it; but ſeeming not to care much for *Ratisbone*, and leſs for *Bavaria*, he retreated into *Bohemia*, and came with all his men into the City of *Pilſen*: the loſs of *Ratisbone*, which forced the Emperour to recall *Walleſtein* from *Saxony*, forc'd him alſo to ſend for *Aldringer* from *Alſatia*, to relieve *Bavaria*, which was powerfully aſſaulted by the Colleagues; whoſe departure was neceſſarily accompanied by *Feria*, who wanting men, and being abandoned by *Aldringer*, could not tarry longer with ſafety in that Country; nor could *Aldringer* tarry ſafely in *Alſatia*

ſatia without *Feria*, nor retreat ſafely into *Bavaria*: ſo as, for their joynt ſecurity, which by diſunion would have been indangered, it behoved them to joyn in abandoning *Alſatia*, and in proſecuting that voyage; and *Feria* being neceſſitated to follow the ſame way that the Dutch had gone in the midſt of Winter, to the great hardſhip and deſtruction of his men, who begging quarter and lodging, which were ranſack'd and ruin'd by the Dutch who had gone before, and quite bereſt of all proviſions, they could not get victuals for any money; by which ſufferings, and by reaſon of the cold weather which was very great that Winter, and which the Spaniards and Italians, who are born under more benigne heavens, could not well endure, and being alſo often gauled by the enemy, that Army was miſerably waſted, great hardſhips having occaſioned frequent and dangerous ſickneſs in it: being at laſt, after ſo many ſufferings, gotten into *Bavaria*, *Feria* died of a Fever in *Monaco*, and left the charge of his men to Count *Serbellone*; and as by *Walleſteins* departure from the parts neer *Saxony* all the acquiſitions which he had made returned to their former condition, ſo by the departure of theſe two Armies all *Alſatia* reverted into the Swedes poſſeſſion, who returning to *Briſack* ſoon brought it into the former ſtreights: The *Infanta* not being able therefore to build any longer upon that Army, for his journey into *Flanders*, nor for the freeing of that Town; and it behoving him to take his journey the ſooner, for that in the beginning of *December* 1633, the *Infanta* his Aunt left this world; and the Provinces of *Flanders* wanting a ſupream head by her death, preſs'd very much for his coming; new Orders were therefore to be given, and new levies of men were to be made; wherein neither the *Infanta* nor the Spaniſh Agents in *Italy* were ſlack, who diligently ſent out Orders, ſome for men, ſome for other neceſſaries for that expedition; and though the Crowns, Provinces and Kingdoms, were much exhauſted by the ſelect choice made by *Feria*, the year before, yet ere *May* was over, the State of *Millain* was full of new Military men, moſt whereof were old Souldiers of ſeveral Nations, commanded by men very conſiderable, not only for noble birth, but for valour and long experience in war. Count *Monterei* ſent 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe from *Naples*, all good men, and excellently well armed, under his Heir, the Marqueſs of *Terra Nova*, two Brigades of Foot were raiſed in *Lombardy*, the one by Prince *Doria*, at his own expence, who were commanded by *Carlo Gauſco*, Camp-maſter, the other in the State of *Millain*, by Marqueſs *Eunate*. Marqueſs *Spinola* raiſed alſo 500 Horſe at his own coſt; and moneys were paid out of *Ceſars* Court for recruiting Duke *Feria's* Army: *Walleſtein* was demanded to ſend 4000 Horſe of thoſe that were in *Ceſars* Army; which he refuſed to do, pretending that he could not leſſen his Army; but indeed, becauſe he did not like that this other Army which had no dependency upon him ſhould enter *Germany*; fearing that the Authority and Grandezza of ſuch a Prince might eclipſe his; and moreover, that the Spaniſh Agents againſt whom all his thoughts were bent, might triumph over him. The *Infanta* therefore, that he might take from him his pretence of denial, gave order that moneys ſhould be iſſued out of the Ceſarean Court, for the raiſing of ſo many Horſe in *Hungary*, which ſhould ſup-

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ply the place of those that should be sent into *Italy* to augment the *Infanta's* Army: 600 other Horse were raised in *Burgundy* by Count *de la Terre*, one of the chief men of *Burgundy*, and 1000 Foot were also come from *Spain* under Count *Fuenclara* with these Forces, and with other, partly paid, partly noble voluntiers, did this Army march, and the *Infanta* therewith, towards *Tirvola* through the *Valtoline*, and came to *Zurzeyat*, to pursue his journey into *Flanders* through *Alsatia*, so to joyn with the Imperial Army, which was newly march'd into the fields under the King of *Hungary*, Son to the Emperour, he being chosen Captain General of the Cesarean Forces by his Father, in *Walsteins* stead, who a little before was not only deposed from being General, but declared by publick Edict, in the beginning of the 34. Rebel and guilty of high Treason: whereupon he was slain by his own Souldiers, a singular accident, and very well worth consideration, and which drew the eyes of the whole world upon it, not so much for the singularity thereof, as for the circumstances which accompanied this tragical event, for the consequences which it drew after it, and for the discourse and impression which it occasioned in the parties, for which it deserves really to be numbered amongst the most memorable that hath hapned in these times, or in many past ages: since such an accident deserves to be described to posterity, with all the circumstances thereof; though it was occasioned by many things which have already been spoken of, yet will it not at all be from our purpose, if somewhat exceeding the limits and confines of a compendious Narrative, we discourse particularly thereupon, wherein weaving somewhat more at length some things which have already been mentioned, together with many others which have not been spoken of, but may relate to the chief affairs of *Germany*, the discourse will rather deserve the name of a continuation of the thred of our History, then a digression from it; whereby the Reader being a little diverted from the course of our begun Narration, and finding himself afterwards at unawares brought into the forroad, will delight to be joyntly instructed with the German events, and with the sinister contrivals of this Commander, which brought him to his end.

Albertus Walleſtein, Duke of *Fritland*, being deposed in the Diet at *Ratisbone*, as hath been said, from being General of the Cesarean Forces, and being afterward out of urgent necessity recalled to his former charge by the Emperour, was a man of much valour, and of no less fortune and authority; and such a one, as if the things done by him in *Germany* be well observed, he certainly deserves the first place of as many Dutch Commanders as ever arrived at the height of fame and glory: he deserved well of the Empire, but much better of the Emperour, whose supream authority upheld by the valour and fortune of this Commander, rise to as great a height as did the like of any Emperour for many late years: he held that place with so absolute command and independency, as his not valuing even the Emperours commands was not imputed to him for disobedience or contumacy, but to his greater zeal of good Government, and to his better steering of affairs; which being govern'd as he listed proved better for the Grandezza of the Empire: so as whatsoever transgression being done by another would

would not only have been accounted a fault, but would have been severely punished, being done by him was exempt from all suspition of errour: not was his fidelity less then his authority, whereby he won so much credit of the Emperour, as his Imperial Majesty could never believe that any spot of Felony could ever enter so faithful a Commanders breast: yet could he not continue so long the course of his undoubted credit and sovereign authority, but that he was, at last, forc'd unfortunately to submit to the natural vicissitude of all humane things; and though experience teacheth us, that it is a natural and fatal propriety for all things, when they are come to the height of greatness, to be subject to declination and ruine, yet if we will abstract the fall of this so great and worthy Commander from the hidden, and by us unknown properties, of humane vicissitude, and shall seek for any more apparent cause of so great a down-fall, it may be imputed chiefly to two things. First, to his zeal of sustaining the Cesarean dignity against the prime Princes of *Germany*; who thinking the Emperours greatness to be a lessening of theirs, set themselves fiercely against him upon this account, as against him who valued not the abasing of the common liberty of *Germany*, so as he might maintain the Emperours greatness; to which was annex'd a second cause, his fierce and arrogant nature, by which he regulated his actions; for seeing himself firmly seated in the Chariot of supream authority, he was so encouraged, as knowing himself able to do all things, he thought he might lawfully do so: so as when his authority was not grown to that height, nor so generally hated, his faults were imputed to the pride of his imperious genius, and therefore easily pardoned, the greatness of his merits being considered; so when the chiefest men found themselves thereby injured in their power, and that they began to examine his faults with spleen and hatred, they turned them into disloyalty, perfidiousness, sedition, and into affected tyranny, procured by mis-becoming and scandalous ways: when the Command in chief of the Emperours Arms was taken from him, though he did not only yield ready obedience thereunto, and shew'd great moderation in so great a lessening of Fortune; yet such a contentation differing much from the haughtiness of his revengeful spirit; it was thought that like an incensed *Achilles*, or injured *Narses*, he hatched vindicative desires against those who had wrought his down-fall, and particularly against the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had in all things continually appeared his bitter enemy, that he had plots against the Empire, and that he proceeded so far therein, as that he endeavour'd to get the Imperial diadem for himself: so as not unlike *Narses*, who conspired with the Barbarians against the Emperour *Justinian*, he was suspected to hold secret intelligence with the King of *Swedland*, Duke of *Saxony*, and with the other Confederates, against the Emperour, and that he plotted the ruine of *Germany*; for the invading, and taking of *Bohemia*, by the Swedish and Saxon Forces, which hapned a little after his deposal, and the rout which not long after was given before *Lypsick* to *Tilly*, who was made General of the Emperours Forces, was generally attributed to his counsel and instigation: but he evidenced his sinister intentions yet more when the Emperour recalled him, when after the loss of *Bohemia*, the affairs of the Empire were in very bad condition:

on: he was doubtlesly upon that occasion bound willingly to offer his endeavours for the sustaining of his Prince and Country, even with the hazard of his life; but the haughtiness of his proud spirit kept him from doing so noble and worthy an action; for being re-called he seemed so far from accepting it, as at the first he absolutely refused it, and at last, making use of the streights and ruine wherein to he saw the publick safety was brought, and of the necessity which was had of his assistance, he had the boldness to demand so insolent and arrogant conditions from the Emperour, as one that had conquer'd his Sovereign could not have propounded prouder: 'Amongst other things he required '(and such was the necessity, as it must be granted him) that his Arbi-'trement might be absolute, not only over the Arms and Souldiers, but 'in making war and peace, insomuch as it should not be lawful for the 'Emperour to give him any Order or Commission which might con-'cern the manner of making war, or the negotiating or concluding 'peace; which wars or peace he might conclude or exclude without 'the Emperour, but not the Emperour without him: he would have the 'choice and disposal of all Captains and Officers of the Army; the like 'of the Governours of Provinces, even such as were patrimonial to the 'Emperour; that the exacting of Tributes and Revenues, the distri-'bution of Goods gotten or confiscated by war, might absolutely be-'long unto him; and finally, that it should not be in the Emperours 'power to deprive him of the Authority of being General, unless he 'should give him six moneths warning thereof before hand. A greater Authority certainly then Dictatorship, which if it were always thought dangerous in a Commonwealth, it was not only incompatible under a Sovereign Prince, as being diametrically repugnant to Sovereignty, but altogether unsufferable and unpracticable; and the granting thereof being nothing else but the bereaving a Prince of the essentiality, and the leaving him scarcely the bare name and meer semblance of Sove-reignty; it could not only be practised without manifest injury to Sove-eign Power, but not so much as fall within the thought of a good Subject: so great a concession forced by himself was therefore unwor-thy, dangerous to the whole Empire, and the more formidable in one so highly offended, so revengeful, and so tenaciously mindful of injuries received; so inexorable, inhumane, and so disordinate in his affections; and on the other side, capable of any howsoever weighty undertaking, greedy of power, and of winding all things about according to his plea-sure; wherein he had no moderation of counsel, nor curb to his ambiti-on: to this was added, for the greater prejudice of the present conditi-on of Affairs, the great sway which he had purchased with all the Mili-tary men of *Germany*, who appeared ready to obey his beck; every one therefore foresaw, that the excessive authority which of meer necessity was granted him, would rather make him aspire to greater things, and putting himself in a posture of giving Laws to *Germany*, rather then to free her from the calamities which she lay under. He was not wanting in co-operating to these Prognostications; for his having abandoned the Field in the Battle of *Lutzen*, and his Artillery to the enemy, who might easily have been then vanquished, if instead of retreating he had sent for *Gallas*'s intire and fresh Forces, and those of other Comman-

ders who were not present at the Battle, and recruited his Army therewith, and assaulted the enemies Camp, without giving them leave to breathe, whilst it was astonished by the Kings death, and by the loss of so many men who were slain in that conflict, was an action badly resented, and which argued much errour: his having after this cantonized himself in *Bohemia*, and suffer'd the enemy which was confused and half routed to ralley, and to recover *Lypsick* and almost all *Saxony* so easily, which were before possess'd by the Cesarean Forces; and on the contrary, his having recalled *Aldringer* from *Bavaria*, and his hindring *Bannier* at the same time from recovering his own State, were circumstances, which added to the former appeared very strange, and did more aggravate his conduct of Forces which were so freely and absolutely referr'd to him: but what hapned afterwards before *Swadwitz*, and those infamous Capitulations stipulated therewith the Emperours enemies did more undeniably convince his loyalty, who had first let slip so fair an occasion of quelling the Emperours Enemies and Rebels: his not having afterward suppress'd Count *Torres* and Colonel *Tubal*, as he easily might have done, and his having let them both escape when they were his prisoners, and his having listed the enemies Souldiers in the Cesarean Militia, were great inforcements for the staining the candor of his fidelity; his appearing afterwards so repugnant to *Cesars* Commands, when seeing *Ratisbone* assaulted by the enemy, and *Bavaria* cry for succour when in such danger, not caring for the preservation of that so noble Province and important City; and after the loss of *Ratisbone*, his so little care to recover it, whilst the enemies were not yet fortified there; and his not betaking himself to defend *Bavaria*, which after the loss of *Ratisbone* was subject to the enemies inroads; but having in lieu thereof cantonized himself again in *Bohemia*, without acquainting the Emperour therewith, did yet more aggravate the suspitions, not to say the faults, of his preceding actions: being come into *Bohemia* with all the blame which was laid upon him, he took no care to acquit himself thereof, but, as if all things had been lawful for him, he fell into greater and more important errours: he had (as hath been said) drawn the hatred and anger of the Electors upon him, for having contrary to custom quartered his Army in their Dominions; he now began to take the same license in the Emperours Hereditary Territories, an action which as it redounded much to the prejudice of his Imperial Majesty, so was it diversly construed; some attributed it to pride and neglect of the Emperour, as if by reason of the supream power which he had obtained from the Emperour, he cared not to use that power against the Donor; some, to his resentment for having been drawn contrary to his genius from the war against lower *Germany*, to defend *Bavaria*; the greatest part suspected that under pretence of quartering his Souldiers in the Cesarean Territories, he intended to begirt the City and Court of *Vienna*, and to imprison the Emperour within his Forces: moreover, the jealousie which he had conceived a little before at the entring of the Duke of *Feria's* Army into *Germany* in relief of the Empire, and of *Constance* and *Brisack*, and his yet greater apprehension and incensement which he shew'd afterwards against the Army led by the *Infanta* having so perfidiously endeavoured the ruine

of the former, and the exclusion of the other out of *Germany*, were evident signs of his being highly displeased with those Forces, thinking that they were brought into *Germany*, only to curb and counterpoise his Army, and to secure the Empire against the novelties and revolutions which all the world apprehended from his scandalous and abusive Authority; and though these and the like actions of this great Commander, being weighed in a more curious balance, might seem to have their defences (as all humane, but especially Military actions never want) yet did they not at all lessen the sinister impressions radicated and accumulated by his so many misdemeanors in mens minds, wherewith they were generally so scandalized, as not admitting any defence; they all stood expecting some monstrous and formidable products of so immense authority, in a man so fierce, so irritated, and so apparently ill inclined; and the total of Religion, and of the Empire, being treated of, they thought their suspicions certain; every one therefore had a lash at him, all men exclaimed against him; and with open mouths desired that provision might be made against the so neer and so certain danger: only the Emperour, who still confided in his loyalty whom he had ever found faithful to him, was of a contrary opinion, and would not without manifest proofs condemn his Officers; and some of the chief men who assisted the Emperour, prevailed upon either by great rewards or promises, approved of the Emperours disposition, and excusing the faults which were imputed to him endeavoured by many arguments to assert his innocence: there were two sorts of persons that this mighty man had made his enemies, the Spanish Agents, and the Jesuites; he was not mealy-mouthed towards either of these: of the former he was wont to say, That it was better being succoured by them with moneys, then with men; and that both of them were to be absolutely banish'd out of *Germany*; and it was said, that the banishment of the Jesuites was expresly articled in the Capitulations of *Swainitz*: so as the Spanish Agents, thinking that he sowed discord between the Empire and Crown of *Spain*, to the end that he might weaken them both, and so destroy them; and the Jesuites thinking that he was resolved to subvert the Catholick Religion, which though in appearance he professed to worship, yet many of his actions having another aspect, he was no less suspected to be an enemy to Religion, then to the Empire; and it was thought that he protes'd the Catholick Religion, only outwardly, and to keep in credit with the Emperour, who was a pious Prince; but that, for the rest, that he intended to take away all the supports from the Catholick Religion, and from the Spanish Authority, that he might the more easily effect his designs against them. All of them therefore used their power with the Emperour, to contaminate these his endeavours; amongst the Spaniards there was the Count *d' Ognate*, Embassadour in ordinary with the Emperour, and the Marques of *Castegnada*, also Embassadour in extraordinary with the King of *Hungary*, both of them indued with excellent Counsel and Judgement; who were very careful of the main Affairs. *Fritland* had made both these his enemies, no less then he had done the Duke of *Bavaria*; but he had incens'd him now more then ever, for that after the loss of *Ratisbone* he would not give the least assistance to his State, which was then more in danger

then ever: wherefore the Duke exclaimed against him in *Cesars* Court; his keeping still in *Bohemia* added to his being hated and suspected; as also the probable doubt, that he had still some design to make himself King thereof; and that he tarried therefore there in these perturbations of Affairs, to execute this his design now, when in likelihood he might easily effect it: not so much in respect of the Authority he had over the Souldiers, who called him their Father, and were ready at his least beck; as that all the Princes and Hans Towns of *Germany* being much inclined to abate the Austrian name and authority, would not only be well pleased therewith, but would favour it, and assist him therein: but the more necessary provision appeared to be had against the accumulation of so many mischiefs, the harder was it to finde them out. *Cesars* Decrees were of small validity against him who had the supream and absolute arbitrement over all *Cesars* Forces: so as the remedy appeared more dangerous then the disease; and the Emperour still persevering in his resolution of not condemning one of disloyalty, of whose fidelity he was so well satisfied, he seemed not capable of putting on so stout a resolution; but being at last overcome by so many exclamations and reiterated protestations, or were it that the prejudice he received by the quartering of his men upon his Territories grieved him; when he saw the very City of *Vienna* environed with his quarters, and himself and his Court in a manner besieged; before he would come to more sharp and severe courses, he made his desires known to him by Father *Chirogo*, a Spaniard, a religious Capuchin, and Confessor to the Queen of *Hungary*, that in consideration of his being so grievously troubled with the Gout, which was a hindrance to him in his Military actions, he would be content to give over his Command of being General, and retire himself, as he had done formerly, to a private life: but were it either that he thought this desire was made at the instant pressures of his enemies, or that he still persevered in his machinations, he would not be perswaded thereunto, but answered, that he had no desire to serve the Emperour against the Emperours will, that he was therefore ready to obey his commands; but that it was also true, that as well he himself, as his Commanders under him, had upon his Paroll been at great expence, in raising men, for the recruiting of the Army, and that he was to see them paid for the expences they had been at, as the Emperour was to see him satisfied: that therefore he thought it reasonable, that, in the first place, his Majesty should finde means to pay what he ought him, and to his Captains; and that convenient satisfaction being given in this point, he would give over his charge, and withdraw himself to a private life: but the Emperour not being in a condition of disbursing so great a sum of money, and the jealousies, and frequent protestations multiplying, he betook himself to somewhat a more severe way: he sent the Baron of *Questemberg*, who was his chiefest Officer, to him, and his chiefest Court-confident, and through whose hands the Affairs of greatest consequence passed; willing him to complain, in his name, against his pass'd actions, and particularly for his quartering his Army in his the Emperours Patrimonial Dominions, and chiefly in the parts about *Vienna*, and he gave him also a very resentive instruction, whereby the Emperour complaining very much of the loss

of

of *Ratisbone*, and of *Walstein's* not recovering it, he added, that those quarters did so much trouble his Imperial Majesty, as he would rather lose a Field Battle, then indure them any longer: when *Questemberg* came before *Friseland*, were it either that he had always shew'd himself much devoted to his greatness, or were it that he feared to exasperate him too much, if he should deliver him his message by word of mouth; judged it better to give him his instructions to read; at the reading whereof *Friseland* being mightily incensed, said, that he would renounce his charge of being General, for he clearly saw all his enemies used their uttermost power to make him do so; whereupon he published this his resolution in writing; and (which made much for irritating the Souldiery) he caused several Copies of this instruction to be dispers'd amongst them; he also gave Order to his Cousen the Count of *Tersica*, and General of the Horse, and to Count *Chiasky*, his great Favorite, both of them Bohemians, who possess'd great Lordships in that Kingdom, and to the Marquess *Ille*, a Burgondian, and one who was also much his favorite, to negotiate with the Captains and Souldiers of his Army, and make them not consent to his laying down his charge: these obey'd the Generals commands, and began seditiously to publish throughout the Quarters and Precincts of the Army the wrongs and injuries which were done to their General by his enemies, the which not being any longer able to resist he was forced to renounce his charge, and once more to give way to the apparent hatred of the Court; 'Saying that he who was a Captain loaded with Victories and 'Triumph, and who now was arrived at that height of greatness 'whereunto any humane thought could aspire, was not troubled to re-'turn to a private life, that once more, after having undergone so ma-'ny labours, he might injoy the quiet due thereunto; wherefore he was 'not troubled to disrobe himself once more of that command which 'against his will, and inforc'd, he had revested himself with; that he 'was only troubled, even to the soul, to think that he must abandon so 'well deserving Souldiers, whose deserts he had upon so many occasi-'ons known, and whose valour he had tried; but that he was much more 'displeased, and that it did very much afflict his soul, that by aban-'doning them he should be a means of their losing so excessive ex-'pences, which by his Orders, and upon his Paroll, they had been at 'in the raising of men; which expences, together with the pay, and re-'wards due for so signal service, who was it that would pay them if he 'should abandon the Army? who was better acquainted with the me-'rits of every particular man then he? who had seen what pains they 'had taken, what blood they had shed, what dangers they had run, ha-'zarding their lives so often, and so generously, for the common safety? 'that they might easily see how little the Emperour valued their de-'serts, the blood which they had spent in his service, the sorrow they 'had suffer'd, and dangers they had undergone, for the safety and main-'tenance of his Imperial Diadem; since he more esteemed the keeping 'of every Housholder of his Patrimonial Dominions from being never 'so little troubled, then the disbanding of that Army which had done, 'and suffer'd, such things for his service: that these were the things 'wherewith their General was grieved, and not the laying down his

'charge;

'charge; that upon this occasion he wish'd he had the wealth of *Cre-*
'*sus*, or the Mines of *Potosi*, that he might make good his word unto
'them, so to satisfie them for what he ow'd them; but that having no-
'thing now left after so many disbursements, which he also had been at
'for the common cause, unless it were the Plate destined for his own
'use, he was very ready to offer it them to satisfie them in part, for a
'much greater sum which he acknowledged he ow'd them: that he de-
'sired them they would accept of it, at least as an argument of his good
'will; that as he was always desirous to remunerate them all, and each
'of them, for their deserts; so did it much afflict him, that through the
'injuries of the times they were to be defrauded of their merits, as
'well as he: to these and the like Speeches spread abroad in the Camp, by
'those he imployed, they added, and minded them of the extraordina-
'ry parts, and of the other excellent parts of their Commander in
'Chief: how upon so many occasions, through his means, they had
'been Conquerors; his good usage of them, his civility and liberality
'used to them all, his relieving them in their greatest necessities, his af-
'fability and humanity; and, on the other side, they mentioned the bit-
'ter injuries and persecutions of the Court, the nets that were spread
'abroad for his ruine by his enemies, how ungratefully his so high de-
'serts had been acknowledged; and finally, they instil'd into the Soul-
'diery all the affection, tenderness and piety, which might make them
'compassionate their Generals misfortune; and all that might move
'them to sedition, so far as to exhort them to joyn with them, and to in-
'terest themselves in his just cause, that they should not suffer themselves
'to be abandoned by their General, nor consent to so unworthy, and
'so unjust, oppression of a Commander so full of Victory, Merit and
'Valour; who for his part would always side with the Emperour, un-
'der whom he had waged war so faithfully; that he would persevere
'in his innate devotion towards his Imperial Majesty, but that, notwith-
'standing, they were obliged not to suffer him to be trampled upon by
'the common enemies, and not permit that he, who was the upholder
'of the Empire, the honour of the German Nation, and who was the
'common safety, should be unworthily suppress'd by the envy of a few
'strangers, and enemies to the German Nation.

Wallestein was wont to confer the Captains places and the Offices of the Army upon such as did wholly depend upon him; insomuch as if any were recommended to him by the Emperour, they were sure to be denied; wherefore these things prevailing much with the Army, the Souldiers were all joyntly ready to go to the Generals quarters, ready to offer up their lives and bloods in preservation of his welfare and dignity, to vindicate the offences which were unjustly done him, and to receive the sign of sedition from him: but it was thought a more moderate way, that the Captains of the Army only should acquaint the General with the common sence of the Souldiery, and with their earnest desires that he would not abandon their hope and interests, by laying down his place of General. The General seeming at first unwilling to grant their desires, said, he would once more readily obey the Emperours commands; but seeing the Souldiers pressures more fervent by his denial, he suffered himself to be overcome; and, as if inforced, condescend-

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ded to the general desire of the Souldiery: 'But upon condition that 'the Captains of the Army should subscribe a certain writing, where- 'by they should swear not to abandon him, but to keep firm to him up- 'on all occurrences; and to follow him in all enterprises which might 'tend to the preservation of his Person, State and Dignity, and to the 'good of the Army; in observancy whereof they were to spare neither 'blood nor life; and in the last place, they protested they would pro- 'secute those as Traytors, and disloyal persons, and punish them se- 'verely in their lives and goods, who should not subscribe to this Oath. All the Captains who were in the Camp readily underwrit this writing; and it was said, that some would not swear, but upon condition that this new Oath should be understood in service to the Emperour; and that this condition was rejected: but in fine, all swore in the Generals words, some willingly, some for fear of their lives; for the Souldiers stood in a tumultuous manner about the Generals Lodging, ready to make those that should not subscribe pass the push of Pike. *Gallasso* and *Piccolomini*, who were present underwrit, as did the rest: but instantly going from the Camp, under pretence of going to their quarters, to gather all their Forces into a body, they went to the Emperour to acquaint him with what had hapned, complaining and protesting that they were compell'd to do what they had done; and offering their ready service to obey his Imperial Majesties commands, in extinguishing this commencing sedition. *Aldringer* was not then in the Camp, though *Wallestein* had used all means to have him there; the Emperour being much moved at this novelty, presently published a Proclamation, wherein he proclaimed *Fritland* a Traytor, making *Gallasso* General in his place, and freeing the Commanders from the Oath they had taken, and pardoning all such as had subscribed, so as they would in a short time joyn with the new General, and swear loyalty to him in *Cesars* name: but he excepted *Fritland* out of this pardon, and some few who were his confidents, and had incited him to this sedition and conspiracy. At the first news of this Edict divulged through the Army, every man began to bethink themselves; some for fear of punishment, some out of hopes of pardon: *Wallestein* self thought himself not safe amidst his souldiers, chiefly when he found that his chief confidents, *Gallasso* and *Piccolomini* had abandoned him, and that *Piccolomini* came with 3000 Horse to take him prisoner; wherefore going out of *Pilsen*, a City of *Bohemia*, where the Conspiracy was plotted, and accompanied by those who were excluded pardon, he suddenly withdrew towards *Egra*, a strong Town of *Bohemia*, confining upon *Saxony*, wherein was a Garrison and a Governour, who were much his friends; and hoping to be assisted by the Duke of *Saxony*, and by Duke *Weymer*, in this misfortune, he dispatched expresses to them, acquainting them with his condition, and making them plainly see that this was the time to quell the Austrian power; he desired them either to come speedily, or send to *Egra*, where they might ripen the yet unperfect Counsels, and joyn in a solid union against the Emperour: he sent the like advertisements to others of the Swedish Army, with whom he had had some such intelligence before; but being come with his associates to *Egra*, instead of finding any that would side with him

him there, he found his murderers, and those who came to nip this Rebellion in the bud; for the Governour of that place, and those who were there, hearing of the Emperours Edict, received him within their Walls joyfully, but conspired his ruine. The Governour invited *Fritlands* associates to a splendid Supper, where whilst they were at the Table, they were slain. *Fritland* who being ill of the Gout rested in another Lodging, hearing an extraordinary noise at his Gate, got out of Bed, strove to open the Window, and to endeavour an escape out of it, the Window not being very high; but the Door being broken open, he was knock'd down with Halberts.

This was the end of *Albertus Wallesteine*, Duke of *Fritland*, and thus ended his vast and immense Plots; a Commander who certainly deserved any other death then this: he was worthy to be compared to *Stilico*, one of the Emperour *Honorio's* chiefest Commanders; not so much for the greatness of his Military actions, as for his misfortune of having stained them at the last with Treachery. This *Stilico* waging war, 1200 years ago for the Roman Empire against the Barbarians, was then, as *Fritland* now, the only support of the Empire, which was in a tottering and sad condition by the inundation of the Barbarians; and being arrived, as this man was, to the greatest height as a private man could come to, he unfortunately lost his life for Treachery and affected Tyranny: and yet, as the spots which by our modern Mathematicians are found in the Sun, are so buried in the refulgency of the Sun-beams, as they are not of force enough to obscure the light and splendor of so great a Planet; so *Stilico's* faults being out-done by the beams of his Valour, and by his famous Victories, did not at all blemish his memory to posterity; wherefore we may hope that this our Commander may fare accordingly. The two *Scipio's* after the Victories won, and famous actions performed on the behalf of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, were likewise accused, and ended their old age miserably, the one in prison, the other in exile: *Hannibal* proved the like fortune amongst the Carthaginians: *Belesarius* and *Narses*, two famous Commanders, ran the like misfortune under the Emperour *Justinian*; and to come to later times, *Gonzallo Fernandes di Cardova*, surnamed *il Gran Capitano*, being either guilty, or suspected by his Prince to be so, died banish'd from the Court, and not much better then Confined to a poor little Village. Howsoever, this our Commander wanted not authentick testimonies of his fidelity, even after his death; the confederates Commanders with whom it was thought that he had plotted so hainous Conspiracies, having always found themselves deluded by these feigned Treaties, did not believe him when he invited them this last time to *Egra*; but not trusting him any longer, and fearing to be abused as they had been formerly, they moved not at all, but proceeded so considerately, as his speedy death freed them from that misfortune, wherein had they been more credulous, they had undoubtedly fallen; and as his most suspected actions, and those whereon his being guilty of high Treason were most grounded, are accompanied by several Arguments of his innocency, and seem not sufficient to convince him; so those good wits have not been wanting, who by their eloquent declamations have endeavour'd to prove his accusations false, and have vindi-

vindicated his innocency: but, howsoever, all that can be said in his justification cannot so far free him, but that his publishing the Instructions brought him by *Questemberg*, and the subscription under-written by his Captains, and accepted of by him, together with all that was done at *Pilsen*, must convince him of a manifest attempt against his Prince, it not being lawful for a Vassal, under whatsoever pretence, to jest in so nice Affairs; and the unworthy Conditions which he extorted from his Prince before he would re-assume the place of General, and those hateful Conventions agreed upon with the enemies to the Empire, before *Suainitz*, were so enormous and scandalous as they are not to be defended: Moreover, who can doubt, but that his endeavours to ruine *Feria*'s Army, and to keep out that of the Infanta, the one whereof was to bring so much endammagement to *Germany* and the other would have been manifest and cleer evidences of Treachery in a much meaner Officer then he? It being a no less hostile Act to endeavour the destruction of any ones Forces and Armies by secret plots and machinations, then by weapon in hand. The same may be affirmed of his persecuting the Spanish Agents, who were so fit instruments for the Emperours service, and for his contrivals against the Jesuites, who are so great maintainers of the Catholick Religion; it not being to be denied, but that the one was a manifest attempt against the Divine, the other against Humane Majesty; for which certainly any of a meaner condition would have been blamed.

Now let us reassume the thred of our Narration. The flame of this horrible Rebellion, which was likely to have undone all *Germany*, and therewith the Germane Empire, being extinguished almost before it was kindled, and sedition being also ceased in the Camp, the Army returned to the Emperours obedience, who being freed from so dangerous a storm made his Son the King of *Hungary* go into the Field with no less applause then success, who (as you have heard) was chosen General of the Emperours Forces after *Wallestines* decease, to whom the Duke of *Bavaria* presently joyn'd with his Army, and with the Army of the League; and being desirous to illustrate his first fruits by some signal service, he began with the recovery of *Ratisbone*, which was formerly taken by the Swedes: This is a Hans Town of *Germany*, scituated upon the *Danube*, almost in the bosome of *Bavaria*, a very opportune scituation for the safety of *Austria*, and for the regaining of *Bavaria*; there was in it a Garrison of 3000 Foot; and *Weymer*, who was formerly made General of the Confederates Forces, desired by the preservation of that place not only to preserve the glory of having taken it, but therein also the honour of his commencing General; and being gotten thereinto before the King came before it, he left a recruit of 1000 Foot, together with some Ammunition, there; and then leaving it, he used all diligence in raising as many men as possibly he could, to relieve it; but it was too strongly opposed; for at the very name of the Kings going to the Field, all the Nobility and Princes of *Germany* strove who should first joyn with him; he had with him his own Army, and those of *Bavaria* and the Catholick League, he still abounded in men, and had brought along with him a hundred pieces of battery; yet the Defendants were not at all dismay'd, but continued their defence undauntedly

for many days; but their Ammunition falling short, they were at last forced to yield upon honourable Conditions, being still playd upon by 100 Cannon, and seeing no succour come; for *Weymer* could not assemble Forces sufficient to relieve it; he could not get Marshal *Horne*, nor the Landtsgrave, to come to that enterprise, though he had sent for them, they being both of them much displeased with his being chosen General, and were not willing to be under his command; only *Horne* coming in at last, brought so few men with him, as, being joyned to *Weymer's*, they amounted not to 16000 fighting men, too small a number, and much inferiour to the Opposers. This Victory gotten so successfully, under the first Auspice of a young Prince, of great Birth, it is impossible to express how much spirit it restored to the Cesarean Forces, and how much it revived their valour, which, *Wallestine* being dead, seemed almost quite extinct, conceiving, that he being gone who was thought to be the only support of *Germany*, no action of moment could be expected from *Cesar's* Forces. On the other side, that Victory did sufficiently abate the pride and haughtiness of the Enemy, who, puff'd up with success, were victorious every where; and *Fritland* being dead, they thought they could meet with no opposition; the Name of this young Prince was therefore not only exalted to the skies, but he was received and cry'd up as a new deliverer of afflicted *Germany*. On the contrary, the Confederates Forces, having lost much reputation by this action, forsook *Bavaria*, and retreated towards *Ausperg*, and *Swevia*, thinking that the Infanta would come by that way, and joyn his Forces with those of the victorious King; they therefore betook themselves to hinder their joyning, from whence they foresaw great ruine and prejudice would ensue to their Affairs. The King, on the contrary, hearing that *Behemia* was assaulted by the Saxon Forces, was already marching to relieve that Kingdom; but understanding by the way that it was sufficiently defended, and that the Assailants had been repuls'd with great loss from before the Walls of *Prague*, he sent some Regiments thither to strengthen it, and returned back; and joyning with *Bavaria*, went to before *Donawert*, a strong in *Bavaria*, upon the banks of the *Danow*, which was yet held by the Confederates, and which confining upon *Franconia*, and the Country of *Wittenberg*, was the key of *Bavaria* on that side, a place of great importance; and having recovered it also happily by assault, he also forced some other Towns to surrender: Wherefore having recovered almost all *Bavaria*, and left the Duke to recover the rest, the King went with his Army, and with that of the League against the Country of *Wittenberg*, a fruitful Country, and which being till now untouch'd by the present Wars of *Germany* was thought to be the Magazine of the Confederates Army; for the Duke of that Country being a Protestant, and having always appeared to be a capital Enemy to the Catholick Religion, and to the Austrian Name, furnish'd the Armies of the League with all things necessary: Wherefore the King having refresh'd his men a little, went against *Nordling*, the chief City of that Dukedom, which joyning with *Ulmes*, not far off, was of great concernment for the Affairs of *Germany*. This the Kings resolution made the Chieftains of the contrary party very solicitous to relieve it, lest it might be lost, as well as *Ratisbone* and *Donawert*;

vert; so as they thought them bound to do their utmost to defend it. Expreſs Orders being therefore ſent to all the Forces, even thoſe of Garriſons which were in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, they commanded them expreſly to quit the places and Towns wherein they were, and to joyn with them immediately in ſo neceſſary and important a ſuccour.

The King, on the other ſide, hearing of ſo great an union, diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger immediately to the *Infanta*, who was then come with his Forces to the Confines of *Bavaria*, deſiring him that for the preſent he would give over proſecuting his journey, which he intended for *Alſatia*, and joyn with him in the common enterprize againſt the common Enemy: *Alſatia* was then abandoned, for almoſt all the Garriſons of the Towns thereof, upon General *Weymers* command, were marched towards *Nordlingen*; ſo as the *Infanta* might more eaſily, and more ſecurely, march thorough *Alſatia*. His chief intent was, to get as ſoon as he could into *Flanders*, where he was much deſired by thoſe Provinces which wanted a Governour; but hearing no better harmony then what concerned the defence of the Catholick Religion, the well-fare of the Empire, and the Grandezza of his own houſe, which depended all upon his joyning with the King; ſetting all things elſe aſide, and not caring for what was ſaid to the contrary, he fix'd his thoughts, and pitch'd his reſolution onely on this union. Taking therefore all neceſſary orders for it, he went with his Army towards *Monaco*, where *Serbellone* and *Gambacorta*, together with the remainders of *Feria's* Army, joyning with him, he drew towards the *Danube*; and paſſing over it about *Donevert*, he came to the Ceſarian Camp before *Nordlingen*, whither *Weymer* was come a little before with his Army; and expecting other recruits was firmly ſet upon the relief thereof.

He was quartered upon a Hill called *Areſpurg*, juſt over againſt that part where the Ceſarean Camp was pitch'd; ſo as the City was ſeated juſt between as in a Diametre between the two Armies, and the Hill was within four hours march of the City. *Weymer*, out of a deſire to end the buſineſs, endeavoured to draw the King out to battle; but the King expecting the *Infanta*, kept within his quarters, and endeavouring to keep on the ſiege, would not hazard the publick and his private fortune upon the uncertainty of battle; Being afterwards much reinforced by the *Infanta's* Arrival he neither quitted the ſiege, nor refuſed battle, if it ſhould be preſented by the enemy, but was prepared for both; his Forces conſiſted of three Armies, his own of the Empire, that of the Catholick League, and that of the *Infanta's*: They in all made up the full number of 23000 Horſe, and 20000 Foot, in that of the Emperour, which was governed by *Gallaſſo*, under the title of the Kings Lieutenant General, were 7000 Horſe, commanded by *Piccolomini*, and 5000 Foot, beſides 2000 Hungarians and Croats, which ſerved more to trouble the Enemies quarters with inrodes, then to fight in open fields. In that of the League, wherein *John de Vert*, the Duke of *Lorreynes* Lieutenant, commanded at firſt, and afterward the Duke himſelf when he was come unto the Camp, were 3000 Horſe, and as many Foot; in that of the *Infanta's*, whereof the Marqueſs *Leganes* was Camp-maſter General, were 3000 Horſe, under the Marqueſs *Spinola*, and 12000 Foot under ſeveral Commanders, all choice and veterane

Souldiers, composed of severall Nations; besides many Gentlemen and Captains of quality, who served as Volunteers.

In this alteration of affairs, the more that battle was desired by the Imperialists, the more did the others coole in their desire thereof: yet *Weymer* continued the same fervency rather to fight, then to suffer such a City to be lost whilst he looked on, and had past his word to those of *Nordlingen*, to relieve them and free them from siege within six dayes. His loss of Reputation egg'd him much on thereunto, which he foresaw he must undergo, if the loss of this Town should be added to those of *Ratisbone* and *Donewert*; whereby all the Hans Towns of *Germany*, from whence he had so great supplies of Monies, Men, Munition, and of Victuals, for maintainance of the Army, would certainly quite forego the Leagues party, and turn over to the Emperour. So as those supplies failing, the General confederacy would soon dissolve; he was also encouraged to try his fortune, by his having been so often victorious over the Imperiall Forces, and by his being certainly advertised that the *Infanta*'s men exceeded not 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot; Wherefore despising the numbers of the one, and the courage of the others, he perswaded himself of assured victory. On the contrary, *Horn*, the head of the Swedish Militia, measuring things more warily, was against hazarding the Forces of the League upon the event of battle; and almost all the subordinate Captains were of his opinion: They considered the uncertainty of battle, that their numbers were fewer then those of the enemy, that those whereof the Imperial Army was then full were valiant men, that there were three Armies in one, conducted by three great Princes; that the King of *Hungary* had won much reputation by the Victories of *Donewert* and *Ratisbone*, that the *Infanta* and Duke of *Lorrain*, especially the *Infanta*, had store of valiant and experienced men; that the presence of these Princes was much to be considered, by reason of the courage that upon such occasions it infuses into the Souldiery; that therefore the hazarding of a Battle might prove dangerous; that the Victory would be more certain by delay then by fighting, for that the Cesarean Army was streightned in Victuals, Straw and Forrage, and could not, consequently, keep in those quarters long; on the contrary, that he was abundantly provided of all these things from the Country of *Wittenberg*, which lay on his back; so as since they might overcome and provide for the freeing of the *Nordlingers* by cunctation, wherefore should they expose the main affair to the cast of a Dice? to this was added the difficulty of the way by which they were to march, it being an uneasie Country for the carrying of their Cannon, and being possess'd and fortified by the enemy: that to boot with all this, they expected Count *Otto* of the *Rhein*, with 2000 Horse and 5000 Foot, and Count *Cratz* with 800 Horse and 3000 Foot, which were very considerable Forces upon this occasion; which were neer hand, and therefore necessary to be tarried for: but *Cratz* appearing during this ambiguity of opinion, and the six days prefix'd for relieving the Nordlingers being expired; *Weymer*, who as General of the Confederates Forces was to govern, being impatient of the least delay, or doubting perhaps that the *Rhingrave* would not, out of emulation for superiority, joyn with him, as he would not do in the relief

lief of *Ratisbone*, not suffering any further dispute, commanded to proceed to the relief: he had with him somewhat more then 9000 Horse and 16000 Foot, whereof 4000 Horse and 5000 Foot were Germans, 4000 Horse and 1500 Foot Swedes, commanded by Marshal *Horne*, 6000 Foot were brought into the Field by the Duke of *Wirtenberg*; and the 800 Horse and 3000 Foot brought by Count *Gratz*, which in all made up the number of 20000 Horse, and 16000 Foot. This resolution being put on, they marched from their quarters, intending to attempt a certain Wood, by which they were to pass before they could come to the Field where they were to fight; and because it was thought it would be hard to get into the Wood, by reason that the way was so narrow, it was resolved that when they should have gotten it, they should proceed to assault the Camp which lay beyond the Wood: and if they could not gain the Wood, then then they should fortify and take up their Quarter in a convenient place, near a little River, where they would wait for the coming of Count *del Rene*, who was thought to be within 2 days march. This Army appeared with this resolution before the Wood, three hours before Sun-set; against which 3000 Horse were immediately sent under *Octavio Piccolomini*, to discover it, and to entertain the enemy by skirmish: at whose appearing as many of the contrary Camp advanced, and fought till night drew on; the Imperialists were wholly unprovided of Muskets and Field Artillery, whereof the enemy was well provided: the Imperialists therefore were worsted in this encounter, and forced to retreat with the loss of many valiant Souldiers, and of some Captains; amongst which the Prior *Aldobrandino*, Nephew to Pope *Clement* the 8th, was one, who having served with a Regiment many years in those wars, had given good trial of his Military valour. The Imperialists loss in this first encounter was notwithstanding fortunate for them, for it was the rise of a signal Victory gotten by them the next day; for the Victors having after this made themselves masters of the Wood, did not take up their quarters where they had designed, nor waited not the coming of the Count *del Rene*; but having won the Wood, doubted not to pursue their Victory the next morning: on the left side of the Wood there stood a little Hill which commanded the Imperial quarters, and all the Plain wherein the Catholick Army were to receive the encounter, and wherein the main Battle was to be fought. The first of either of the Armies which should possess themselves of this Hill commanded absolutely the enemies quarters, and the place which was destined for the future Battle: *Weymer* had no sooner cast his eye upon it, but considering the advantagiousness of the situation, he designed to be master of it; and there being another little Wood at the Foot of that Hill, he thought it necessary to possess himself of that Wood, before he should master the Hill: not content therefore with having got the first Wood, he would take the other that very night, to make way for taking the Hill, which he reserved for the next morning: the *Infanta* was quartered upon some other little Hill next this which were to be taken, but somewhat more inward, and not so high; and he and his Captains having considered the situation of the higher Hill, they had sent some men thither; and in order thereunto, they had sent *Francisco de Esteves*, Serjeant-Major of a Brigade, with 200 Spanish Musketiers,

Musketiers, and not long after 200 Burgondians, with some Troops of Horse, to guard the little Wood which was at the foot of the same Hill; and thinking they had sufficiently provided for the defence of both these places, they did no more therein. But *Weymer*, who was firmly resolved to make himself master of the Hill, sent much greater Forces to assault that little Wood; against which though *d'Escovar* fought valiantly, yet the assailants remained masters of that second Wood that very night, as they had been of the other before, took *d'Escovar* prisoner, and slew many of his men, not without much loss of their own blood: this being the second bait which fortune laid to entice the enemy on to battle, made the Cesareans more wary and more diligent in defending the upper Hill; for they saw the enemy did their utmost to take it, placing their chief hopes therein of that Victory which they thought themselves sure of: wherefore the *Infanta* ceased not to send redoubled forces all night to defend it, and to secure it from assault, which he was sure would be given the next morning: he therefore sent several Regiments both of Foot and Horse thither, some whereof were placed on the Front, some on the sides, where the assailants were expected; and after these other Regiments were orderly distributed, who were to re-inforce the former upon occasion: they likewise sent Artillery thither, and made Trenches for the better defence thereof; which were perfected before the assault was given, though the situation was stony and wanted earth, nor prepared the less for Battle on the Plain then on the Hill, expecting that the enemy would undoubtedly sally out there from the Wood which which they had taken. The Army was thus ordered in that Plain: on the right wing was the Duke of *Lorrein*, General of the Catholick Leagues Army, and his Lieutenant *John de Vert*, with all the Cavalry of that League: on the left was the Imperial Horse, in the Battle which was placed in the midst was Marquess *Spinola*, General of the Spanish Horse, and with him was his Lieutenant *Paulo Dentici*, behind these were the Emperours light Horse, a good part whereof were Croats. The *Infanta*'s quarters were over all these upon a little Hill, wherein was Artillery placed, and a good strength of men, to succour and defend the Troops that were upon the Plain: at last, the morn appeared on the sixth of *September*, wherein the enemy were seen to come in very good order towards the well munited, and well garrison'd Hill, against which the whole force and conflict of the Battle plaid, little being done upon the Plain: for *Weymer*, who was to assault the Cesarean Camp, kept within the Wood, being more intent to send forth new recruits to the Hill, then to advance and confront the Enemies Army, thinking, and not without reason, that that station being overcome, the Army on the Plain would undoubtedly be vanquished. The whole concern touching the Catholick Religion, and the safety of the Empire, was disputed upon that Hill: the getting up unto it was very steep: *Herne* with 4000 Horse and 5000 Foot, the most whereof were Swedes, and the choicest men of the Army, was one that led on the assault; and Count *Gratz* was the other with almost an equal number of Combatants: it was defended by Don *Martine d'Idiaques*, with his Brigade of Spaniards, Don *Gasparo Toralto*, with his Neapolitans,

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Gerardo Gambacorta with the Neapolitan Horſe, by *Salma*, *Formes* and *Leiſler* with the Dutch Horſe; by the Counts of *Torre* and *Alberg*, with the Burgondian Horſe; and all theſe were to receive the firſt aſſaults: behind theſe were many Brigades of reſerve, amongſt the reſt two Brigades of the Lombardy, the one led on by *Carlo Guaſco*, the other by Count *Pantgarvola*. *Picolomini* and *Serbellone* were appointed to order this defence; to whoſe valour and experience the whole defence of the Hill was intruſted: the Generals, *Gallaſſo* and *Leganes*, had no certain place appointed them, but went every where, providing for, and diſpoſing of all things requiſite for that days work. The aſſailants mounted the Hill in very good order, and with a ſetled and conſtant pace; the firſt that were aſſaulted were the Neapolitan Horſe and Foot, and the Dutch; and ſo fierce was this firſt aſſault, as though the Neapolitans reſiſted ſtoutly, the Dutch faced about and began to run; but they were preſently turn'd back by the Officers and Souldiers of the other Brigades who were behind them, who with their Pikes and Swords withſtood them, and did not only force them to forbear flying, but to re-aſſume their abandoned ſtations; wherein *Gambacorta* did much ſervice with his Horſe, who by *Serbellones* order fell upon the Flank of the Enemies Horſe, who had already poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſtation abandoned by the Dutch, and forc'd them to forego it, and to quit it to Dutch, who were driven back by his men: but *Toralto's* Foot ſpeedily diſcharging their Muskets, diſordered the Enemies Horſe, who came on ſo furiouſly, as many who eſcaped the Musket-ſhot were thrown to the ground by the Pike-men, and the Foot who followed them, aſſaulted with no leſs fury, behaving themſelves gallantly; but were but ill handled by ſome Files of Musketiers, who aſſaulted them on the Flank; and yet anſwering them ſtoutly, a great conflict began, which grew at laſt to a fierce Battle, and continued a long time equal; wherein the Dutch Horſe, after ſome reſiſtance, being again repuls'd they forſook their ſtation, one of their Leaders was mortally wounded, and the other, which was *Formes*, ſlain right out; and they fled, ſome of them falling foul upon *Toralto's* Brigade, other upon that of *Idiaques*; by whom being again made to ſtand by their Pikes and Swords, they did not at all diſorder their ranks, and the aſſailants poſſeſſing themſelves of the Dutch mens ſtation, were maſters of their Cannon, and began to turn them upon the enemy, and had certainly occaſioned great diſorder and prejudice, had not *Serbellone* prevented it, who made *Idiaques* advance with his Brigade, which was compoſed not only of brave and gallant Souldiers, whoſe valour had been upon ſeveral occaſions tried formerly, and who had been exercied in Military Offices and Commands; but was alſo adorned with many of the Nobility, who were all placed in the firſt Files: theſe paſſing through a thouſand deaths, ſacrificing their lives for their Religion, for their Prince, and for their own glory, did not only recover the loſt ſtation, but made it good againſt many aſſaults which were given one after another; and afforded the fugitive Dutch occaſion of rallying once again, and of re-entring the Battle. *Toralto's* Neapolitans were already wearied, and leſſen'd by long fighting, who no leſs valiantly then the Foot had fought valiantly for a while, and maintain'd their Ranks, and had

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slain many of the enemies, whose Forces plying upon this part, the Imperialists were likely not to have been able to defend it much longer, which *Galesso* and *Leganes* being aware of, they sent thither a re-inforcement of a thousand Horse, and a great many choice Musketiers, out of the Brigades which were for a reserve; and the hostile violence still encreasing, they sent thither afterwards *Guasco's* and *Panigarvolo's* Lombard Brigades, which entring with great courage sustain'd the Battle, which by the Neapolitans weakness began to give ground: these entred so couragiously, as the Fight seemed to be renewed; and the defence revived which was almost given over; and though *Panigarvolo* after having long maintain'd fight, was slain by a Musket-shot in the throat, and that *Guasco* wounded with two Musket-shot in the thigh, and with one in the right hand, endeavour'd still to fight; yet not being able longer to keep on foot, nor to manage his sword, he was forc'd to retreat: but notwithstanding that one of their Commanders were slain, and the other withdrawn, the subordinate Officers and Souldiers of these two Brigades failed not in doing their duties; but fighting still couragiously and in good order, they made good their station, and maintained themselves still stoutly against the Enemy, as if no harm had befallen their Captains. It would require much time to relate punctually all the actions, all the assaults, and resistances which were made; for the defence and for the taking of that Hill; how now these pursued, how those gave now back, how the one party did sometimes abandon their station, then repulsing the oppugners, regained them: it would be long to relate what dangers were run, to name what Captains and Officers signalized themselves that day by fighting, some by dying, some by overcoming. The final end was, that at the end of seven hours fierce bickering, the like to which was hardly ever heard or read of, the defendants after several likelihoods of being conquered, remained conquerers: the occasion of this Victory was the happy success that the Celarean Army had on the Plains for *Weymer* finding it impossible to overcome the defence which was made upon the Hill, after having lost the best men of his Camp by sending continually strong re-inforcement thither, went desperately out of the Wood, and in his weak condition went to fall upon the Celarean Camp, which being well marshal'd in Squadrons expected him, and having fought unfortunately (for he was bravely withstood, and repuls'd by the Duke of *Lorrain*, by *Feria de Vera*, and by Marquess *Spinola*) he was forced to give back, and being pursued by the Duke of *Lorrain* with the Cavalry of the League, and by Marquess *Spinola*, with those the *Infanta*, and after these by the Croates, who afterwards advancing, possess'd themselves of the passes by which the conquered were to seek their safety, those who fought still obstinately upon the hill, seeing that *Weymer* did directly fly with their chiefest strength, and that the way whereby they were to escape was prepossess'd by the enemy, they began to doubt that if they should persist any longer in the enterprise, they should be assaulted on the backs, and that not being able to escape, they should be undoubtedly cut in pieces, and that though they should have the better upon the Hill, it would be to no purpose, since the body of their Army was discomfited, abandoned the fight, and gave over the enterprise, and left

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the Victory to the Cesareans; which certainly would have proved their own, if when they had taken the second Wood, they had immediately fallen upon the Hill, whilst it was ungarded; for being masters thereof, they would have unlodged the enemy who were incamped below; who being forced to retreat could not have escaped utter ruine; and there being no other Forces then in the Field to sustain the Empire and the Austrian Grandezza, they would have been the Arbitrators of *Germany*: On so sleight accidents do the victories or overthrows of Armies, and the preservation or ruine of Empires and Monarchies, often depend.

Almost all the Imperial Cavalrie which were on the plain, followed those that fled, and made great slaughter of them; more particularly, in a certain boggy place, which those that fled light upon, where both Horse and Foot being plung'd up to the knees, they could not acquit themselves; but being unable either to fly away, or to defend themselves, were miserably slain. The Duke of *Lorrein* advanced, and took *Horn* and *Gratz* prisoners, and many others of the chief of the Army: *Weymer*, by means of a fleete Horse, fled towards *Ulme*, accompanied with not above eight men; which City hearing how he had been routed, shut the gates upon him; so as being deprived of that Refuge, he fled still through the Country of *Vertemberg*, and had the good fortune to recover *Francfort*; the number of the slain in the battle is variously calculated. Some will have it, that 8000 were slain, and as many taken prisoners as they fled; so as what with those that were slain, and those that were taken prisoners, and dispers'd, there hardly remained 2000 under Colours. This Victory was the more remarkable by the little loss of the Conquerours blood; all that were slain or wounded on their side not being full 2000, the Artillery to the number of 84 peeces of Cannon, all the Munition, all the baggage, and 300 Horse and Foot Colours fell into the Enemies hands; not above the third part of the Conquerours Army fought in this battle: For the Imperial Army, and that of the League, stood in squadrons with the *Infanta*'s Cavalry on the plain, being little more then spectators of what was done upon the Hill: And the encounter which hapned after on the plain, from whence the victory first began was very sleight, being rather a victory, then a combat, for the Cesareans, and for the conquered rather a flight then a fight. The *Infanta*'s Army fought most, and but a part thereof neither, and by the confession of the Dutch, generally, and of *Horn* himself, the victory was to be wholly acknowledged from the *Infanta*'s Army, and particularly from the Spaniards, Neopolitans, and Lombards, upon whom the whole battle was charged. And such was their confidence and ambition, as they would not communicate the glory of the victory with any other Nation, by calling them in to defend the Hill; in so much as the Duke of *Lorrein* being advanc'd with some of his Regiments from the plain, where he could not tarry any longer idle looking on, as he endeavoured to climb the Hill and assist the defendants, he was with-held by his own men; and kept from going any further on, before he could come to where the battle was fought. By this victory the Swedish party which was before so formidable, remained little less then quite overthrown; *Oxenstern*

who was their chief director, one who had been always undaunted, when he heard the news, was so astonished as that he knew not whither to turn, or what to do, to repair so great a blow. He was at *Francfort*, whither *Weymer* was retreated after the battle; and having quickly gotten 3000 Foot, which came from the *Rhingrave* of *Hessen*, and from the Duke of *Luneberg*, he with those, and with some others, partly fugitives, partly those that he had sent for from other Garrisons, went together with *Weymer* towards *Mentz*, hoping to find some refuge there, whereby to stop the precipice of so great a ruine: But those of the Town, affrighted at such a turn of Affairs, were more desirous to obtain pardon for the faults they had already committed, then to incense the Emperour by committing yet more, so as they would not receive them. They therefore retired towards the neighbouring Mountains of *Rheine*, and threw a bridge over the River, that they might receive great succours which they expected from *France*. On the other side, the victorious Army, to which those of *Norlingen* did immediately surrender, passing into the Countries of *Wittenberg*, *Franconia*, & *Suevia*, thinking that they would all come in and submit themselves; and that they might get great compositions from thence, which all the people and parts thereabouts did readily offer, to shun the sacking and desolation of their Country. The like did all the Cities upon the *Rheine* and *Danube*; and those also upon the *Iser*, *Oscino*, and *Necar*, (Rivers of that part of *Germany*) which had sided with the Swedes. Thus the Conquerours minding more the reaping of advantage by their victory, then to subdue the remainders of the conquer'd party, afforded them conveniency of recruiting, and of recovering their former condition and honour; which though it was attributed to weakness in the Imperialists Counsels, yet other more important reasons kept them from doing it, lest they might put those remainders into utter despair. They were yet posses'd of many principal Towns near the *Rheine*. And the King of *France* being very much prest by them for succour, made use of that present necessity which he saw they were in; desiring that if they would have the demanded succour, they would deliver up into his hands the important Town of *Filisburg* upon the *Rheine*; so as the Cesareans thinking they might more easily recover those Towns from them then from the French, were reserved in totally extirpating them, to keep them from despair: Thus in their low ebb of the reliques of the victories which they had formerly gotten made them secure and considerable even to their victorious Enemies, as they had formerly when they got them, made them formidable to *Germany*: Not long after the battle, it was consulted in the Camp, whether the *Infante* returning backwards should go for *Flanders* thorough *Alsatia*, as he had formerly inteaded to do; or whether being already so far advanced in *Germany*, he should pursue his journey through the *Palatinate*. For his going thorough *Alsatia*, the conveniency which he might have to relieve *Brisack*, which was again besieged by the Enemy, was pleaded; and the easiness and safety of his marching thorough that Country, which was now free from Garrisons of the Enemy, they being gon, after the battle of *Norlingen*, to joyn with their General. The shortness of the march pleaded for the other way and the safety thereof; it being void of the conquer'd Enemy as well

as *Alsatia*, as also the much pressing of the Flemmings, that he would hasten his journey as much as he possibly could: Moreover, the Winter-season, which upon any the least delay before *Brisack* would come on, and would not only have block'd up that way but all other ways, made more against his turning back, and for his continuing the way he was in.

After several debates it was carried, that he should go through the *Palatinate*; wherefore the Infanta, in company with the King of *Hungary*, entring the Dukedom of *Wittenberg*, and having reduced it to obedience (for the Duke thereof was fled with some few into the Country of *Saltsburg*) came into the lower *Palatinate*, where the Infanta taking leave of the King, and having obtain'd 2000 Horse from him for a conduct, pass'd victoriously every where, and as triumphing over the Enemies of the Catholick Faith and of the Empire, not meeting with any opposition; nay, all places through which he pass'd yielded to him, and he was furnish'd every where abundantly with victuals, and all sorts of refreshments. From the *Palatinate* he entred into the County of *Nassaw*, and being come from thence to *Cullen*, where he was honourably received by that Elector, he pass'd into *Flanders* with as much quiet and safety as he passed through *Castile* and *Arragon* when he parted from *Madrid*. He came into *Brussels* about the beginning of *November*, in the year 1634. where he was received not only with great pomp but with incredible applause; his coming was very seasonable, for the ground-work was already laid for a strong League in those parts against the Spaniards, between the King of *France* and the United Provinces, which was concluded on the beginning of *March* followings and thereupon powerful Armies were prepared by them both to assault joyntly the Provinces which were obedient to the Crown of *Spain*. The King of *France* wanted only a pretence whereby to honest the breach. But this new and great rupture not being to be cloaked, the mask which had formerly been made use of between the two Crowns must be taken off, and open War must be made, which did necessarily require some pretence for its justification; therefore the King of *France* made use of an occasion which hapned at this time. The Archbishop of *Trier*, one of the Electors, held (as hath been formerly said) much closer Intelligence with the King of *France* then with the Emperour and Austrians, with whom for many occasions he had been several times distasted; and to boot that this City was a member of the German Empire, it had been anciently under the protection of the Dukes of *Luxemburg*, and by succession under the protection of the King of *Spain*, who succeeded the ancient Dukes in that Dukedom; and the King of *Spain*, under colour of that pretension, was wont to keep some Souldiers in Garrison there, and to use some actions of Jurisdiction: The Elector seeming to apprehend the Swedish Forces had (as hath been formerly said) put himself under the King of *France* his protection, and received a French Garrison into the City, expelling the Spanish: Nor herewithal content, he, to the great prejudice of the German Affairs, delivered up to the same King of *France* the Town of *Hermensteyne*; it was also said that he was to accept of the Cardinal *Richelieu* as Co adjutor in the Archbishoprick, to which the Electorship is annex'd, with intention of

leaving that Dignity to him afterwards, and so introduce a Vote absolutely depending upon the King of *France* into the Electoral colledge; A thing which though it was sufficiently contrary to reason, and to the preeminence of the German Empire, and repugnant to the Votes of the German Nations, yet would it not have been ill looked upon by the Protestant Princes in those times, and to such as were ill affected to the Austrian Name. And the Emperour fearing these plots which he saw were a hatching by this Embassy, he ordered the *Infanta* that he should secure his person. In order whereunto, the *Infanta* put 2000 Souldiers in some barks cover'd with cloth, like to Merchants vessels which pass upon those Rivers, and sent them down the *Mosell*, towards *Tryers*, which is seated upon the bank thereof, whither being come by night, and telling the Sentinels that they were boats come from *Luxemburg*, they fastned two Petards to two Gates, by one of which they entred, and by the other 200 Horse, which were sent by land to that purpose by the Infanta, who coming to the Gate at the same time that it was beaten down by the Petard, the Horse and Foot entred the Town at unawares, cut the French Garrison in pieces, who were overcome with fear, and the darkness of the night, and easily made themselves Masters of the City, and of the Elector, who being speedily carried to *Luxemburg*, and from thence to *Namures*, and so to *Brussels*, was honourably treated there, as an Archbishop, and Elector, but was diligently guarded, as a Prisoner.

The King of *France* held himself highly offended by this action, as if it had been done in a resentment of the new Protection wherein that Prince had put himself; he therefore made the Election liberty be demanded of the *Infanta*, by his Resident who was then in that Court, to which the *Infanta* answered, That what was done at *Tryers* was done by the Emperours express command, and that therefore he was to address himself to *Cæsar*. The King not being satisfied with this answer, sent an Herauld to the *Infanta*, who did intimate War against him, and against the King of *Spain*, expresly declaring, and protesting, That that intimation should serve as effectually for the King of *Spain* as if it had been given to his own Person in *Madrid*.

Many Discourses pass'd about under the Names of the Kings themselves, and of others, as they stood severally interessed or devoted to either of the Courts, wherein each side sharpely defended their cause. The most solid, and most ascertained Reasons of this breach, publish'd in print by the King of *France*, in his own Name, were, That the Elector of *Tryers*, being abandoned by the Emperour, when the Empire, beaten by the Swedish Forces, was not well able to sustain it self, not knowing whom to fly unto for refuge, had put himself into his protection, to free himself from being suppress'd by them; wherefore he deserved not to be made prisoner for doing so, without citation, or being condemned; he therefore accused it, as not only unjust, but unworthy, being committed against a Sacred Person, an Archbishop, and one of the seven Electors of the Empire; and that since it redounded not only to the great offence of his Crown, in respect of the protection whereunto the Elector had put himself, but to the like of the Apostolick See, and of the Electoral Colledg, the Pope and Electors were

to resent it as well as he. To this was answered, That that Elector had never put himself into the protection of the King of *France*, but had only desired some assistance from him, as from a Prince that was his friend, against the Swedes; so as even by the Electors own confession the title of protection was faulty, which was the chief foundation of the complaint, and of the injury pretended to be done to the King; and if the Elector had desired or received help under the name of protection, he ought not to have withdrawn him from the natural Sovereignty of the Emperour, nor from the protection of the Dukes of *Lunenberg*, he being a Prince of the Empire, and under the protection of the ancient Dukes of *Lunenberg*; it being a clear thing, That a natural Subject cannot withdraw himself from the Jurisdiction of his Sovereign Prince, nor prejudicate it by any action of his; and that howsoever his protection against the King of *Sweden* did not extend against the Emperour, or King of *Spain*, the one being his Sovereign, the other his ancient Protector, no otherwise then fealty by a natural Subject of a Prince sworn to another Prince from whom he holds any Town or Castle in Fee, shall never be of force to engage him against his natural Prince, nor to withdraw him from his obedience; That therefore the King of *France* ought not by title of new protection, to intermeddle with what the Electors Sovereign Prince was pleased to order. The ground-work of the breach seeming to be shaken by these Reasons, the King of *France* pleaded other former injuries, which he had at several times, and upon several occasions, received from the Crown of *Spain*; and beginning from the reciprocal Marriages made between the two Kings, it was said that the Spaniards had never ceased to make plots against the quiet and safety of *France*; and in the first place, That the King of *Spain* had waged war with the Duke of *Savoy*, under the honourable pretence of protecting the House of *Austria*, against which the same King did afterwards conspire himself, for no other reason but because the Duke would not joyn with him in making war with the King of *France*. To this was added the revolution of the *Valtoline*, to the prejudice of the Grisons, ancient Clients and Confederates of the Crown of *France*, which were endeavoured for no other end, and fomented by the King of *Spain*, but only that he might carry the war more commodiously through the *Valtoline*, from *Germany* to *Italy*, and from *Italy* to *Germany*, and so make himself Master of the parts confining upon the *Valtoline*. That the Court of *Spain*, not being able to endure the good correspondency which was held between *France* and *England*, had by means of Marquess *Mirabello*, his Embassadour at *Paris*, sowed dissentions and discords between them, and fomented the Rebellion of the Heretick's of *France*, to the end that the King being busied in suppressing them might not have leisure to defend *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, which were then powerfully assaulted by the Spaniards; and that when the King of *France* had by the success of his Forces, and by the Peace of *Suse*, freed *Cassale* the first time, the King of *Spain* had not only let slip that occasion of preserving Peace in *Italy*, and of securing the liberty of the Clients of *France*, but had called in the Dutch against the City of *Mantua*, whilest his Commanders endeavoured once more to take *Cassale* by force; whereby the King of *France* was

forced to send his Arms back again into *Italy*, to secure his Confederates, and to keep the Spaniards within some bounds: wherein faring as successfully as he had done the first time, which the Spanish Agents were not able to indure, they had betaken themselves to sow discord in his Royal Family, making the Duke of *Lorrein* their Instrument therein; and that thus they had endeavoured to Arm *France* against *France*: that the same King of *Spain* had sent a powerful Fleet to Sea to assault *Provence*; and that he was neer assaulting it several times, had he not been sometimes detained by the season of the year, sometimes by storms; that, moreover, he had furnished the Duke of *Orleans* with Forces, to pass armed through *France*, to the end, that being back'd by the Army of *Catalogne*, and by the Fleet at Sea, he might trouble *France*: then falling upon the Affairs of *Germany* they complained mightily, that the Austrians ends tended only to make the Elective Imperial Diadem hereditary; and that therefore under the specious pretence of the Catholick Religion, they aimed only at the abasing and annihilating of the Catholick and the Protestant Forces, to the end, that having extinguished the latter, they might the more easily subdue the others; and so arrive at that Monarchy, whereunto though they had no reason to pretend, yet did they thirst after nothing more; and that the King of *France* not being able neither in justice, nor for the safety of his Kingdom, nor in respect of his ancient and hereditary adherence to the German Princes, to tolerate that the house of *Austria* should make way to so great advantages, by the ruine of his Colleagues, lest when he should have compassed his desire, he might pretend superiority over all Christian Princes; had desired to see the affairs of *Germany* reduced into such a condition by civil means, as that the German Princes might live in safety, and not fear being ruinated; and that so he might not be necessitated to defend them by Arms: and that therefore upon several occasions, & discourses of peace, he had always propounded a general peace, wherein all might be comprehended, and all things might be amicably composed; for, said they, no peace is otherwise truly made, but, like fire buried under ashes, breaks forth into a greater flame; that it made not for the King of *France*, nor for his honour, to compose differences with the Emperour, without including his Confederates, who might be overcome afterwards by the Austrian Forces; and that the same consideration was to be had touching the affairs of the *Valteline*: the King having made it be treated of in the peace of *Cherasco*, and of *Madrid*; that some course might be taken to remedy what was done to the contrary at the peace of *Monsone*: but that these endeavours not being listned unto, though they were propounded with much zeal to the publick peace: the King was forced to take up Arms, so to get such satisfaction, which he could not do by friendly means.

But the Court of *Spain* complain'd no less, nor did they cease to oppugne the accusations and complaints made by the French: these began from before, from the peace of *Vervin*, which was made the year 1601, wherein all reciprocal offences being laid aside, it was agreed, that neither of the Kings should protect any one to the prejudice of the other; but should renounce all Leagues and Intelligences contracted

to

to the prejudice of either of them; and that notwithstanding this, the year was hardly ended, when the French appeared in *Holland*, under the King of *France* his own Colours, against the King of *Spains* Forces; nor did King *Henry* the fourth, with whom that peace was made, ever re-cal so open Hostility, save only in appearance, and by vain Edicts, which were never put in execution: insomuch as, the French continuing in that Militia, the King cared not for the complaints made by the Spanish Agents, but was wont to jest and mock at them; whereby they infer'd that that King was the first breaker of peace, and the original occasion of any hostility which had been afterward either tacitely, or openly, committed against him (if any such had been committed); and that therefore the French had no just cause to complain: they added, that King *Henry* did contrive a League with great Potentates afterwards, against *Philip* the Third, which was unperfected by the said Kings sudden death; and that though *Philip* the Third might easily have resented these so open Hostilities, and gainsayings of peace, after *Henry's* death, making use of the pupillar age of the then present King, and of the ill humours and factions of *France*; yet publick peace prevailing over all resentment, he pass'd by so great an offence, and became the defender of the young King, and of the Queen Dowager, and consented to the reciprocal Marriage, to the end, that peace and union might thereby be the better established between the two Crowns; passing from hence to the League of *Avignion*, the year 1623, whereof the present King of *France* was pretended to be the Author; they said that from thence proceeded the following wars of *Germany* and of *Italy*, against the Emperour and King of *Spain*; which being happily ended for the Austrians, the peace of *Monsone* insued, which the King of *Spain* did not only not countervene, but when it was concluded, had assisted the King of *France* with a powerful Fleet, in the so important business of *Rochel*, and had assisted him therein, at the same time when the King of *France* did openly assist the Rebels in *Holland* against him; then coming to the last wars of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, they complained that the King of *France* had taken upon him the protection of the Duke of *Nevers*, a Vassal of the Empire, against his Sovereign the Emperour, and against the Spanish Forces imploy'd in defending *Cesars* Authority: that the King of *France* had no occasion to interest himself in that business, which did not at all concern him, but was proper to the Emperour; and much less reason had he to meddle in dividing *Montferrat* between the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Nevers*, though he had done it with much prejudice to the Emperours Authority in the peace of *Susa*: Wherefore the Emperour nor King of *Spain* had no reason to ratifie that peace; that then they came to the peace of *Ratisbone*, wherein the Affairs both of *Germany* and of *Italy* being setled, it was soon broken; for what concern'd the Affairs of *Germany*, by the King of *France*, by the League which he soon made with the King of *Sweden*; and as for the Affairs of *Italy*, it was not sincerely observed, since he extorted *Pinarvolo* from the Duke of *Savoy*, contrary to the Articles of that peace; and here heaping up all the accusations against the King of *France*, touching his protecting the German Princes, the Elector of *Treirs*, and the Duke of *Nevers*; they said that these protections

tections did foment the Subjects of the Empire, against the Emperour; just as if the Emperour or King of *Spain*, should take upon them to protect the French who had taken up Arms against the King of *France*, and should foment and assist them: so as the King of *France* numbers amongst the offences which he pretends to have received, that the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans*, the one Sister, the other Brother in Law to the King of *Spain*, both of them being gone from *France*, were received, with safety to their persons, in *Flanders*, and that 2000 Horse were given to the Duke of *Orleans* for a conduct; so the Emperour and King of *Spain* might with much more reason complain of the King of *France* for giving the like protections and fomentations to the Hollanders, the German Princes, and the Duke of *Nevers*, who were in Arms against the Emperour: that therefore it was no less an injury to the Emperour, that the King of *France* should desire that the German Princes, who had taken up Arms against him, should be admitted into the peace which was in treaty between the Emperour their Sovereign and the King of *France*; it being no better then to abet a Subject against his Prince, to prescribe Laws between a Sovereign and his Vassal, and to make the world know that the King of *France* was Arbitrator of Peace and War in *Germany*, and Moderator of the Empire: which were undoubtedly too high pretentions, and which were never put for, nor practised by any; that the case of the King of *France* his Mother and Brothers, who were fled into the King of *Spains* Dominions, and honourably received there, was otherwise; that these were personal Offices between a Father in Law and Son in Law, and between Brother in Law in the like case; nor did they extend further then to the person to whom they were done; and if they would talk of the 2000 Horse given to the Duke of *Orleans*, these and other assistances, as the Fleet at Sea destined against *Provence*, ought to be opposed to the King of *France* his fomenting, so many both open and secret Hostilities against the Emperour and King of *Spain*; since it was not reasonable, that it should be lawful for the King of *France* to undermine the Austrian Grandezza, and that the Austrians should act nothing against him: that the dissentions between the Crowns of *France* and *England*, and the wars made by the King of *France* against the Duke of *Savoy*, because he would not abet the Spanish designs, were not to be considered, being things notoriously false, and whereof there was no proof; that the world knew the reasons of the differences between *France* and *England*; and whence the distastes arose in the Royal Family of *France*, and what were the occasions of the war made against the Duke of *Savoy*; and how much the then Queen Regent of *France*, and the Potentates of *Italy*, did press the King to force the Duke to lay down the Arms which he had taken up to suppress the Duke of *Mantua*.

These were the chief charges and defences made by each party; and it being hard to say what was the just cause of this breach, those who understood the Affairs of the world best, were of *Polybius* his opinion, an ancient Authour, who discoursing upon the true occasions from whence the bitter Wars between the Romans and Carthaginians arose, makes no account of this or that hostile act which happened between these Common-wealths, or of any breach of peace between them,

but

but layes the true reaſon of the Wars which ſucceeded between them, upon the meer Ambition that the one Common-wealth had to exceed the other. The like (ſay they) was the occaſion of the Wars between theſe two Crowns and Nations, which contending for ſuperiority, great Emulation aroſe between them, from whence thoſe reciprocal hatreds which are grounded between them, cannot be cancell'd by any Peace. The roots of the like Ambition being hatch'd (ſay they then) in the Souls of both theſe Nations; it was neceſſary that the fruits of hatred, continual jealouſies, and reciprocal ſuſpitions, by which their minds are continually agitated, ſhould bud forth. From hence grow cruel hatreds, which branch out into ſecret treaties, into plots, and then into open Wars. Building therefore upon theſe foundations, they ſay,' tis true that the King of *France* had promis'd to forget all faults paſt, in the Peace of *Vervin*, and that he had promis'd to forego all Intelligence with the Enemies of the Crown of *Spain*; But that finding afterwards, that his Kingdom was bounded on the South by *Spain*, on the North by *Flanders*, which is under the Crown of *Spain*, on the Eaſt by *Germany*, in part obedient, in part ſubject to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and a little lower by *Italy*; which is likewiſe partly ſubject, partly adherent to the ſame Crown: And thinking that being, as it were, impriſoned by the Auſtrian Forces he did enjoy the freedom which became ſo great a King, but that every the leaſt addition of this ſo great power indangered the ſuppreſſion and ſuffocation of his Kingdom; he held his honour and authority to be but ſmall, and that the eyes of all the world were fix'd only on the Auſtrian Sun. Theſe were ſharp goads to unſettle a well fix'd Reſolution; he conſidered alſo what commotions and troubles the meere Dukes of *Burgondy*, who commanded all *Belgia*, had cauſed in *France*; that thoſe Territories would now be incorporated into the Crown of *Spain*, and back'd by the Forces of *Germany*. That therefore it became him to think not only upon his honour, but upon his Kingdomes ſafety; which being weakened by the late Wars, and vex'd with inteſtine diſſentions, could not well ſecure it ſelf from ſo great a neighbouring power; that it was uſual for Princes to keep others low, for their own better preſervation, and to endeavour the pulling down of thoſe that were more potent; that principalities were maintained by theſe Arts. He therefore apply'd himſelf to get out of their ſtreights, and to favour the Hollanders, leſt if they ſhould be beaten, the King of *Spain* ſhould grow too ſtrong upon thoſe Confines, or at leaſt that that wound being kept open, he might be leſſe able to advance further; that therefore this Reſolution was more neceſſary then voluntary, ariſing from the intereſt of ſelf-preſervation, which is by natural reaſon more warranted to bruit beaſts; (and ſurely then to men and great Potentates) then it is prohibited by the gain-ſayings of Peace: That ſuch Peace wherein one of the parties is ſubject to the other, does not deſerve the name of Peace, but is rather to be termed Slavery, and not likely to laſt long; as was clearly ſhewn by the Embaſſadours of *Privernum*; who being asked, in the Senate of *Rome*, how long that Peace was like to laſt which they deſired? anſwered, that if it were a good one for them, it ſhould be perpetuall; if a bad one, very ſhort. An anſwer which made thoſe Senators know, that no people nor perſon can keep

long under the ſharpneſs of an unjuſt condition; and this made them mitigate the conditions of Peace, which were granted to thoſe of *Privernum*. That notwithſtanding the King of *France* had pieced up that rent by the Truce, which was by his means made between the Crown of *Spain* and the Hollanders; not without much ſatisfaction to *Spain*, which was then deſirous to ſee an end of ſo expenſive a War: So as the Spaniards had no reaſon to complain of any aſſiſtance given to the united Provinces, wherein the chief foundation of their Juſtice lay. That therefore when *France* was free of Civil Wars, and had regained her former vigour, the King not being able to be wanting to the juſt cauſe of the German Princes, who had recourſe to him touching the ſucceſſion of the States of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; though it was conceived that he had contracted ſeveral Leagues againſt the Auſtrians: Yet if that Kings life had not been cut off in the nick of time, all thoſe Leagues and Unions ſpoken of would have ſoon been ſeen vaniſh into ſmoak; and it would have been known that they ſerved for nothing but appearing threats, ſince it made not for that the King who was then well in years, whoſe iſſue was young, and his Kingdom not yet ſeled, to enter into new Wars for the intereſts of other men; and leave his Kingdom to his young children involved in forreign Wars: For he might be ſure that Regal Authority which curb'd civil diſſentions, ceaſing together with his life, the Kingdom which ſeemed now to be united would fall into its former diſorders, which would draw forreign Forces into the Kingdom: That the preſent King growng in years had given the King of *Spain* no occaſion of complaint, but had alwayes correſponded with him, as became Princes that were friends and joyn'd in affinity. That the firſt encounters aroſe from what had hapned in the *Valtoline*, wherein the King had intereſted himſelf out of his being bound to protect the Griſons, and out of the great prejudice which was thereby occaſioned to his own affairs, and to the German and Italian Princes. That the firſt intermiſſion was in a civil manner, not by Arms, which the King took not up till the firſt conventions of *Madrid* were undervalued; and that notwithſtanding the King of *France* did temporiſe, to ripen ſome difficulties. But that ſeeing no ſatisfaction given, he was forced to betake himſelf to Arms; the buſineſs not being yet well adjuſted, he was once again neceſſitated to take up Arms, for the juſt and neceſſary defence of the Duke of *Nevers*, who was by violence kept from ſucceeding in the State of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*; and for no other reaſon, but for that that Duke was born in *France*, was of kin to the King, and held great poſſeſſions of the Crown of *France*: That if the Auxiliary Forces of *France*, in the behalf of that Duke, if the Peace of *Suſa* ought to be accounted violence or injuſtice, meerly for that they wanted the Ceſarean Authority; that the appearing of the Spaniards againſt that very Duke, nor the diviſion of *Montferrat*, made between the Spaniſh Agents and the Duke of *Savoy*, were not countenanced nor corroborated by the Emperour; that if the merits of the cauſe, if the intention of Arms, and diſſention between theſe two Kings, were to be balanced without byaſs, thoſe of *France* would appear to be more juſt, and leſs concerned then thoſe of *Spain*: Since the later tended to the offence, the other to the defence of an aſſaulted

Prince; ſo as the Spaniards had nothing to object againſt the Arms of *France*, nor could the Emperour account his authority more injured by the French then by the Spaniards: And that the award of the cauſe, made on the behalf of the French by the Peace of *Ratisbone*, did more juſtifie the Proceedings of the French then of the Spaniards. For what concern'd the affairs of *Germany* many other reaſons were alledged; amongſt the reſt, that there was a difference to be put between the Princes of *France* and the German Princes; that the Regal Authority of *France* was Monarchical, to which all the Princes of *France* are Vaſſals; that *Germany*, on the contrary, was Ariſtocratical, conſiſting of ſeveral Sovereign Princes and free Cities, who chuſing the Emperour for their Head, obey, not as Subjects to a Sovereign, but as Members and Colleagues of the Empire, enjoying many priviledges and exemptions which ſuit not with Sovereign Authority; from which exemptions the Emperour not being able to derogate, if by any exceſs of private power, exceeding the known Authority of the Laws, he at any time endeavour to derogate from them, or not obſerve them, they hold themſelves as much injur'd by him, as the Citizens of a Commonwealth would do, if their Head, abuſing Authority, and contemning the publick Laws, ſhould aſpire at Tyranny: That all *Germany* did at the preſent groan under the burthen of the exceſſive Auſtrian authority; that ſhe had loſt not only the ſubſtance, but the very ſhadow of her original Liberty, and was therefore forced to ſend for the King of *Swedeland* from the utmoſt Northern parts to recover their almoſt loſt Liberty: That this defence did anciently belong to the Kings of *France*, to whom upon like occaſions the German Princes had wont to have recourſe: That the preſent King, out of his too great reſpect born to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had neglected this his duty to the German Princes; that he could not without much loſs of reputation degenerate from the Kings his Predeceſſors, nor by abandoning thoſe Princes ſuffer the King of *Sweden* to prevent him in that office which did of due belong to him; nor would the Concernments of his own Kingdom tolerate that the Auſtrian Authority ſhould extend it ſelf further by the oppreſſion of thoſe Princes: And as concerning the concluſion of peace with the Emperour, it was neither ſtrange nor new, that the King ſhould not make peace without his Colleagues the German Princes, ſince there have been ſo many both ancient and modern examples ſeen of peace ſolemnly concluded between Princes and Vaſſals that have riſen up againſt their Sovereign Prince: The peace of *Conſtance* made between the Emperour *Frederick* ſirnamed *Barbaroſſa* and the Cities of *Italy* which had rebelled againſt him; the Truce between the King of *Spain* and the Hollanders; ſo many peaces made between the very Kings of *France* and their contumacious people in the laſt Civil Wars; and the peace made not many years ago between the Emperour and the Elector of *Saxony*, are ſufficient proofs of peace made between a Subject and a Sovereign. It was therefore concluded, that the King of *France* his intereſting himſelf in the civil diſſentions of *Germany*, and in the ſeveral peaces that were to be concluded, was not only juſt, and uſual, but more neceſſary then that which King *Philip* the ſecond undertook in the troubles of *France*, which could neither in juſtice nor for convenience

be parallel'd to this; and though the King appeared to have undertaken them only for Religion, it was at last discovered that it was more govern'd therein by State interest, then by Religion; and that therefore if there were any parallel to be made between the countenancing of *Germany* and that of *France*, *France* might be said to have learn'd the the Doctrine of fomenting the differences between people and their natural Princes, and of interessing her self therein, for her own safety and grandezza, from the School of *Spain*: but that the greatest part of these pretensions were rather seeming then substantial; for *Polybius*, relating the true cause of the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, doth not approve them as just; and though some Princes use to keep inferiour Princes low, and to weaken the superiour; such proceedings are to be esteemed rather tyrannical, then rational, and if King *Philip* the Second had attained to such Counsels, he would never have consented to the peace of *Vervin*, wherein Territories and Towns of importance were restored to the King of *France*, who was then the inferiour: wherefore that peace cannot be pretended to be slavery, though the Austrians were superiour to the French both in Dominions and Power; for the Romans after the peace given to the *Privernati*, as they will have it, were superiour to them; and if peace between Princes of unequal power may be violated by reason of the inferiours weakness, no firm peace would ever be made between them, unless the more powerful should divide States, and Forces with the less powerful. They therefore concluded that none of the reasons alledged did excuse the King of *France* his countervenings; nor could the League concluded by his means, some years after between *Spain* and the Hollanders, free him from the preceding countervening, but did rather aggravate it; as well because the Hollanders, being strengthned by those fomentings, were made the more able to withstand their King, and to force him to so disadvantagious a Truce; as also by continuing the said assistance to them when the Truce was expired: Passing then to the Affairs of the *Valtoline*, it was said, That the short relation of that business would suffice to let the world see whether of those two Princes were to be blamed. The King of *Spain* protected the liberty and the Religion of the Valtolinians, by securing them in both by some little Forts erected in the Valley against the imminent slavery of the Grisons, who were prepared to subjugate them by force; and the Valtolinians wanting men to munite them, the French, and with them the Venetians, stormed very much, when Spanish Garrisons were put therein; as if the Spaniards had no other end but to make themselves Masters of the Valley; the King of *Spain*, to clear both them and the Venetians, deposited the *Valtoline*, together with the Forts therein into the Popes hands, who was chosen by them both to be Arbitrator of the whole business, with power to dispose thereof as he should see reason to do; that while this was depending, the King of *France* possest himself both of the Valley, and of the Forts by Force of Arms: that when the Pope sent men to recover them, the King, who would not make War with the Pope, upon this account agreed with the King of *Spain* in the peace of *Monsone*, to restore the *Valtoline*; but upon very favourable conditions, touching the Liberty and Religion of the Valtoli-

Valtolinians, and that the Pope should demolish the Forts; whereunto the King of *Spain* condescended only because the King of *France* obliged himself to observe the Covenants which were made in favour to the Valtolinians; so as the Forts were superfluous, seeing that the two Kings were ingaged by the Peace to maintain the Liberty and Religion of the Inhabitants: Therefore by this so favourable Peace to the Valtolinians, the King of *Spain* was justified in his first taking up Arms. Neither did the Duke of *Nevers* his business deserve much defence, if men will justly consider the result thereof; for that Prince was not at all satisfied with the King of *France* his protection, since he was deprived of *Cassalle*, and of the greater part of *Montferrat*, which were confer'd upon the Duke of *Savoy*, in recompence for his pretensions, and for *Pinarolle*, which was assigned over to the King of *France*, contrary to the Articles of *Ratisbone* and *Cherasco*; so as the Agreement with the King of *Spain*, which was so much exclaimed against, would have been better for the Duke of *Nevers* then the protection of *France*, so much boasted of by the French. And for what concerns the medling in differences between a Sovereign and his Subjects, many considerations were propounded in favour of the Austrians; for in Peaces made between the Emperour and the King of *France*, the King had more then once renounced such Leagues and Protections, and promised not to protect those Princes against the Emperour; so that as the present discourse began with *Polybius* his Authority, the controversie may be ended by *Lucan's* Authority, who decides the difference between *Cesar* and *Pompey*, in these words.

Tu nova ne veteres obscurent acta Triumphos,
Et victis cedat piratica Laurea Gallis,
Magne times. Te jam series, ususque laborum
Erigit, impatiensq; loci fortuna secundi.
Nec quemquam jam ferre potest † *Gallusve priorem,*
Austriacusve parem: Quis justius induat arma
Scire nefas; magno sed Judice quisq; tuetur.
Victrix Causa Deis placuit, sed Victa Catoni.

† *Cesarve* priorem,
Pompeiusve parem ——— *Lucan* lib. 1.

Immediately after the intimation of this war, made in the King of *France* his name to the Infanta, did the publication of the League made between him, and the Hollanders, which hath formerly been mentioned, follow; and the execution thereof followed the publication forthwith; for the King of *France* going to *Campania*, assembled an Army of above 20000 fighting men, and sent it into the Country of *Luxemburg*, under the conduct of the two Marshals, *Chatillione* and *Bresse*; whereinto being entred, it presently took *Orcimon* and *Rocca*, strong places upon the Confines, but of small consideration, which yielded without fighting; and afterwards it took *Marca*, a more considerable Town; and so advanc'd into the Country which is under the

King

King of *Spain*: Against this Army the Infanta sent out a strength of 10000 Foot, and of 3000 Horse, the most whereof were tumultuously raised, and made Prince *Thomaso*, of *Savoy*, their Commander in chief; who being distasted with the Duke his Brother, was privately stoln from *Savoy*, whereof he had the title of Governour; and having first spent some moneths in the Court of *Flanders*, he joyn'd with the King of *Spains* Forces in those parts. The Prince being come neer the enemy, though he knew himself inferior to them in numbers, yet having the advantage in situation he refused not battle, which they presented him: Battle being given neer to the Town of *Avein*, after having fought valiantly four hours, he was worsted, left three or four thousand of his men dead upon the place, to boot with his Artillery, and besides many other Souldiers, and Captains of good condition, who were taken Prisoners. The Hollanders were by the Covenants of the League to assault the Provinces which were obedient to the Crown of *Spain*, at the same time, with another Army on their side; and delaying to do it, they afforded the Infanta a breathing time after his defeat; but coming at last into the Field, commanded by the Prince of *Orange*, who joyn'd with the French Army before *Maestrick*, they made up a Body of 50000 fighting men, abundantly furnish'd with Artillery, and all warlike preparations: the whole Country bein afraid of them, and yielding to so great and formidable Forces, they advanc'd without any opposition to *Terlimone*; which Town presuming too much upon its self, would be the first that should oppose so vast and glorious an Army; for which boldness it paid soundly: for being taken by assault, it was sack'd with more cruelty then hath been heard of, of many years. Wherefore the Infanta, having this mean while made up an Army of those that remained unslain at *Avien*, and of other Regiments, which was much inferiour to that of the enemy, insomuch as he was not able to keep the Field, put himself into *Loveine* with 5000 Foot and 2000 Horse: having quarter'd the rest of his Army upon the River *Dee*, distant above a League from *Loveine*; and the Army of the League being marched towards that City, after having taken *Dist* and *Arischot*, it came up to the Reer of the Enemies Army; and the Horse which tarried last, not having all of them pass'd the River, some of their Troops were defeated; that Country was never so full of terrour since the war began: it was overrun, sack'd, burnt and miserably destroyed, without any hope of present help; for the Infanta's Army half routed, half run away, kept within strong Holds, abandoning all to Military fury; and doubtlesly the assailants might have done great things, had they known how to make use of occasion and of the advantage of time: but lying long idle between *Loveine* and *Termlone*, they afforded time to the Infanta to fortifie himself, and to expect a great succour which was sent him from *Germany*. The Colleagues finding the enterprise of *Lovein* to be too hard and almost impossible, to effect, by reason of the new Fortifications and number of defendants, they went to before *Brussels*; where ore the Infanta left 2000 of his best experienced Souldiers in *Loveine*, and went with the rest of his men to *Brussels*; and the Colleagues returning from *Brussels* to *Loveine*, thought to find that Town unprovided by reason of the Infanta's departure, and that they might

might easily have taken it: but being abused in their hopes (for they found it extraordinarily well garrison'd, and fortified round about) they gave the business over; and suffering much in their Camp for want of Victuals, they were forced to quit *Brabant*, and to retreat: which they were the rather necessitated to do, for that they heard *Picolomini* was marching up apace to them with 6000 choice Horse, after whom the King of *Hungary* came, making long Marches.

But there needed not so great an Army to free *Flanders* from so imminent a danger: a sore and unexpected accident, which befell the Hollanders, was sufficient to dissolve that Army which was so formidable to *Flanders*: In *Gelderland*, just where the *Rhein* dividing it self into two parts, makes a great Island, which was anciently called *Battavia*, and is now called the *Tomel* Island, there is a very strong *Fort*, of such consideration, for the situation thereof, as it is commonly held to be the in-let into *Holland*; it is called *Schinck* Sconce, from him who knowing the opportunity of the seat caused the Hollanders to build it. This so important Fort being about this time surprized by the Infanta's Souldiers put the Hollanders into such confusion, as leaving all other enterprises, they were constrain'd to imploy all their Forces and endeavours in the recovery thereof: they therefore recalled the Prince of *Orange* and his Army, and made him come to defend their own Country: he therefore return'd to *Holland*; and the French Army consumed by famine was ruined, and were paid for their detestable cruelties used to the Inhabitants of *Termilone*. Thus *Flanders* was little less then miraculously delivered from so great, and so neer a danger: but we have sufficiently discours'd of Forreign Affairs; it is time now that we return to *Italy*, whereinto the Wars which were kindled in *Germany* flew; and *Italy* sharing already in the effects of the peace which was broken between the two Crowns, it followed by consequence, the quiet which she thought she had got by the peace of *Ratisbone*, and the Treaties of *Chirasco* were discomposed, and the Wars formerly appeased in *Lombardy*, and in other parts, began hotter then before.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XIV.

The Contents.

THis Book tells you the redoubted going out of the Fleet from Naples *against* Provence, *and the accidental disaster of the laster. The occasion, rise, encounters and progress of the French Forces, led by the Duke of* Rhoan *into the* Valtoline. *The endeavours of the French to alienate the Princes of* Italy *from the Spanish party, and to draw them over to their King. The Pope and Venetians move not. The Duke of* Savoy *goes over to the French, more out of necessity then of good will. The great Duke of* Tuscany *is constant to the Austrians. The Dukes of* Modena *and* Parma, *and the Lord of* Mirandola, *negotiate with the French: the Duke of* Parma *closes with the French, the others adhere to the Spaniards. The Commonwealth of* Genoa, *notwithstanding the great damages suffer'd by her Citizens from the Spaniards, and notwithstanding the distastes she had received in her reputation, refuseth to declare manifest neutrality, or partiality, yet in fact keeps confident to both parties. The State of* Millain *is assaulted by the French, and by the Dukes of* Savoy *and* Parma; *who going against* Valenza del Poe, *besiege it, but it is relieved, and quite freed by the Spaniards. The Duke of* Rhoan, *having routed the Dutch and* Millain *Forces, remains absolute lord and master of the* Valtoline.

BEfore the Austrian and French Forces broke forth reciprocally into open war, *Italy* being subordinate to the same disposition of affairs,

affairs, was neceſſitated to do the like accidents. The King of *Spain*, when the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Momorancy*'s Forces ſucceeded not againſt *France*, reſolved to aſſault *Provence*, which being then unprovided, and not expecting to be aſſaulted, afforded hopes of happy ſucceſſe. Having therefore recruited and augmented his Army in *Catalognia*, he gave ſpeedy Order for the rigging up of a Fleet at Sea in *Naples*, which being furniſh'd abundantly with men, and with all warlike affairs, was to go forth to the prejudice of thoſe parts, under the Marqueſs of *Santa Croce*. And though that Kindom was exhauſted both of men and monies, by its having re-inforced two Armies in *Germany* under *Feria* and the *Infanta*; yet as if it had a Mine abounding therein, it was not long before by the extraordinary diligence of *Count Monterey*, Vice-roy of that Kingdom; the Fleet, beyond all mens expectation, was ready to put forth from the Haven of *Naples*; but failing in their ſuppoſal (for neither Gallies nor men were ready for that expedition) after having tarried long in *Favigiana*, a little Iſland near *Sicily*, and the winter drawing on, the buſineſs ſo ſpeedily begun, and with ſuch hopes of good ſucceſs was put off til the next year. No man knew whether, or againſt whom, this ſo great preparation was intended: but though this expedition was much endeavoured to be kept conceal'd by ſetting up contrary Colours, and under contrary names and pretentions, yet at laſt after ſo long delay it was known, or at leſt ſuſpected, that it was intended againſt *Provence*. But the effecting of what was intended the year 1635. proved difficult, and almoſt impoſible: For the enterprize was diſturb'd in the beginning by croſs winds and ſtorms, ſo as the intention of that voyage was diſcovered; the Fleet went forth from *Naples* more numerous, and ſtronger then before, about the middle of *May* 1635, and being 80 miles out at Sea, when meeting with contrary winds and great ſtorms, it was forced, not without danger of Shipwrack, to make directly towards *Corſica* whither the winds drove it. Nor did the misfortune end here, but as if that enterpriſe had been undertaken in an unfortunate hour, the Fleet was hardly got behind *Capo Corſo*, where it was ſhelter'd from contrary winds; when another ſtorm aroſe from the other ſide, more furious then the former, which ſank 7 of the Gallies, with all the men and munition that were in them. The reſt being ſcattered, ſome here, ſome there, were forced to throw their Horſes, Munition, Artillery, nay the very monies which was to maintain the enterpriſe, over-board; and with much adoe, got one after another into *Porta Longone*: So as this ſecond attempt proved more diſaſtrous then the former, and proved more unfortunate to the Spaniards then to their Enemies. But whilſt the King of *Spain*, and his Agents in *Italy*, were buſied in preparing againſt *France* by Sea; thoſe of *France* were not idle in making preparations againſt the King of *Spain*'s Territories: Which preparations being by land, and not ſubject to the inſtability of winds nor waves, ſtruck more home. The firſt blow light upon the *Valtoline*, the firſt occaſion and original of which action, together with the pretence thereof, muſt be made known before we come to relate the proceedings.

The Griſons being diſpleaſed with the peace of *Monſone*, (as hath been ſaid) had never approved of thoſe Capitulations; nor would they allow

of the annual tribute of 25000 Crowns, nor allow that their Magistrates should be yearly chosen by the Valtolinians, answerable to those Capitulations; being therefore absolutely deprived of the preheminence, command, and advantage of so noble a part of their State, they desired and endeavoured nothing more then the lost possession of the Vally; to which purpose they complained much, and made great pressures in the French Court. The Court of *France* was no less discontented, then the Grisons, with those Capitulations, (as hath been elsewhere said) not only for the prejudice which would thereby redound to their confederates, but for the like which would result to the Kings Affairs, if things continuing in the present condition, the Spaniards should be absolute arbitrators of that Vally, and might pass their men, and whatsoever they listed, through it, as freely as through their own Dominions. Wherefore it was no less endeavoured in *France*, then by the Grisons, how to find out some remedy against this mischief, without absolute countervening the agreed on Peace. Some looking narrowly into the points of that Capitulation, took occasion to question whether the Valtolinians did understand themselves to be thereby put into a state of absolute liberty and exemption, from the high and supream command which the Grisons had over it before the beginning of these commotions; or whether the exercise of usual jurisdiction being only taken from them by the said Capitulations, they were, as touching sovereignty, in the same condition of subjection and vassalage that they were in before the insurrection. This was only to deprive the Spaniards of the passage which they had by that Vally, and so to rob them of the advantage which they pretended by the revolution of the *Valteline*, fomented by them: For if the Grisons should remain sovereign Lords of the *Valteline*, by vertue of those Capitulations, as they were before the insurrection, they were to have all jurisdiction and command there, except the ordinary jurisdiction both Civil and Criminal; which was by those Capitulations granted to the Valtolinians: So as the allowing of passage was to be granted by them, not by the Valtolinians. Strong Arguments made for this; for if the *Valteline* were to return by these Articles, to the same condition it was in the year 1617, who doubts but that then when there was not any insurrection the leave of permitting passage to forreign Princes appertained not to the Valtolinians, but to the Grisons? Moreover, no concession of Jurisdiction, how largely soever expresst, was ever interpreted to the derogation of the Concessors sovereign Authority. So as the exception made by the Peace of *Monsone*, in favour to the Valtolinians, being only touching the election of annual Magistrates for the administration of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, could not be extended to the supream Mastery which the Grisons had there, and consequently not to the granting passage: Nay, the yearly Confirmation of Magistrates being to be made by the Grisons to the Valtolinians, and the yearly tribute to be paid by the Valtolinians to the Grisons, witnessed that sovereignty was retained in the Grisons: And the quantity of the annual tribute being a more adequate price for the concession of usual jurisdiction, then of Supream power, which is held inestimable, was as much as to say, that the former was only allowed to the Valtolinians, and not the latter; and yet it was as

strongly

ſtrongly urged on the contrary; that the Griſons authority was violent, and tyrannically uſurped, over their ancient Companions and Confederates, the Valtolinians, from which the Valtolinians having freed themſelves by force of Arms, and their having renounced the Capitulations of *Millain*, made between the Duke of *Feria* and the Griſons, and this Sovereignty not depending upon the Arbitrement or diſpoſal of the two Crowns, could not be any wiſe prejudiced by the Capitulation of *Monſone*: That the annual Tribute and confirmation of Magiſtrates was a meer remiſſion, no conceſſion of the Valtolinians, meerly to free themſelves from being diſquieted, troubled, or perſecuted by the Griſons, but no price or acknowledgement of Sovereignty; which being anciently their own, and now recovered by Arms, there was no need that it ſhould be redeemed by moneys; and on the other ſide, the Griſons Commonwealth being in a great part ſubjugated by the Auſtrian Forces, and reſtored by the ſaid Capitulations, to her former liberty, was in all acceptions equivalent to the reſtoring of the Valtolinians to their ancient Liberty and former Sovereignty: nor was it probable that one of the two Kings, who had ſo openly engaged himſelf both by Arms and by particular Decrees for the protection and liberty of the Valtolinians, ſhould mean to ſuppreſs them by the Articles of *Monſone*; and that the other King, who boaſts ſo much of the title of Juſt, ſhould intend to favour the unjuſt Tyrants and violent Uſurpers of their Confederates the Valtolinians liberty: nor did it belong to the titles of moſt Chriſtian and moſt Catholick, wherein the one and the other of theſe Kings do ſo much glory, to reduce to the violent ſubjection of Hereticks thoſe Catholicks who had ſo juſtly withdrawn themſelves from it: nor that the King of *France* ſhould by ſo groſs diſſembling blemiſh the glory which he had won in the firſt wars againſt the Hereticks of his Kingdom, by favouring Hereſie upon this occaſion out of his Kingdom, which he had perſecuted with Arms within his Kingdom even to deſtruction; but that if it had been the intentions of the ſaid Kings to revive the unjuſt, uſurped, and now extinct Sovereignty of the Griſons, they ſhould have manifeſted their opinions more clearly, ſince the weightineſs of the affair did require it; and not have woond it up myſtically and obſcurely in ſome few and general words: they therefore concluded that the reaſons which were alledged on the behalf of the Griſons were new inventions, meer ſubtilties and ſophiſticated interpretations: But howſoever the French ſtuck ſtifly to the advantage of the words; and being deſired by the Spaniards that they would ratifie the agreement to the Griſons; they anſwered, that the controverted point of Sovereignty firſt be declared, it not being, in their opinion, ſufficiently cleared by theſe Capitulations: but the Spaniards replied, that the ratification ſhould be firſt made as clear and without controverſie, ſo that if any doubt ſhould afterwards ariſe touching the Sovereignty, it might be friendly agreed by their Majeſties, anſwerable to the Capitulation of *Monſone*: wherewith the French not reſting ſatisfied, the King of *France*, to content the Griſons, made a Declaration by him ſelf alone in the favour of their Sovereignty; and pretended that to ſuffer people to paſs through the *Valtoline* without their leave, was a meer gainſaying of the agreement; and the Spaniards eſteeming the French

Decrees vain without the joynt consent of their King, pass'd as many men as they would through the *Valtoline*, and alledging that that Declaration should by the same agreement of *Monsone* be made by both the Kings joyntly, they pretended, that being made by one only, it was null; and that to deny them passage was to contradict the said Capitulation. These Affairs continued thus controverted a while, the King of *Spain* endeavouring to keep the Valtolinians on his side, promised to be aiding to them continually in their Sovereignty and Liberty; and the King of *France* being unable to see the Valtolinians to depend totally upon the Austrians both, favoured the Grisons pretensions, and would not consent that they should ratifie the Capitulations, and promised to put them into free possession of the *Valtoline*, which they so thirsted after; and the more to nourish this expectation in them, he was a means why in the peace of *Ratisbone*, where it was covenanted that the places taken by the Dutch from the Grisons should be restored, the restitution of the *Valtoline* should also be inserted: which though it appeared to be express'd, that some Dutch Regiments might be taken from thence, which were sent thither a little before from *Millain*, lest the Swedes, which drawing neer *Italy*, were feared would enter by the *Valtoline*; yet since the general words might bear another interpretation, they added to the hopes and expectations of the Grisons, and gave the King occasion to betake himself to these words, so to maintain the pretensitions of his ancient Friends and Confederates, and to make amends for the prejudice they suffer'd in the Capitulation of *Monsone*. The King of *France* reaped no little advantage by these hopes; for though being deeply engaged in several affairs in *Germany*, he could not apply himself much to this of the *Valtoline*, yet feeding them with continual promise, he kept them constantly at his devotion, and depending upon his pleasure; so as thereby he did not only recover the authority with the Grisons, which he had in that Nation before the revolt, but had much encreased it these two last years; for the parts of *Rhetia* being by the Emperor restored to the Grisons by the Articles of *Ratisbone*, which were taken from them at the very beginning of the Mantuan war, but upon condition that they should be no further fortified; and the King doubting that the Treaty of *Cherasco* might be made null, and peradventure that of *Ratisbone* also, by the re-assignment of *Pinarolo*, he perswaded those people to keep them well munited, and particularly the passage called *Stainck*, that they might keep out the Dutch, if they should attempt to enter their Country again: he made also a Fort Royal be built neer *il ponte del Reno*; and making them believe that those Fortifications made much for the recovery of the *Valtoline*, he put French Garrisons into the new Fort, and into that of *Stainck* which was newly fortified, all which the Grisons gave way unto, lest the King might be incensed at their refusal, and might waver in his promise of restoring the *Valtoline*: but the King finding afterwards what prejudice the passing of the Duke of *Feria* and of the Infanta through the *Valtoline* occasioned to his own concernments, and to those of the Germans his Confederates, he bethought himself of removing that obstacle which could only confound the progress of his affairs in *Germany*: he resolved therefore to send Forces to recover the *Valtoline*,

which

which expedition was not called the maintaining of the Grisons Superiority, but the protection of the Valtolinians Liberty, totally repugnant to the Grisons Sovereignty, which liberty the King affirm'd was neer being suppress'd by the Spaniards frequent passing through that Valley: so as professing himself to be a Protector of all oppress'd people, he now intended to secure the tottering condition of the Valtolinians, as he had restored the Grisons to their former liberty, and had secured them from the Dutch by the building of Forts in *Rhetia*: he therefore made the Duke of *Roban* his General for that enterprise, ordering him to protect them against the Spanish tyranny with his men, and with those which the Grisons should furnish him withall. *Roban* was of the Lineage of the ancient Kings of *Normandy*, a Captain of a refined and experienced judgment, nurs'd up from his infancy in Arms, not only an Hugonot in Religion, but a chief Protector of the Hugonots in *France*, in whose behalf he had always fought against the Catholick Religion, and against the very King, insomuch as he was the last of the Princes and Chieftains of that party, who when they were beaten by the King, humbled himself, and who being pardon'd his hostile Acts, was banish'd the Kingdom, and confined to the State of *Venice*: where having staid some years, he by the Kings Commission went into *Rhetia*, and was assistant to the Kings Embassadour, Monsieur *Dalande*, in the building of the Forts: he was afterwards imploy'd by the King in the German wars; who thinking him to be a fit person to be imploy'd in the intended enterprise of the *Valtoline*, as one who had been much acquainted with the humours of that people, and of those parts, wherein he had lived, made him his General in this enterprise: nor did he erre in his judgement or choice: for he did many singular acts, whereby he won much honour in the *Valtoline*, and obtained many famous Victories there, which had they been done in a larger and more noble field, they might have made him vie for honour with the most eminent Commanders of this age. When this business was first begun, war was not as yet intimated to the King of *Spain*, nor was the peace broken between the two Crowns: the business of *Triers*, from whence the breach of peace proceeded, happned at this time. *Roban* having received his Commission from the King, went from *Alsatia* with but a few men to the Grisons, whom he told, that the time which they had so long desired, and which the King had promised of recovering the *Valtoline* was at last come; and acquainting them with the Kings Commission, he exhorted them to concur with him in this business, which was undertaken only for their good, and would redound so much to their advantage. The Grisons believing him, took up Arms immediately, and refused not to promote the cause with all their Forces: *Roban* had not many French with him, so as he began the war of the *Valtoline* with almost none but the Grisons Forces: it is true, that the Venetians being very desirous that the *Valtoline* should return to its former condition, dismis'd 2000 French which were under their pay, and who past easily into the *Valtoline*, and joyn'd with *Roban*; who about the end of *March*, in the year 35. sent first to take the Counties of *Chiavenna* and *Bormio*, to the end, that the way being block'd up to the Dutch Forces by the latter, and to the State of *Millain* by the former,

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the *Valtoline* might the sooner be recovered, which was seated between those two Counties, not being to be relieved on any side. Nor was his counsel here in vain; for about 1500 Foot, the most whereof were Grisons, and four Troops of French Horse falling down into *Chiavenna*, under the Embassadour *Delande*, they took it, together with the black-house of *La Riva*, and presently began to munite and fortifie it. There also was a Fort erected in the plain of *Chiavenna* beyond *La Mera*, upon the way which leads from *Millain*, called *La Strada Francesca*, to keep any oppositions from coming that way: And taking also some Barques for Merchandize which they found at *La Riva*, they furnish'd them with Souldiers, and kept them to defend the upper Lake. With the like speed he sent about 600 Foot to *Bormio*, by the Mountains which were yet covered with snow; who taking the unguarded *Serra de Bagni*, which stands upon the Mountain which overlookes *Bormio*, and confines upon *Tyrvolo*, they fell down and took the Town of *Bormio* without any resistance, together with the whole Country till you come to *La Serra Della Valtelina*, so as that Country fell into their possession: the *Serra* are nothing but certain great Gates or Portals of stone, made in form of an Arch, which are munited on the sides by ancient Towers with strong Gates of Wood, scituated upon the passes, whereby men enter and go out of that Country: Who soever will come into these parts must pass through these Gates, the passage in this Country being so streight, as the entrance thereinto is let in or shut out, just as in Cities or private Houses; by the first *Serra de Bagni* the Dutch are kept out, by the other towards the *Valtoline* the Spaniards. These two Counties being taken and fortified, *Rohan* went from *Rhetia*, and entred the *Valtoline* about the beginning of *May*, by the way of *Poschiavo*, which lieth between these two precincts, having with him 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and reduc'd it into his power without unsheathing a Sword, or discharging a Gun; and with much severity and inhumanity, forced the Inhabitants to abandon the Spanish protection, and to adhere unto the French. Then building a Fort at *Font Martello*, he fell down with his men towards *Morbegno*; and quartering them in the Towns near the State of *Millain*, he began to unarm the people, and to put several Taxes upon them: Nor herewithall content, he forced them to swear Loyalty to the King of *France*; and doing other things in the Kings Name, he profess'd nothing less then the maintaining of the Valtolinians Liberty, as by his Letters Patents he was bound to do, and as he had promised the Valtolinians both by word and writing; wherein he did not so much offend the Valtolinians as the Grisons, to whom the King, and *Rohan* himself, that he might get them to joyn in this enterprise, had promised, that according to his directions from the King, he would reunited them to their State, and reduce them to their ancient subjection; By which actions the Grisons were heinously scandalized, and made their complaints to *Rohan* himself, and required the observance of his plighted faith, and the restitution of what had been taken; who answered, that when the War should be ended, the King would restore all unto them, provided that that they would reimburse him the monies which he had laid out: At which answer, being more angry and incensed then before, they almost all of them left him, and repassing

repassing over the Mountaines, went back again displeased to their own homes. By these so great, and so many alterations and novelties, the Austrians in *Germany*, and Spaniards in the State of *Millan*, were much moved, and all of them endeavoured to bring what speedy and necessary help they could thereunto, as to a blow which by the consequence thereof wounded the cause of the common Affairs. But the more the State of *Millain* was necessitated so to do, the more was it retarded by weakness; that State being then no less exhausted of military men then the Kingdom of *Naples*, the power of them both being gon into the low Countries: So that they wanted Souldiers for their necessary Garrisons, much more to send into the field; weak was the preparation or provision therefore which from thence could be applied against this commencing mischief; the Cardinal *Aberneza* was now Governour of *Millain*, a Church-man by profession, and not at all experienced in the management of War; he immediately deputed *Count Fabio Serbellone*, with some few Foot Companies, for the defence of those parts: Who thinking that the first thing that was to be done was the recovery of *Riva*, gave orde that a Gally should be drawn out of the Arsenal of *Genoa*, which was built before these present Commotions, and not thinking this sufficient for the businesse, an other Gally was built by the monies of the *Genoese*, great Masters at this mystery, which was greater. And seeing that the French were busie in fortifying places, so block up the entrance into the *Valtoline*, he betook himself also to fortifie other places, to oppose their proceedings; but not succeeding herein, the French failed not to continue the works which they had begun, and brought them on to *Morbegno* and *Trano*, the best Towns of the *Valtoline*; the latter being seated on the right hand, the other on the left of *Adda*: And joyning with the Duke of *Rohan*, who was already gotten to those Towns on the upper side, they sent 400 Horse, and 27 French Foot Colours, into the Towns which lay lower towards the Lake, striving to block up the Avenues to the *Valtoline* on that side, and to keep out the Spaniards, from whom, they being then quartered in the Towns about Fort *Fuentes*, they in vain endeavoured to secure themselves. The French proceeded the better in their works, for that *Serbellone* being then sick could not for many dayes oppose them; so as necessarily Affairs proceeded but slowly on this side: But greater and more speedy oppositions came from *Germany*, which had they been so fortunate, as they were valiantly brought on; or had they not been defeated by *Rohans* better fortune, they would assuredly have put an end to the woes that that Country suffered long under. Seven thousand Foot, sent by the Emperour under the Baron *Fernamont*, who had woon much honour in the recovery of the great Fort *Filsburg* upon the *Rheine*, met at *Tyrvolo*, near the Confines of the *Valtoline*; who falling down with them into the Vally of *Munister*, he to succour himself on his back, built a Fort above the Town *Santta Maria*: Then marching towards the Mountain *Ombraglio*, that he might enter the Country of *Bormio*, he was kept out by *Rohan* who had diligently prepossess'd the passes; or *Rohan* hearing of great moving on that side, and foreseeing the danger which might thence arise, he feared, and not without reason, that all his precedent actions would prove to no purpose, unless he should

should secure himself well on this side: Parting then from *Morbegno*, he marched speedily to *Bormio*, carrying many of his men with him; and finding *la Serra de Bagni*, which is the usual way to pass from *Germany* to the *Valteline*, sufficiently fortified and garrisoned, he feared lest the Dutch not being able to enter by that way, would come in by the lower way of *Agnedina*; leaving therefore his men in *Bormio*, he went with some few to *Agnedina*, which is a part of *Rhetia*, and by the assistance of those Inhabitants, who are bitter Enemies to the Dutch, he soon block'd up and munited those Passes, and put the Agnedini in a defensive posture, assuring them that he would still defend them with his Forces, which lay not far off, in *Bormio*, in case they should be assaulted on that side. This being done, he returned to *Bormio*, where taking fit order for all things, he returned to *Morbegno*, fearing that the Fortifications were not there well finished, and that they might be assaulted by *Serbellone*; but he cast his accounts amiss; for *Fernamont*, who having well munited the new Fort of S. *Maria*, was passed over the Mountain *Ombraglio*, seeming as if he would send men to assault the *Bagni*, went to assault the Sconce *Fraelle*, and having taken it, he went from thence by unaccustomed ways, and having the good luck to meet with excellent guides, he came to a certain place, where playing upon those that defended *la Serra de Bagni*, on the Flank, the defendants were forced to quit the *Serra* to the Dutch, who much beyond either their own or their adversaries expectation, became immediately masters thereof; by which loss the French did not only abandon the *Bagni*, but the *Serra*, and the Town of *Bormio*, and left the whole County at the disposal of the Dutch, who in a short space march'd on victoriously even to *Tirano*, in the midst of the *Valteline*; and *Rohan*, judging it impossible to resist so great a fury, abandon'd the *Valteline*, and fled with all his men from *Morbegno* to *Chiavenna*, burning the Bridges of *Adda*, to keep from being pursued by the Enemy: But this his diligence was more then needed; for *Fernamont* being come without any opposition to *Tirano*, and understanding that Count *Montesi* was with a thousand Foot in the Valley of *Lavigno*, which was on his left hand, he feared that he might pass from thence to *Bormio*, and block up the Gate of *Germany* which he had opened; wherefore he forbore pursuing *Rohan*, and turning upon *Montesi* came to *Lovigno*, where he found all that Valley also abandoned; for all the French which were with *Montesi* were retreated to the Mount in tops, and passing from thence to *Agnedina*, were come to joyn with *Rohan*, who was come to the same *Agnedina* by the County of *Chiavenna*. Thus far the affairs of the *Valteline* went as well for the Austrians, and as ill for the French, as was possible; and if *Fernamont*, leaving *Montesi*, had pursued his victory through the *Valteline*, or had gone to *Riva* or *Chiavenna*; or if *Serbellone* had advanced with his men to *Tirano*, when the Dutch fell down to *Bormio*; or had he advanced to *Riva*, when the French began to flye, doubtlesly they might have carried the whole business: But though the necessity of securing the Pass of *Bormio* may excuse *Fernamont*, *Serbellone*'s slow proceeding admits of no excuse. *Fernamont*'s second errour was greater; he might have returned to the *Valteline*, when he found himself safe behind by *Montesi*'s flight, and joyning with *Serbellone* might have gone to *Riva*

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or *Chiavenna*, which being almoſt abandoned, he might eaſily have made himſelf Maſter of them; entring into the Countrey of the Griſons by the Valley of *Lovigno* he might have encounter'd *Rohan*, who in his flight paſt that way; he might have fallen down upon *Chiavenna* by the Griſons Countrey, and might have made himſelf Maſter thereof, it being incloſed between his and *Serbellone's* Forces: But not doing any of theſe things, any of which if he had done he might have been ſure of Victory, he left his men in *Lovigno*, and went privately to *Tirvolo*, only to provide victuals for his Army, that he might maintain them without incommodating the Countrey; a reſolution, which, though it was commendable for the piety thereof, was to be blamed by reaſon of War; for *Rohan*, going to *Coira*, and aſſembling the Inhabitants together, he encouraged them the beſt he could to re-aſſume the buſineſs of the *Valtoline*; which if it ſhould fall into the hands of the Dutch, they might deſpair of ever regaining it; whereas he faithfully promiſed to reſtore it to them, as ſoon as it ſhould be recovered; and ſaid, that he had Orders from the King ſo to do. The Griſons abhorr'd that the *Valtoline* ſhould fall into the hands of the Dutch; wherefore they choſe, as the leſſer evil, to go immediately to the recovery thereof with thoſe very French who but a little before had appeared ſo deſirous to retain it for themſelves: They therefore joyned all their Forces with thoſe of *Rohan*, and fell down into the Valley of *Lovigno*, and coming at unawares upon the Dutch before Sun-riſing, who looked for nothing leſs, but were drowſie, or faſt aſleep; The French placed a good number of their men behind a certain wall near the Church, which they made uſe of as of a Trench, to beat down a Bridge which was over a little River; the reſt fell upon the Dutch, and ſlew many of them, who being in diſorder, and not able to reſiſt, were forced, not without much loſs, to retreat towards *Molina*, a Town near *Bormio*, at the foot of the Mountains, where the Paſs and *Serra* of the *Bagni* is: They tarried there till *Fernamont* was returned from *Tirvolo*, and had ſent 1500 Foot and ſome Troops of Horſe to take *Mazzo*, a Bridge upon the *Adda*, ſome few miles above *Tyrano*: But *Rohan* hearing thereof went, without loſing any time, toward the ſame Bridge, by the Valley of *Poſchiano*, where meeting both of them almoſt at the ſame time, they fiercely diſputed the poſſeſſion of it; and the queſtion was undecided till night, and the deciſion was put off till the next morning, both ſides keeping quiet all that night, and each ſide guarded the head of the bridge, by which both parties ſtrove to enter, and to advance. *Fernamont* came the ſame night to the Dutch with the Van, and knowing the bridge, and the Enemies Forces which were on the oppoſite ſhore, he returned to *Bormio*; and bringing the reſt of his men thither the next day, he encouraged his men with words, and more Forces: Wherefore *Rohan* fearing to be fallen upon on the back by *Serbellone*, quitted the head of the controverted bridge, and retreated to *Tyrano*; and being aſcertained afterwards that *Serbellone* was not ready to move, he reſolved to aſſault the Dutch, who were quartered in a Town near *Mazzo*, though he was inferiour in number, but ſuperiour in well armed Cavalry. The aſſault was given ſo couragiouſly, as after a long diſpute the French had the better, and put the Dutch to a direct rout,

who fled away, and what by the sword, what by being drown'd in *Adda*, 2000 of them perished; and the loss was the greater, for that *Adda* being swoln at the very time of the Battle, it carried away a certain Bridge by which the Dutch pass'd over the River, so as those who were not yet pass'd were cut in pieces by the enemy. *Fernamonte*, after so great a blow, forsook the *Valtoline* and all that was on this side the Mountains, except the *Bagni* and the upper *Serra*, and went with the remainder of his men to *Tyrvolo*, where he raised more men, intending to try his fortune once more; but not finding them very readily, he was forced to put off his returning for some days. *Serbellone*, by agreement made formerly with *Fernamonte*, should have advanced at the same time when he fell down with the Dutch into the *Valtoline* the second time; and should have fain upon the French in the Rear, whilst they were assaulted by the Dutch on the Front; whereby the Victory would have been more certain, and the enemy utterly defeated; but, were it either that necessaries for *Serbellone*'s expedition came too late, or proved too weak; or that the Dutch (as *Serbellone* pleaded in his own defence) came sooner then the appointed time, they met not; wherefore *Serbellone* coming with his men and Artillery to *Ponte San' Pietro*, after the conflict at *Morbegno*; and hearing of what had unfortunately hapned, he resolved to return to *Colico*, from whence he was come.

Rohan being once again Master of the Valtolinians, and free from fear of the *Millain* Forces, applied himself to the total exclusion of the Enemy, and to the securing of what he had gotten; he therefore resolved to go to the recovery of the *Bagni*, and the *Serra*, which being in the Dutch mens hands, kept the Gate open for their Forces, and consequently made his possession of the *Valtoline* uncertain: Leaving therefore his Horse behind him towards the State of *Millain*, to guard him behind, he marched with his Foot towards *la Serra de Bagni*, where there was not above 300 Foot, who being first fairly entreated by *Rohan*, and having honourable Conditions offered them to surrender the *Serra*, constantly refused; so as *Rohan* pass'd from friendly terms to assault, wherein the Defendants making at first stout resistance, he was repuls'd; but renewing the assault with greater fervour, the French, not without loss of much blood, got the Victory, and were Masters of the place, before the relief came which *Fernamont* sent from *Tirvolo*. *Montesi* died in this last assault, being wounded in the head by a stone, a young man, not above twenty five years old, but a gallant youth, full of spirit and valour, and one of great expectation. *Rohan*, not herewithal content, went over the Mountain, and fell down into the valley of *Monistero*, to the Fort St *Maria*, which was yet held by the Dutch; which, because it was commanded by the Mountains, was hard to be defended; wherefore the Dutch forsook it, and it was taken, and demolished by the French. The loss of the *Bagni* was of great concernment to the State of *Millain*; for the Dutch being thereby excluded the *Valtoline*, they lost all hopes of ever recovering it. Thus the Duke of *Rohan* returned to the *Tyrano*, triumphing over the vanquished Dutch; and the *Valtoline* being alternately sometimes taken by the French, sometimes recovered by the Dutch, was once more fully possess'd by

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the French; for *Fernamont* could not get men in many moneths to reassume the business; and the State of *Millain* was the less able to minde the cure of this wound, which was so grievous now, and which threatned worser evils afterwards; for that being at this time assaulted by new Armies, it could but badly proceed for its own defence; which assaults, because they arose from other reasons, it will be necessary that, leaving the *Valteline* for the present in the possession of the French, who kept it quietly for many moneths, we take the whole matter of this new Commotion from its first beginnings, to the end that they being known, the progress and final ends which shall after succeed may be the better understood.

As the Peace of *Ratisbone* was not sufficient to keep the King of *France* from joyning in League with the Swede, and with the Germane Princes, against the House of *Austria*, so did not the Peace nor subsequent Treatie of *Gheraſco* detain him from resenting his injuries covertly received from the King of *Spain*, and from endeavouring new Leagues and Confederacies with the Princes of *Italy*, to the end that the State of *Millain* being powerfully assaulted, and *Italy* infested with new troubles, he might at least procure new diversions to the King of *Spain* from the Wars of *Germany*, whereon all the King of *France* his Armies were bent; so as he might get as much prosperity and good fortune by his acquisitions in *Germany*, as he hoped for by those of *Italy*. The proceedings in *Germany* are in part briefly related in the preceding Book; we shall therefore be more large in relating those of *Italy*, as belonging more properly to our present story, and to the subsequent Books.

The King of *France* finding how much the Italian Princes were (and out of many reasons) irritated against the Spaniards, and what just jealousies they had to apprehend the Spanish Sovereignty; and considering what reason those Princes had to be well pleased with his Forces and Councels, he having assisted with the former in *Germany*, and with the latter in *Italy*, to maintain the States of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, upon the oppression whereof the slavery of *Italy* did depend, as did her liberty result from the preservation thereof; he thought it now a fit time to cause to joyn with him in a new League and Confederacy against the Spanish Dominion, to the end that by driving the Spaniards totally out of *Italy* they might not only secure themselves from falling into the like danger, but might aspire unto greater fortune; to this end he sent Embassadours and private persons into *Italy*, to try how each of them stood affected, and to draw them to a new confederacy with him: striving to make them believe that it was not so much his desire of new acquisitions, not so much his own concernment, nor desire of revenge, which he took so much to heart, as the safety and maintaining of their Principalities, and the Common Liberty of *Italy*; and that this was the only thing which had incited him to so many machinations, as his end in carrying his Forces into *Germany* had been only to withdraw the people of *Germany* from the Austrian yoke: he profest that he was ready to imploy all the Forces of his Crown to this only end; and promised that he was no less desirous to be accounted the Author and Protector of the Liberty of *Italy*, then that of *Germany*; that theirs should

be all the rewards, all the fruits of Victory; theirs the Territories which should be gotten by driving out the Spaniards; all which he faithfully promised should be divided amongst them, reserving only the praise and title unto himself of being the preserver of *Italy*, and the queller of the Spanish Empire therein: by these and the like perswasions he tried them all; and endeavoured to kindle such a fire in *Italy* against the Spanish Government, as the King of *Spain* being entertained in the quenching thereof should forbear bringing the like into other mens houses, or at least should not be able to extinguish that, which being brought by him the King of *France* into *Germany*, was endeavoured likewise to be continued and increased by him; but these his designs though they were much laboured and negotiated by his Agents and adherents in *Italy*, found not that correspondency in the Italian Princes, which he had fansied to himself, for the propounded plot, the more plausible it was for the novelty thereof, and for the desire that all men had and have of Liberty, the harder of digestion it seemed to those who being indowed with more wisdom did foresee the mortal infirmities which the bad concoction thereof might cause to the imperfect health of this body in general, and to the particular members thereof; for though the Spanish Forces, and commotions in these last wars of *Mantua* and *Monferrat*, had been as hateful to the Italians as they were dangerous; and the Arms and commotions of the French the more acceptable, as being more advantagious for *Italy* at the present; yet was not their hatred so much against the Spaniards, nor their confidence so great in the French, as to free themselves wholly from the fear of the Spaniards, they would submit themselves to the arbitrement of the French, as they foresaw they must do if their common Forces should prosper; and though they were not displeased to see the French masters of *Pinarolo* and *Casale*, since by the possession of these two places they curb'd the Spanish power, and rendred it less formidable to *Italy*; yet they could not be pleased, nor think that it stood with the common interest, that when the Spanish Forces should be totally subdued, the French should succeed in their place; and if they were to be accompanied by the Empire of one of them, they rather chose the Spaniards company, whose moderation being proved for the space of a hundred years (if you will dispence with the arrogancy which is natural to that Nation) made their Authority and Empire appear more tolerable: they were therefore content, seeing they thought it impossible to obtain absolute liberty, to see the Spanish power lessened, as it was at the present, but not totally beaten down; so as inclining to neutrality between the two Crowns, their intention was so to counterpoize the Forces of both the Crowns, by the Italian Forces, as by the help of the French they might keep the Spaniards short, and by joyning with the Spaniards they might not suffer the French to encrease in power too immoderately; and so secure their own liberty by this equality, as they might neither be suppress'd by the one, nor lorded over by the other; therefore the Venetians, though to boot with their having opposed the Austrian Forces in the Mantuan wars, they had also assisted the French in the *Valtoline*; yet for what concern'd the remaining affairs of *Italy* in general, and the State of *Millain* in particular, they abhorred all novelty,

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and seemed more inclined to preserve, then to beat down the Spanish Empire; nor did the Pope (though he had always studied the Grandezza of *France*) seem to persevere in his accustomed course of favouring and promoting the French interest; but being content to see the Authority of *France* radicated in *Italy*, he was not pleased that the roots should spread further. The Duke of *Savoy* though he was necessitated to second the will and pleasure of the King of *France*, yet the manifest slavery which he foresaw he should be subject unto, if the French should be victorious in *Italy*, made him unwilling; for when the Spaniards should be driven out of the State of *Millain*, he should be deprived of the prop which their Arms and Power in *Italy* was to the Liberty and Sovereignty of his Dukedom, against the French Forces, wherewith he was in danger to be overcome, if the French should succeed in the State of *Millain* instead of the Spaniards, whereby his Dominions would be imprisoned by the French Forces, and he himself made absolutely subject to the arbitrement and will of the King of *France*, and of his Agents. The King of *France* was aware of this difficulty, and that therefore he could not safely build upon the Duke, though he should enter into the League; and on the contrary, having found by experience some years before, that though *Pinarvolo* and *Susa*, with other Towns of *Piedmont*, and almost whole *Savoy* was possess'd by his Forces, yet it was impossible for him to relieve *Cassale* so much as with one succour, without the Dukes permission; and that consequently he should find it much harder, the Duke not concurring with him, nor joyning in the League, to assault or possess himself of the State of *Millain*, he resolved by present offers and future promises to win his good will, and to promise that he would make him absolute Lord of the State of *Millain*: these promises were the rather credited by the alliance the King had to him, and by his affection to his Sister, who being Daughter to a King, and Sister to two Queens, the King was desirous to confer regal dignity upon her, to the end, that not being inferiour in degree to her Sisters, she might enjoy the title of Queen, which he profess'd she should be deservedly honoured with, when to the State of *Millain*, *Piedmont* and *Savoy* should be added; and as an earnest peny of his promises, he made the Duke General of his Forces and of those of the League, bargaining to allow him 12000 Crowns a moneth; not being aware, that as no force tames, no time consumes, nor any present reward counterpoizes the Liberty and Sovereignty of Principality; so no tie of alliance or blood can secure it. The Duke consenting to what he could not refuse entred into the League, and accepted of the Generals place, which he was to exercise more according to his own concerns, then according to the interests of others; it was said, and the French did confirm it by their publick complaints and exclamations, and the sequel (though somewhat ambiguously) did afterwards prove it; that in the interview that pass'd between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Infanta, when the Infanta came with his Gallies to *Villa Franca*, there pass'd secret negotiations, by which the Infanta endeavoured to draw the Duke over to the Spanish party, and to win him from the French; and that the Duke acquainted the Infanta with what necessity he had to keep fair with the Crown of *France*,

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left his State might be over-run by the French Forces, who might enter by *Pinarvolo*; and that though he might be sure to be succoured in such a case by the King of *Spain*, as his Father had been, yet he was sure that *Piedmont* could not be the precincts, as it always had been, wherein the conflict between the Forces of the two Crowns should happen; and that though the Spaniards should be victorious, the Combate could not but be very prejudicial to his State, and ruinous if the success should prove otherwise; so as, he said, he was not to declare for the Spaniard, but upon urgent occasion: but that when occasion should serve, he would always make it known, how much he valued the preservation of the Spanish Empire in the State of *Millain*: others added more particular promises, that he would never consent to the taking of any Towns in that State; but that fighting only in the Campagnia, he would carry things with respect to the affairs of that Empire; and finally, it was commonly believed, that a counter-league was tacitely agreed upon between them, for the common concernment.

The Dukes of *Modena* and *Parma*, and the Lord of *Mirandola*, appeared contrary to the Popes and Duke of *Savoy's* inward maximes; who driven either by their dislike of the Spanish Empire, or allured by the great hopes they had in the King of *France*, or eg'd on by the desire of inlarging their Confines, wherein they thought themselves all of them too much streightned, or being moved by all these respects, they gave ear to the new confederacy: Those of *Modena* and *Mirandola*, though they entred into the Negotiation, it is not well known, whether they concluded and subscribed it, or no; for, as shall be said hereafter, they were diverted from it, before the publication: but the Duke of *Parma*, who was more incens'd against the Spaniards, and incited by more resentments and greater hopes, did not only willingly and readily enter into the League, but amidst the so many troubles and damages which did result to him thereupon, shew'd such solid resolution and constancy therein, as it seemed not only strange but monstruous to all men: every one wondring that a young Prince should so totally abandon the footsteps so happily trod in by his fore-fathers, and should so eagerly embrace contrary Counsels. The occasions of this so great and constant alteration, if we will believe what he published by his Manifesto, were of themselves so slight and so inconsiderable, as they were generally held rather pretences, then real causes thereof: so as several discourses arose thereupon; the most universal was, that the Duke being young when his Father died, and his Uncle the Cardinal, who was his Guardian, dying not long after, grew to have haughty thoughts, and that being of opinion, that the obsequie and adherence to the Spaniards, which was held by his Grand-father, Father and Uncle, to be the chief foundation of Principality, was nothing else but meer slavery; and that the Sovereignty of Italian Princes, who adhered to the Crown of *Spain*, was meer subjection; that he therefore aspired to more absolute liberty, for the arriving whereat he thought that the peace of *Italy*, and the present condition of affairs, was a great obstacle which made him prone to embrace novelties, and that he was fed with hopes by the French, that the Spanish Empire being laid low, he might arrive at more greatness, and acquire new Dominions; and

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it being conceived that ſo young a man could not be capable of ſuch high conceptions; it was commonly held that Count *Fabio Scotto*, who was his Chamberline and favorite, one who was wholly inclined to the French, in whoſe ſervice he had one of his Sons, and from whom it was thought he received a Penſion, did kindle theſe thoughts and hopes in the young Prince: it was thought that this man fomented his Princes inclination with ſeveral ſuggeſtions, and that he ſtrove by ſeveral means to incenſe him againſt the Spaniards, and adhere unto the French, propounding unto him the continual ſervitude which he derived from the obſequies of his Grand-father and Father to the Crown of *Spain*; the meanneſs of his State and his low condition, whilſt he ſhould continue to do ſo; and on the contrary, the liberty, eſteem and encreaſe of fortune, which he aſſuredly would purchaſe by adhering to the Crown of *France*; alſo the condition of the preſent times, which concur'd thereunto, did much foment ſuch thoughts; for when this Prince began to intereſt himſelf in theſe affairs, fortune began to ſmile upon the King of *Swedens* proceedings, and to frown upon the houſe of *Auſtria*; and therefore he, either perſwaded by others, or by himſelf, that the fortune and power of the King of *France*, who was the chief upholder of the Swediſh Forces, being to be much advanced by the ruine of the houſe of *Auſtria*, it muſt needs be excellent Counſel, to abandon the falling fortune of that Crown, and to be one of the firſt that ſhould adhere to the others encreaſing fortune. The Court of *Spain* had from the beginning diſcern'd the ſprightly genius of this Prince; and thinking by ſome ſhew of reſentment to make him return to the way of his predeceſſors obſequie and devotion, they made him ſtray the farther out of it; for when mention was ſometimes made of this Prince in that Court, they would talk of his elder Brother, who being a natural fool, was declared incapable of ſucceſſion; ſometimes they took Don *Octavio* into conſideration, another elder Brother of the Dukes, made legitimate, though a fool, and inabled to ſucceed in the Principality, when his Father, Duke *Ranutio*, had not, nor hoped not for, any lawful heirs: which things were brought upon the board rather to threaten the Duke with the doubt of ſucceſſion, if he ſhould perſiſt in theſe novelties, then that there was any thought to put them in practice; and Duke *Alexander*, Grand-father to the preſent Duke, having done homage to King *Philip* the Second, when the Citadel of *Piacenza* was reſtored to him by the ſaid *Philip*, and having been inveſted therewith, upon condition that he ſhould keep a Governour there, in whom the Crown of *Spain* might confide, he thought that the King might have ſome pretence or colour to be judge in the controverted ſucceſſion, and that he might ſee his ſentence perform'd by force of Arms, when he ſhould by the Dukes comportments be conſtrained to renew thoſe things touching the ſucceſſion, which ſhould he perſevere in his fore-fathers devotion, would be laid aſide. This medling with a part ſo ſenſible, and which could by no means endure to be handled, occaſioned quite contrary effects to what was imagined; for the *Conde Duca*, who having framed ſuch conceits forbare not upon occaſion to ſpeak of them openly; whereas he thought thereby to ſuppreſs the eager deſires of this Prince, found afterwards that they ſerved for bellows to make

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flame higher; for the Duke thinking that the Court of *Spain* meant, under these pretences, to make use of these letters, grew so inraged; as any the least commotion he heard of in the State of *Millain*, much more the taking up of Arms by the Duke of *Feria* and by the Infanta moved him beyond measure, as if they had been undoubtedly prepared for his ruine; so as the fear of losing those possessions he had, being added to the hopes he had fancied unto himself of augmenting them by joyning in League with the King of *France*, he began to raise men for his own defence, to munite his Forts, and to hold closer intelligence with the King of *France*, that he might the better secure himself against such threats; and raising his thoughts yet higher, being big with conceit of the liberty of *Italy*, he, like another *Charles Emanuel*, did so zealously covet the beating down of the Spanish Empire, as not only one, but many *Charles Emanuels* seemed in all mens opinions to be risen up in this young Prince; and his actions shewed in the progress of time, that Count *Fabio* was not the Author of these sprightly counsels, but that they were the proper and natural conceptions form'd in the Dukes own Idea. The Alienation of this Prince and of the Duke of *Modena*, though they were none of the greatest in Dominions nor in Forces, did notwithstanding discompose the affairs of *Spain* in *Italy*, and were of no small moment to the safety of the State of *Millain*; Commerce by Land being totally separated by their States, from between the Kingdom of *Naples* and the State of *Millain*, which was so necessary for the conveyance of Horse, which could not be carried by Sea without much inconvenience; in which case, the State and Havens of *Genoa* (which by reason of the good correspondency between the Crown of *Spain* and that Commonwealth, had formerly been a safe landing for the Spaniards) being now become doubtful (as shall hereafter be said) by reason of the bad satisfaction which many of the Genoese Citizens received from the Court of *Spain*, or not safe by reason of the French Fleets which were upon the Mediterranean; and the *Valtoline* being in the hands of the French; *Italy* and the State of *Millain* were subject to be invaded by their Armies: so as the affairs of *Spain* were subject to manifest danger and strange events. The Spaniards therefore apprehending what might happen, strove to re-gain, at least, the Duke of *Modena*, who drew along with him the Lord of *Mirandola*, who depended much upon him; for if *Modena* should be wrought upon, Commerce with the Kingdom of *Naples* was sufficiently secured, since his State confined on the one side with the State of *Bollognia*, on the other with that of *Cremona*; so as Horse (which are not usually denied passage by the Popes through *Romagna*) entring thereby into the Dukedom of *Bollognia*, and from thence into that of *Modena*, they may enter into the Territories of *Cremona*, and from thence into the State of *Millain*, without touching upon *Parma*. Don *Francisco di Melo*, one of the chief of the Nobility of *Portugal*, descended from the noble house of *Bragança*, and consequently famous for birth, but more for worth and dexterity, and great abilities, which he had in the contermments of *Italy*, where he had lived long with the title of Embassador in extraordinary from the King of *Spain*, in the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, was return'd now with title of Embassadour in extraordinary to the Princes

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of *Italy*; wherefore being thought a fit Inſtrument for ſuch a buſineſs by Cardinal *Albornoz*, he was ſent to *Modena* and to *Mirandola*, where having treated ſucceſsfully with both the Princes, he deviated the intelligence which both of them had contracted with the French: the Lord *Mirandola* was by agreement made with the King of *France*, to have received ſhortly a French Garriſon into *Mirandola*; but *Melo* withdrew him from thoſe treaties, and reduced him under the perpetual protection of the Crown of *Spain*; and he prevail'd ſo much with the Duke of *Modena*, as foregoing alſo the treaty of League with *France*, which was already either concluded or neer concluding, he made him joyn in League with the Crown of *Spain*; upon condition that he ſhould forthwith ſend his Brother, Prince *Reynaldo*, who was afterwards Cardinal, to defend the State of *Millain* with a Brigade of Modeneſes; and on the other ſide, deliver'd him poſſeſſion of *Correggio*, which had been the reaſon why that Duke had been diſpleaſed with the Crown of *Spain*; he, moreover, promiſed him in the Kings name many honours and dignities; upon which promiſes the Duke ere long went to *Madrid*, where he was honourably received, and made General of the Ocean, with a ſtipend of 24000 Crowns a year. The great Duke of *Tuſcany*, either was not deſired by the French to enter into the League, or being deſired, refuſed; it was not to be feared that he would enter into new Counſels, were it either that, with the wiſeſt, he did think them good for the common good; or were it for that being Son to a Siſter of the preſent Emperour, he thought himſelf in honour intereſſed in what concern'd the Auſtrian Family; which was the cauſe why in the late wars of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, he had openly declared for the Auſtrians; and holding the State of *Sienna*, in Fee, from the Crown of *Spain*, upon obligation to ſuccour the State of *Millain* with a certain number of men, he could not well joyn in Confederacy with other Princes againſt the ſaid State; and therefore ſoon after the war was begun, upon the ſame *Franciſco di Melo's* going to him, he entred into League with the Crown of *Spain*, which was after eſtabliſh'd by his Secretary *Dominico Pandolfini*, and ſworn unto in defence of that State, and was bound to ſend the Brigade of Foot, which he was to have ſent to the State of *Sienna*, and which was accordingly ſent under the Marqueſs *Camillo dal Monte*; and, moreover, he of his meer will and pleaſure, obliged himſelf to pay 4000 Swiſſers, and to ſend 500 Horſe, which he ſoon did, under the Marqueſs *Ricciardi*; for which noble and generous action, the King made *Jovan Carlo*, Brother to the ſaid Duke, and who was afterwards Cardinal, Supream General of all his Majeſties Fleets in the Mediteranean: the French therefore had no hopes of prevailing with that State.

They thought they might build more ſafely upon the State of *Genoa*, by reaſon of the diſpleaſure which many of thoſe Citizens at this time conceived from the Court of *Spain*; by means whereof they thought they might divert that Common-wealth from that good correſpondency which ſo many years had been held between her and the Crown of *Spain*, ſo happily. And that it may be known how this diſſatisfaction hapned, it will be neceſſary that repeating ſomewhat that hath already been touch'd, we make a particular diſcourſe thereupon;

the which may serve not so much to acquaint the present Age with what hath hapned in these our times, as the future.

The Common-wealth had held for an undoubted Maxime of State, that the King being concern'd in that State, by reason of her negotiations with that Crown, should stand for ever well affected to the liberty thereof; And the King likewise, out of the same considerations, was of the same opinion, that the Common-wealth should alwayes stand well affected to his Crown. From this conformity of opinion did that perfect and affectionate correspondency result, which made them never weary of assisting one another reciprocally; and a whole Age of experienced happiness being past, there was nothing done either by the Spaniards or Genoese, wherein the dignity of that Crown, and the preservation of the Common-wealths liberty was not joyntly intended. The Genoese allowed the Kings of *Spain* to maintain a great number of Gallies in the Haven of *Genoa*, whereby those Kings kept their Dominions in *Italy* joyn'd to their Kingdomes of *Spain*, which were so far divided both by Sea and Land. Passage was granted easily, at the request of that Crown, by the Genoese, through their Common-wealth; Those Kings made use of the Genoeses in their Affairs and Imployments of greatest importance, trusting them with the supream command of their Fleets at Sea, and of their Armies by Land; being enlivened by this nearness and affiance the Genoese, brought home all that by their industry and negotiation they had formerly gotten in several of the parts of the world, into the States and Dominions belonging to that Crown. And the richest and wealthiest of them, having imployed their riches and fortunes in the service thereof, were both a great help to the Spaniards, and received much honour and advantage thereby. By these mens industry those Kings turn'd all the Indian merchandize into Gold, and they conveyed not only the Spaniards Gold but their own, and the like of all *Europe*, whither soever the occasions of that Crown required, as oft as the treasures of *America* came not time enough, or were not sufficient to supply them. And all things went successfully by reason of the credit and great correspondency which they had gotten in all the world by their real and punctual proceedings; a most happy Age, wherein nothing was contended for between so great a King and the Common-wealth, but reciprocal zeal and passion how to serve each other. The War made these late years by the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein he was assisted by *France* against the Common-wealth, added new and stricter tyes to this so great an union; wherein the King having been very ready and zealous to defend and preserve the Common-wealth, she found she had not placed her hopes of preservation formerly in vain in the union of that Crown; for the Common-wealth finding her self abandoned in those necessities by all the Princes of *Italy*, nay by the Pope himself, not without apparent scandal, she found no Arms ready to fence her self against so great a Tempest but those of *Spain*; which coming, in both by Sea and Land to her assistance, the Common-wealth being assisted only by the Forces of *Spain*, was able so to withstand the Assaulters, as she had the better of the business; by all which successes, the King and all his friends might easily perceive that the joyning of the French Forces to those of *Savoy* against the Common-wealth,

wealth, was not only to reſent the buying of *Zuccharello*; but to bound the Auſtrian greatneſs; and to begin the abaſing thereof in the ruine of *Genoa*; and that likewiſe the fall of that Common-wealth was not affected by the Rebublicks and chief Princes of *Italy*, for any other end, ſave only that holding her to be too cordially united to the intereſts of that Crown, they thought they could not ſafely build upon her for thoſe ends which they were intent upon; which were, to pull down the Spaniſh Grandezza, the preheminency whereof they could not ſee, and patiently ſuffer: So as the ones ſecurity, and the others greatneſs, which were apparently practiſed againſt, being joyned to the reciprocal advantagious bonds of ſuch an union, it ſeemed that no future chance could interrupt it. But the felicity of this world is not ſo ſecure, but that when it is come to the height, it declines; for the ſtorm which troubled *Genoa* was not well over, when on the ſudden, the ſo well grounded union was diſturb'd and indangered; it is hard to penetrate into the true and intrinſecal cauſe of this change of this Scene. But the Spaniards thinking that they had merited exceeding much of the Genoeſe, by the aſſiſtance which they had given them, pretended mighty matters from them; which not being granted neither by the publick, nor by the private perſons, begot ill blood in them, and particularly in the *Conde Duca*; who was of a high ſpirit, one who naturally abhor'd ancient cuſtomes, inclined to novelties, no wayes deſirous to give ſatisfaction to ſuch Princes as were friends to the Crown, and (chiefly) not to the Genoeſe. Neglecting therefore that good correſpondency which *Charles* the fifth, and *Philip* the ſecond, and the third, had ſtill endeavoured to preſerve, he began on the ſudden, and under colour of the emptineſs of the Kings Exchequer, to ſeiaſe upon their riches, which by reaſon of their greatneſs being become odious in that Court were alſo eſteemed hurtful and prejudicial, as if they had been accumulated by waſting the Kings Patrimony. Which conceits being promoted by the *Conde Duca* his authority, ſome books or libels concerning them were diſperſt abroad in *Madrid*; which though they were confuted ſufficiently, yet they were readily embraced by the other Spaniſh Agents. Whence very great inconvenience, loſs, and diſſatisfaction redounded to the Genoeſes: And the firſt blowes being made at private Citizens of *Genoa*, who would not conſent to the injurious negotiations which were propounded to them by the *Conde Duca*; therefore what began with private men paſt on to the publick diſtaſt; by reaſon of the former Wars of *Genoa*, ſome alterations had ſometimes hapned in that Court, to the prejudice of the Contract: But ſuch as by reaſon of their ſlenderneſs and ſeldomneſs might well have been endured. And if the Kings, forced by ſome neceſſity, made any alterations, yet knowing how uſeful and neceſſary the maintaining of the Contract was, they avoided breaking it, and endeavoured to piece it up by making amends, ſome way or other, to the negotiators. So as the Contract was kept ſtill on Foot, and the ſharpneſs or bitterneſs of the loſſes ſuffer'd by the paſt alterations were abundantly ſalved by the aſſiſtance which was given in the ſubſequent Warr. But the War being ceaſed, this miſchief in thoſe Spaniſh Agents, againſt the Genoeſes, began to be revived again, and renewed with ſuch vehemency, as being continued

beyond all measure or end, it necessarily brought the Genoeses even to the precincts of desperation: no great enterprise or action was resolved upon in that Court, or in the Spanish Dominions in *Italy*, where some design was not had upon the moneys of the Genoeses; the arming made in *Naples* against *Provence* by the Viceroy *Monterfi*, was not only put together at first, and in a great part formed by moneys taken from the Genoeses, but was recruited and re-assumed twice or thrice by the same moneys: this mischief began first by the Kings Decree published in the beginning of the year 1627, a year after the war of *Genoa*, by which the satisfaction and payments, which were formerly assigned to the Genoeses, in somuch Gold and Silver, which should be brought by the first Plate-ships from *America* into *Spain*, were altered; in lieu whereof so many yearly rents were assigned to them out of the Kings Revenue, and out of impositions.

The *Conde Duca*, and the other Spanish Agent esteemed it a great advantage to make use of those ready moneys which they had of the Genoeses upon new occasions: but as all novelties which are not introduced out of true but appearing reasons, bring forth often sad accidents; so was this resolution occasion of strange inconveniences, in prejudice to the contract which was so necessary for that Court; for the King by this Decree suffer'd much in his Credit and Reputation of contracting, which was formerly so highly valued: the negotiating Genoeses did likewise suffer not only in their own particular concernments, but generally in their Credit, which being formerly incredible with all Nations, began by this Court-novelty, and by this alteration of pay, to lessen. Forreign Nations suffer'd, which had trusted their moneys in the Banks of the Genoeses; to the end, that they might exchange them from place to place throughout all *Europe*, for the maintenance of the Spanish Armies and Fleets: a great contrivement which had been long happily experienced, and such as the Gold and Silver yearly brought in by the Plate-fleet, and the Annual Revenues of the Crown not being sufficient for it, did like a devouring whirlepool, always open, require indefinite ready moneys, at all times, and in all Regions; which could be had no where else, but from the Mine of the Genoeses Credit; all Merchants in all places suffer'd in their Commerce and exchange of Moneys; which is the only means to make use of ready moneys with least danger and expence in far-off Countries: the detaining these moneys in this Court occasioned all this inconvenience; just as when the chief Fountain is dried up, all the Rivulets which derive from thence do grow dry likewise, and the Grass is burnt up. By these unusual accidents the good correspondency between the Genoeses and this Crown began somewhat to slacken, advantage being the best nourishment to inclination, and prejudice the worst venome; but these novelties began soon to cease.

For the Spaniards finding, at last, how necessary it was for so vast a machination to have Architects that were excellent at Traffick, who were born out by credit, and very cunning in the winding and turning of Moneys and merchandize; and finding that the Florentines, who in emulation or spite to the Genoeses, were brought in by them to the contract, were not able to undergo such a burthen; and that therefore their

their Negotiations did not only not proceed ſo well as they had hoped, but that Trade was interrupted, to the great prejudice of the Crown, it behoved them to reduce it into the ancient channel, and, in a great part, to put it again into the hands of the Genoeſes; and this reſolution was the rather taken, for that the Spaniſh Officers found, that Negotiation by the Genoeſes was not ſo very prejudicial to the Kings purſe, nor to the bettering of their own fortunes, as ſome of them had believed; for to boot that they found that the conſideration money was not ſo exceſſive, as had been thought; and that all the miſchief proceeded from the great expence which the paſſing of buſineſs through ſo many hands, and in ſo many places, brought with it, they afterwards, that they might make the Genoeſes plunge themſelves further into buſineſs and negotiation, and take upon them greater bargains, made the King invite them by Commendams, Titles and Rewards, more then the emolument which the buſineſe did naturally bring with it; and though the interrupted negotiation began to grow better, yet many Staple Towns of Trade were wanting, and therein many of their Creditors for ready money, who inſtead of ready moneys which were due unto them at their Marts or Fairs, were forced to receive payment in credit given in far-off Countries: ſo as the affection of the Genoeſes being moved by ſo much prejudice, made the Citizens grow ſomewhat teſty; and on the other ſide, that *Hob-goblin* which miſguiding the Spaniard in point of profit in negotiation had troubled the current of buſineſs, did alſo continually vex their minds, by the noiſe of the Genoeſes wealth, and did ſuggeſt thoughts into them of taking from them what they had gotten. They did not re-attempt their goods nor the payments of the contract, finding the great inconveniences which were occaſioned by the laſt retentions; and which were more apprehended now, by how much it was more neceſſary to maintain the credit of the negotiating Genoeſe, which was not a little diminiſh'd by the late Decree; and for that they ſaw the urgent neceſſities of the Crown, reduced by that Decree into great ſtreights: Leaving therefore the Negotiation untouched, they ſeized upon the yearly Rents of the Genoeſes, which were in *Naples*, *Spain*, and in the State of *Millain*, and which were of great worth; a reſolution which was ill reſented and worſe digeſted; for none being, almoſt, prejudiced under the name of Forreigners, but the Genoeſes, againſt whom the King had no juſt pretence at all, the injuſtice did the more appear, for that the natural Subjects goods were not retained: this afforded occaſion of ſeveral diſcourſes; as, whether the Kings Exchequer got more diſcredit, or advantage by it; whether the Kings deſigns were more advanced, or more retarded thereby; whether it did faſten or ſlacken the devotion of the Genoeſes towards the Crown: Contrary effects ariſing from the ſame cauſe which brings profit, and ſhews Penury, which is a help to the Royal Revenue, and darkens Majeſty, captivates the goods, and alienates the affection; leaving it in doubt, whether there be any thing of Royalty or Monarchy in that Project, which is neither order'd by Juſtice, nor accompanied with Generoſity; and becauſe for juſtification of ſuch a Decree, proviſion might be had for repairing the loſs, they talk'd of aſſigning reparation to ſuch as were grieved; but the reſtoring was not ſo ready nor equal

to

to the dammage undergone, as was the benefit of the second retention efficacious in behalf of the Kings Exchequer, to make the Officers desirous to reiterate it to the prejudice of the same Genoeses; the second decree was therefore determined, which was the more felt, as the disease was more confirm'd, and touched many in their livelihoods and families; which was stomack'd by many, and began to corrupt that confidence and trust which was formerly had of the punctuality of that Crown, touching the payment of the Revenues thereof, which were sold for ready monies. Wherefore they bethought themselves of being more backwards in intereſſing themselves again with that Crown, and to listen more to novelties; and finding what great defalcations were made in their principles, by the retention of the Revenues, they began to fear, what hapned, that the malady would be everlasting, and grow dayly worse. They therefore studied as much as they could to rid their hands of the Revenues, by selling the Principal; that they might imploy the price thereof in other States, in whose justice they mought more safely confide; since such vast sums could not be imploy'd in the Territories of *Genoa*. So as some thought of sending their monies to *Rome*, some to *Venice*; but this was presently hindred by the same Spanish Officers. For being desirous to keep the Genoeses subject to the Kings interests out of their own concernments, they by indirect means hindred the sale of their principal; which proved very prejudicial to the Genoeses, who not being able to receive their Revenues, nor to make use of their principal, were forc'd contrary to all right, to keep it subject to a continual diminution; and the retention continuing, many Citizens lost their greatest wealth, whereby they maintained their families. Wherefore the Common-wealth which heard continual complaints hereof, and evidently found how much the prejudice of private persons which was insufferable, did redound to the publick loss, was forced to complain thereof to the King, by *Cesare Durazzo*, whom they sent Embassadour in extraordinary to him to that purpose: And he bringing back no satisfaction but in words, and faithful promises of making reparation for what loss had been suffer'd, and of desisting from being so in the future, which was not made good; for the retention continued, and the Citizens began again to resent yet more, and to grow cooler in their affections to that Crown. This ill disposition was yet more fomented, by but bad satisfaction which the Common-wealth it self received at the same time from the Officers of the Crown: Which beginning (as hath been said elsewhere) from the impunity of the Conspirators, which the same Officers with such eagerness pres's'd for, was resented with no little admiration and grief by the private Citizens, and as constantly denyed by the Common-wealth. And as it was seen that this earnest pressing of the Spanish Officers arose from the immense desire they had to satisfie the Duke of *Savoy*'s ardent desires, who was then a bitter Enemy to the Common-wealth, and the chief favourer of the Conspiracy; so did the Common-wealth think her self the more injured by that Crown; for that preferring the Duke of *Savoy*'s reconciliation before the sincere and never interrupted friendship of the Common-wealth, it had concluded peace with the Duke of *Savoy*, whilst the differences between

between that Duke and the Common-wealth, were not yet well composed. To this was added the ardent desire of that Crown, that Monsieur *Di Sabran*, Resident for the King of *France*, should not be permitted to tarry in *Genoa*, which was interpreted by the Spaniards as a beginning of the alienation between the Common-wealth and the Crown; by which occurrences the Kings Officers believing that the Genoese fell much off from the union, and good correspondency towards the Kings Affairs; and fearing lest the wound should fester, which might occasion more mischief, they bethought themselves of a means, by which the generality of the Citizens should be inforced to be better inclined to the Crowns concernments then they held them to be, and more desirous to joyn with the Court Agents in their desires; which was an excepting some of the Citizens, who were held to be most affected to the Crown, from the retention of Revenues; thinking thereby to insinuate unto the rest that they might be the better able to get their rents, if they would appear partial to the Kings interest. This caused great commotion amongst the Citizens, all of them detested it, as seeds of civil dissention sow'd by the Spanish Agents amongst the Citizens. And the Common-wealth knowing how deeply this struck at the foundation of publich Concord, did at the first hearing very much resent it; thinking that the solid and well regulated Government of the Common-wealth might be thereby much disordered; since those that were excepted might mind more their private then the publick good. And those that were excepted were as much displeased thereat as were the rest; who thinking themselves to be more noted then favoured by that exception, seemed particularly offended. The Common-wealth therefore, that she might countermine and render this decree vain, which was so pernicious for her, ordered that whatsoever rents should be paid to those that were excepted should be shared equally by all that were concern'd in the like rents. So the Common-wealth making use of her Native Liberty, would make *Italy* see, and all Christendom, how far she undervalued any Interest in respect of the liberty. The proceedings of the Marquess *Santa Croce*, Generall of her Spanish Fleets at Sea, did likewise much irritate all the Genoeses; who though in respect of what he had done for the Common-wealth, when he was made by the King Captain General of the Forces that were sent to relieve her, he had received all the satisfaction both of honour and gratitude that she could give him; yet the seeds of bad satisfaction being already sowed (as hath been said) by the *Conde Duca*, to the prejudice of the Genoeses interests; *Santa Croce* who was one that did chiefly depend upon the authority of the *Conde Duca*, was of all others most sollicitous and most accurate in seconding his Genius, greedily embraced the occasion which presented it self, of sharing in his resentments. For being in *Messina*, with the Galleyes and Standard royal, when the Common-wealths Gallies came thither with her Standard, he intended some innovation, in prejudice to the precedency which was usually given there to her Standard; which *Luca Justiniano*, the Common-wealths General, hearing, though he had much adoe to believe it, yet he took notice thereof, complained much, and endeavoured to remove him from the thought thereof, both by affectionate entreaties,

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and by evident reasons alleadged on the Common-wealths behalf. But in vain; for *Santa Croce* was resolute in his intention; so as *Justiniano* seeing he could do no good upon him, that he might avoid further inconveniences, resolved to be gon; and bringing news to *Genoa* of *Santa Croce*'s comportments, he inceased resentment generally in the minds of all the Citizens, who were very much offended with the Spanish Officers for the continual injuries which they received from them: Wherefore the Common-wealth took from him all the priviledges which she had granted him for his former services. The Common-wealth was also very sensible of another sad accident, which hapned not long after, almost within sight of the City. Ten *Holland* ships came to *Genoa* fraught with merchandize, and victuals, which belong'd partly to the publick Granary of *Genoa*, partly to the private Genoeses, and partly to forreign Merchants who resided in *Genoa*. *Don Melchiore di Borgia*, General of the Neopolitan Gallies, was in the Haven of *Vai* neer *Savona*; and hearing of these ships, put to Sea, and assaulted them, and took them, and carryed them away to *Naples*, with their lading as lawfull prize; alledging for his defence, that being *Holland* ships, who were Enemies to the King, he might lawfully take them. The Common-wealth held her self offended by this action, several wayes; chiefly, for the violation of the jurisdiction of her See; pretending, as undoubtedly she might, that the jurisdiction of the whole Ligustick Sea did anciently belong to her, she having won it with her own Fleets, having anciently defended it from the *Saracens*; which pretension is approved by ancient Cesarean priviledges, and by the authority of the most famous ancient Writers and Civilians. Moreover, she held her self injured by the interruption of commerce, and concourse of Forreign Ships in her Havens, for wrong done to the publick Store-houses of the City and of the Common-wealth; for the loss that redounded to private Citizens and to Forreigners, who resided in the City upon account of busines, and to the Custom-house; and finally, for the violation of the Laws of Hospitality: whilst the Kings Captains abusing the reception which is courteously given in the Havens of the Common-wealth to the Kings Ships, they rewarded the courtesie with injurie and go out of their Havens where they are friendly received, secured, and furnish'd with all necessaries to injure, the vessels of the Common-wealths confederates; who frequenting the Haven of *Genoa*, come under assurance of publick faith, and of the Common wealths protection, to supply the City with victuals, and to maintaine Commerce, which is one of the chief foundation of the City and State of *Genoa*. And really the Ships that were in *Vai* were rig'd out by the monies of the Genoeses, which was detain'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and was not only received and provided of all refreshments in the Ligustick Sea. So as the Common-wealth seeing that the Captains of those Ships abused such civility, and had turned her high favours not onely to the abuse of her friends, but of her self, had occasion to complain of this action, which might justly be esteemed hostile; for indeed, what was it but debarring of free Commerce between Forreigners and the City? What, but to pretend to besiege the City by Sea? To the end that those vessels might not enter the City, which were by her favour permitted to enter; So as after fitting

complaints

complaints made both in publick and private, there were three Embaſſadours choſen. The firſt was ſent to *Spain*, to complain of the injury received from Don *Melchior di Borgia* in the Liguſtick Sea, and to demand ſatisfaction: This was *Lucca Juſtiniano*, who being deſcended from a Father who had been long ſince Doge, not long after his return from this Embaſſie, was with much applauſe choſen alſo Doge, as his Father had been before him. Another was ſent to *France*, to complain of the taking of many Veſſels of *Genoa*, which were taken by the French, who coming out of the French Seas with Letters of Mart granted by the King, committed Piracy upon the Mediterranean: This was *Giovanni Baptiſta Saluzzo*, one who had been long employed in Embaſſies for the Common-wealth. The third, with title only of a Gentleman of *Genoa*, was *Jacomo Negrone di Melchiore*, a young man, but of great hopes, who was ſent to the United Provinces of *Holland*, to complain of what had been done in the Liguſtick Sea, of the common prejudice done to their Veſſels, and to the Merchandize intended for *Genoa*, to acquaint them how it was reſented by the Genoeſe, and with the remedy which was endeavoured and expected from the Court of *Spain*, to the end that thoſe Provinces might not have the Navigations of their Veſſels diſturbed nor interrupted afterwards. The two laſt of theſe Embaſſies were ill interpreted by the Spaniards, as eſteemed to be ſent for the holding of cloſer intelligence with the King of *France*, and with the United Provinces. This jealouſie of the Court of *Spain* was augmented by another proviſion which it behoved the Commonwealth to make, touching the unloading and paſſage which was to be granted to the Subjects of Forreign Princes: For formerly, when for almoſt a whole Age the Spaniards had met with no competition in *Italy* from the French, neither by Sea nor Land, the conceſſion or inhibiting of landing or paſſage could cauſe no inconvenience; and therefore it being thought of little or no concernment to the main Affairs, the arbitrement of conceſſion or denial was in the two Colledges; but now, when almoſt the whole ſtate of Affairs was altered in *Italy*, by the French Forces, which kept frequently in *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, and by the ſhipping of the ſame Crown, which entered the Mediterranean not long after, (as ſhall be ſaid hereafter) it became the Commonwealth to reflect more upon the importancy thereof then ſhe had done formerly; wherefore, as things of greater concernment, it was thought fit that they ſhould be reſolved by the ſame Colledges, but by the intervening of the leſſer Colledg, according to the publick Laws, which referr'd the dangerous affair of ſuch accidents to the ſaid Colledge. The reſult of this new deliberation was, That conceſſion being to be carried by the moſt Votes, the Spaniards thought it would be a harder buſineſs to be decided, by reaſon of the times, wherein they thought the Genoeſes had ſtickened their ſtudying the Kings good, many of the Genoeſes complaining, and, as being greatly concerned by the retention of their Rents, exclaiming, that it was an unworthy and unjuſt thing, that the Spaniards ſhould purchaſe the conveniency of paſſage from the Swiſſers for great ſums of money, and other honourable terms, and that the Genoeſes, receiving no recompence, ſhould moreover be deprived of their rents, which was the fortune wherewith they maintained their

Houses and Families; and which not being given gratis, but bought with ready monies, was due unto them by all Laws both Humane and Divine: And that, moreover, the publick dignity was contemned, and their Hospitalities were thereby violated. The King not approving of what *Borgia* had done, and being desirous in some sort to satisfie the Genoeses complaints, which were preſt home by their Embassadour *Justiniano*; did at last order by decree, that their merchandize and vessels which were taken should be restored; and as the ready execution would have generally much quieted mens minds, so the difficulties put therein by the Spanish Agents in *Italy* did exasperate them, and made the proviso unsatisfactory. But on the other side, the Spaniards did much resent the Common-wealths resolution, and not being able to endure that the free concession of landing, unloading, and passage formerly granted unto those of their Nation, should be now any ways controverted; they thought that the favour their King had shewn in the last War to the Common-wealth, should be prefer'd before any motive which should have made the Common-wealth put on such a resolution. The Court of *Spain* had much adoe to believe that so great a conspiracy against the Common-wealth, and the great losses suffer'd by that War, should proceed onely from the Duke of *Savoy*'s anger concerning *Zaccharello*, but rather for that the Common-wealth, contrary to the ends and interests of all the Italian Princes, would constantly maintain union with the Crown of *Spain*: so as the assistance given by *Spain* upon that occasion to the Common-wealth, (to boot that it was not gratis, nor at the Kings expence, as those which were subministred for the protection of *Monferrat*; but paid for by the monies of the Genoeses) was onely due to the Common-wealth from the King by the Laws of gratitude and good correspondency, but requisite for the safety of the Kings Affairs in *Italy*; which would have run much hazard by the loss of the Common-wealth. But how soever, who knows not how far the merit of benefits received may be cancelled, and the memory of them quite forgot, by loading those that received them with wrongs and injuries? And yet the Common-wealth minding more the substance of Affairs, then Accidents which may happen, shew'd plainly to the whole world, and to the King and Court of *Spain*, in the ruptures which hapned afterwards, how considerately she proceeded in her actions.

For the Genoeses being amidst these Commotions, the French thought they might prevail much with the Common-wealth; and thinking that if they could draw her over to their side, they should have as good as effected their business; they endeavoured to make her declare for them, as they had done the like with many other Princes of *Italy*. But the Common-wealth which would never be brought to declare for *Spain*, was far from doing so; but carried her self so discreetly in her actions, as neither of the Crowns had reason to complain of her: So as she was equally pleasing to them both; and her carriage in the disputes which succeeded afterwards between the Forces of both the Crowns, was well received. Wherein she was so much credit with the French, and of *Spain*'s Admiral, being then in the Haven of *Genoa*, with the Standard royal, and with other Gallies, the Admiral

miral of *France*, came at the ſame time into the ſame Haven, with a greater number of Gallies and better provided for fight; and the conflict might have proved dangerous to the Spaniards, had not the Common wealth interpoſed her ſelf: So that as if both of them had put their differences to be decided by her, they ſtay'd there quietly with incredible reſpect, and forbearing all the while of their abode there. And both their Admirals coming on land walked up and down the City without any quarrelling; and that ſeemed to happen at this time in the Haven City of *Genoa*, which hapned in *Noah's* Ark, where beaſts which were at enmity with one another, laying aſide all their rancour, lived peaceably together. The like hapned not long after in *Savona*, whereinto eleven Neopolitan Gallies being entred, which had landed ſome Souldiers at *Finale*, they were overtaken by thirteen French Gallies, and after them came a great many French Frigats, not far from *Savona*, which aſſuredly would have made themſelves maſters of the Neopolitan Gallies, had not *John Baptiſta Balbano*, who was then Governour of *Savona*, willed the French General to forbear all Hoſtility, which the French were ready to have uſed to the Enemy: So as the King of *Spain* and his Agents might perceive, how differently the Common-wealth (though ſo many ſeveral wayes injured by his Agents) had carried her ſelf, from what ſome Italian Princes had done, who were near ally'd to the Auſtrian blood, and who had received great honours and favours from the King: One whereof (as ſhall be ſaid in its due place) being hardly deſired to do ſo by the French, declared abſolutely for Neutrality; and the other joyn'd with the French, and went with them to aſſault *Millain*. Theſe were the practices of the King of *France*, wrought in *Italy* by his Agents; and theſe were the fruits thereof; but yet that King forbore not to attempt that by Arms which he could but weakly compaſs by negotiation; not having drawn any others over to ſide with him, but the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Parma*, the latter more then willingly, the other much inforced; when War was openly declared, he raiſed an Army of 2000 Horſe, and 12000 Foot in *Dolphiny*, and ſent it into *Piedmont* under Marſhal *Cricky*, to the end that joyning with the Forces of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Parma*, they might begin to fall upon the State of *Millain*: Which being then unprovided of men, many whereof were employ'd in the *Valteline* againſt *Rohan*, was but in bad condition to defend it ſelf. The Duke of *Savoy* was to concur in this enterprize with 2000 Horſe, and with about 10000 Foot, and the Duke of *Parma*, with 7000 Foot and 1000 Horſe; which made in all 3000 Horſe, and above 25000 Foot, a formidable Army for the State of *Millain*, though it had been ſufficiently provided of Souldiers, much more now when it wanted them ſo much.

Cricky appeared about the end of *Auguſt*, in the year 1635. with Title of Lieutenant to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was choſen (as hath been ſaid) Captain General of the League, and of the King of *France* his Forces in *Italy*; and having thrown a bridge over the *Seſia*, he preſently took *la Villata*, together with the Fort which the Spaniards had built there; and though he lay idle there ſome days, expecting the Colleagues, yet he kept the Enemy in ſuſpence, they not knowing where this ſo great a preparation would firſt fall: Doubtleſſy they minded

moſt to aſſault that part which the Millanois call beyond the *Poe*, in which, to boot with the Cities of *Aleſſandria* and *Tortona*, the Town of *Valenza* is ſcituated, upon the right hand of the *Poe*, juſt over againſt *la Lomellina*; which though it were but badly defenſible, either by ſcituation or art, was notwithſtanding of great conſequence in reſpect of the *Poe*, which dividing this part from the reſt of the State, and there being no other Town upon the whole extent of her banks, fit for the caſting over of a bridge; therefore as when it was held by the Spaniards, it kept both parts of the State joyned together by that bridge; ſo being loſt, and the two parts disjoyn'd, the one part could not well aſſiſt the other; it was therefore to be feared, that if *Valenza* ſhould be loſt, all that part of the State would ſoon be taken; and that the other part being thereby weakned, and cut off from the Sea, they ſhould be totally debar'd all Maritime ſuccour; ſo as this being added to the loſs of the *Valtoline*, it was cleerly ſeen how great a loſs to the State of *Millain* the taking of *Valenza* would prove: the inconvenience grew the greater, for that the Duke of *Parma* being alienated, the accommodation which (that part being loſt) his territories could give for bringing relief by Sea, was alſo loſt; ſo as it was probable that *Valenza* would be the firſt place that the enemy would fall upon; and therefore the Cardinal who was the Governour, and the other Officers, were troubled how to withſtand this ſo imminent danger, their forces being weakned, and their Souldiers exhauſted; eſpecially ſince thoſe few that were left to defend the State were ſent for a little before to keep Flanders from being aſſaulted by the French, and Hollanders; to the ſlenderneſs of the forces was added the weakneſs of government; the Cardinal, who was Governour, was by profeſſion a Church-man, and little, or not at all, vers'd in what belonged to war; though Don *Carlo Colonna*, a Commander long trayn'd up in the wars of Flanders, by orders from the King, commanded in chief the forces of the State; but Marqueſs *Spinola*, who was General of the Horſe, and of a ſuſperior quality, quitting his own command upon this occaſion, as not induring to be commanded by him, choſe to ſerve as a private Volunteer; the other Captains, though they did not openly refuſe to ſerve, yet did it but unwillingly; ſo as the diſagreement, and diſaffection of the Commanders, being added to the weakneſs of the forces, made the defence dangerous; the danger was yet great, for fear leſt the Duke of *Rohan*, a Commander of known fame, might fall with his men from the *Valtoline* into ſome other part of the State, and might ſo divert thoſe few forces, which being all joyned together were not ſufficient to defend one part: or that joyning with others he might make the aſſault the ſorer; amidſt theſe dangers, the Duke of *Parma*, who had never been provoked by any hoſtile act, ſtuck not to be the firſt that entred armed into the State of *Millain*, in hoſtile manner, with ſeven thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe, all very well appointed, about the beginning of *September*; he was not above twenty four years old; but being ſprightly, and building rather upon certainties then hopes, he at firſt entred the territories of *Tortona*, and croſſing over, thoſe of *Aleſſandria* thought to joyn with the Marſhal, who was in the *Villata*, and with the Duke of *Savoy*, who expected

expected his speedy joyning with his *Piemontese* in this enterprise; and not being well entred into the State of *Millain*, he encountred twenty five thousand Foot, divided into two bodies, at *Ponte Carone*; the one Spaniards, led on by Don *Gasparo d'Azevedo*; the other Neapolitans, conducted by *Philippo Spinola*, sent from *Naples* by the Vice-roy *Monterei*, and landed but a little before in the Seas of *Genoa*. *Azevedo* marcht foremost, who not tarrying for *Spinola*, who followed half a days march'd behind, he fought the Duke; and being at the first shot in the head with a Musket he fell down dead; wherefore the Spaniards, though for a while they resisted valiantly, yet being exceeded in numbers, they were routed, and put to flight, the Duke hoping hereby for greater things; and being glad that he had begun so fortunately, went more couragiously forwards; but he had lost many of his men, part whereof were slain in the fight, part disbanded in the march; he found the Marshal at *Pievera*, who was come thither with his men, to guide him, and secure him in his march; and turning with him back, he encamped before *Valenza*; where assigning the lower bank to the Duke for his quarters, and the upper bank to the Marquess *Villeroy*, who had some French Regiments with him, he himself kept with his men upon a hill behind the Town; which being block'd up on all sides, could receive no succour from any part, but onely by a bridge of Boats which was thrown over the *Poe*; the Town was not thought able to hold out longer then six days, either by those that were within, or those that were without, and those of the Spanish Army were so full of this opinion, as they cared not to defend it, thinking it better to quit it, and spare those few Captains, and Souldiers lives, in this so great scarcity of men, which if they should tarry to defend it, must necessarily be lost; so as they were much astonished and confused, not knowing whether they should adventure the lives of the Defendants, not to lose the Town, or (not to lose the Defendants) abandon a place of such importance; to this was added, that there being none to command in Chief there, but onely he who was trusted with it in time of peace, and whom they that were to enter would not obey, it behoved to send one of better quality and experience thither; Marquess *Spinola*, one upon whom the eyes of all men were bent, though come thither as a Volunteer before the Marshal went from *Villata*, had begun to make some fortifications; but would not take the place upon him, it being far inferior to the place of General of the Horse which he must then lay aside; and it was refused by all others, fearing lest they might lose either their lives or honours there, or peradventure both; so as they inclined rather to spare their men, then to defend the Town, which they held as good as lost already; it hapned that when the Marshal went from *Villata* to meet the Duke of *Parma*, the Spaniard observed that he left *Valenza* behind him, and took the way towards *Alessandria*, and afterwards, towards *Tortona*; so as they imagined he would first go to the taking of some one of those Cities; wherefore Marquess *Spinola* went with some few Souldiers into *Alessandria* (where General *Colonna* was, with the gross of his men) and offered himself ready to defend either that Town or *Tortona*, if either of them should be assaulted by the enemy; but when he saw the Mar-

shal

ſhal return from *Piovera*, and go, together with the Duke, to before *Valenza*, he haſted thither, with *Colonna*, and the men which were with him; and being come into the Town he found it provided of an excellent Commander, the Marqueſs of *Celada*, a Spaniard nobly born; whom being come a little before from Spain, and ſeeing that they were likely to abandon *Valenza*, could not ſuffer ſuch an amazment, and therewith ſuch a prejudice to the affairs of the Crown, and ſo great a leſſening of the honor of *Spain*; he therefore offered to take upon him the defence of that Town, and to ſacrifice himſelf and his fortune in ſo dangerous a buſineſs, for the publick honour, and ſafety; who being a Gentleman experienced in Arms, and ſent from the Court, with title of General of the Horſe of an Army, which by the Kings order and expence was to be raiſed in *Alſatia*, his offer was accepted, and much commended by the Governour of *Millain*; the ſingular example of ſo generous magnanimity encouraged many and fill'd them with generous emulations; ſo as not able to ſtand ſpectators of the loſs of that Town to the loſs of their reputation, they reſolved to follow him; he entred *Valenza* two days before *Colonna* and *Spinola* came thither, from *Alleſſandria*, with men, artillery, munition and victuals; *Spinola* took upon him the already begun defence the more willingly, now that he ſaw the place commanded by ſo gallant a perſon, whom he had very well known in the Wars of Germany; and not refuſing to ſerve under him, the generous Spaniards would not exerciſe command over him, but left the titular, or ſeeming government, to *Martine Galeno*, who was the Governour before, in whoſe name all things were done; and they two, *Celada* and *Spinola*, joyntly and unanimouſly, did with much care and vigilancy minde the defence of the beſieged Town; and ſeeing it provided of all things neceſſary (for new proviſions were daily brought in by the bridge) they fell to fortifie it; but the Town being environed onely with an old ruinous wall, they firſt began to perfect the work which *Spinola* had begun, which was a great ſtrong Trench; which being Flank'd with eight bulwarks, begirt the Town at a competent diſtance, on the outſide; by which work, which was handſomly begun, and perfected, they hoped to keep the enemy from the wall, as long as poſſibly they could; and having time and convenience, through *Cricky's* negligence, to finiſh the work, they munited it with many men; and for the better defence, they, beſides the Bulwarks, made certain low Redoubts in the ditch, which they call *Capponiere*, by a word taken from Capons pens, which they are like; to theſe *Capponierè* ſome ſlingers were ſent by a cover'd way from the bulwarks, who kept the enemy at ſuch a diſtance, as he could not come neer the wall, before he was maſter of the *Capponiere*; the taking whereof, as it was very hard, they being under the ſhelter of the Cannon, and muſket of the Bulwarks which were on their backs; ſo were they eaſie to be recovered, in caſe they were loſt; for thoſe that take them being play'd upon by the ſame Cannon, and Muskets which did firſt defend them, they are forc'd either to abandon their purchaſe immediately with much loſs of blood, firſt ſhed in the taking of them, and afterwards in abandoning them; which being abandoned are eaſily re-taken by the ſaid Slingers, through the ſame cover'd ways, who when they can make no longer

longer defence, got with ſafety into the bulwarks; the loſs therefore ſucceeding the defence, and the defence the loſs, proviſion was had for the long preſervation and ſafety of the chief Bulwark, by which the place was ſecured, a moderen invention, he which the ſleighter it ſeem'd to be, proved the more efficacious; for it is apt to weary the fierceſt aſſaults that can be given to Bulwarks; not did they employ their time onely in fortifying and muniting, after *Celada* and *Spinola* were come, but in ſallying out alſo, and in aſſaults; for finding that the Duke of *Parma*'s quarters were not yet perfectly fortified, and hearing that his numbers were much diminiſhed by the running away of many of his men, they thought they might eaſily make themſelves Maſters thereof by aſſaulting them early in the morning, whil'ſt the Souldiers were aſleep; but the event anſwered not expectation; for as they ſallyed out, upon break of day, towards the Dukes quarters, they were driven back to within their own walls, and fortifications, with loſs of men, and reputation; *Richardo Avogadro*, General of the Dukes Horſe, a ſtout and well experienced Flanders Souldier, whil'ſt he was diligently looking to affairs eſpied the enemy, and giving an Alarm immediatly, went out himſelf unarm'd, as he was, on horſback, with onely fourteen other horſe which he found ready, and in order, and encountred the enemy: and falling upon a ſquadron of Carabines, which were advanc'd before the reſt, he after a ſleight Skirmiſh beat them back, and afforded time this mean while for the reſt to arm, and put themſelves in order to defend their quarters, which the enemy being aware off, and fearing they ſhould fail of their hopes, they retreated to within their works, in great confuſion, leaving ſome of their men dead behinde them, and amongſt which Don *Fovan di Chiavari*, nephew to Cardinal *Albornizi*; whoſe death was recompenced with the like of *Avogadro*; who after having repuls'd the Carabines, being tranſported with the ſucceſs, advanc'd forward, and going to aſſault ſome Curaſſiers, was ſlain by a Muſket ſhot, to the Dukes great grief; who confided much in his Councel, valour and experience; *Valenza* being fortified, and 5000 good foot being left there, *Colonna* went out with only 800 Horſe, and retreated to *Pieve del Cairo*, a Town beyond the *Poe*, in the *Lomellina*, ſix miles from *Valenza*, expecting more men, which were to come from ſeveral parts; and in the interim was a Convoy to the Proviſions which were continually ſent; and this he did, leſt it might be taken by ſtoln aſſaults, which would have been prejudicial to the relieving of *Valenza*; wherein many valiant and experienced Commanders tarried, the very flower of the Spaniards, beſides Marqueſs *Spinola*; ſo as by the confidence that was had of them, by the Works and Fortifications which were continually made, and by the continued aſſiſtance that Don *Carlo Colonna*, who kept in the *Lomellina*, gave them, the condition of the Town ſeemed to be ſomewhat bettered: This confidence grew greater, for that the beſiegers were found not to proceed with ſuch vigour and diligence as they ought to have done. The Duke of *Parma*, who being of a fiery ſpirit, and deſirous to bring the buſineſs to a good and ſpeedy end, thought every leaſt delay a loſs of times nor could he endure that the buſineſs, which of its ſelf was like to be ſhort and ſure, ſhould be prolonged, or any ways doubted,

ed, by giving the enemy opportunity to fortifie; wherefore he continually sollicited the Marshal, that he would begin the Trenches, prepare the Batteries, and do all things which might make for the speedy taking of the Town: but the Marshal continuing his carelessness, lay still idle, and as if seized on by a fatal dull drousiness, seemed as if he had left thinking of the business; and minding hunting more then warlike actions, he did nothing for more then twelve days, but go daily to the Forest to hunt wild Beasts; and past his time in other delights and entertainments, to the wonder and amazement of all men, nay, even of the enemy, who often from their quarters saw him go a hunting; he protest he would not meddle with the business before the Duke of *Savoy*, who was General, should come into the Camp with such Forces as, by the Articles of the League, he was bound to do; and so much did all men wonder at this his manner of proceeding, and at these his fallings, as not knowing whereunto else to refer it, it was almost generally suspected that he was bribed thereunto by the Spaniards; as if not knowing what else to do in this perplexity of affairs, they had blunted the enemies steel with their gold: which the Duke of *Parma* suspecting, he for very anger bit his lips and his fingers ends; but at last, when the Duke of *Savoy*'s men appeared under Marshal *Villa*, who were not, both Horse and Foot, above 5000 fighting men; and when not many days after the Duke himself appeared, they consulted upon the manner how they should go to work; which having resolved upon in three days, and all requisite provisions and orders being taken, the Duke left the Marquess *Villa* to command his men, and return'd himself to *Vercelli*. The Dukes men were quartered in the *Lomellina*, a little above *Valenza*, upon the banks of *Poe*, where there is an Island, by which two Bridges being thrown over, one on either side of the Island, conveniency of Commerce was afforded between the Duke of *Savoy*'s quarter and that of the Marshals, which was on the other side the *Poe*, beneath *Vicenza*, and *Parma*'s quarter which, was neer at hand; who having lost many men, some whereof were run away, and some ready to run; and he fearing another assault, he desired to be recruited by *Cricky*; the Marshal being weary of his so many pressings to expedite the business, was very slow in granting him any recruits; the chief reason why Marquess *Villa* took up his quarter in the *Lomellina*, was to keep the Town from being relieved by that way; so as being streightned and inviron'd on that side of the *Poe* by *Parma* and the French, and block'd up on this side from receiving any relief from the State of *Millain*, the Town might be brought to surrender the sooner; and that he might the better do this, he sent some Souldiers by night to assault the Fort which guarded the head of the Bridge; and sent some others afterwards, to the end, that whilst those within the Fort were busie in defending themselves against the assaulters, they might fire the boats which upheld the Bridge, as they did; and after a fierce skirmish the Half-moon being taken, which guarded the Bridge of the Fort, the assailants entred, hoping to take the Fort it self quickly, when the use of the Bridge being cut off by firing of the Boats, new men could not come from *Valenza* to defend it; but many came out from *Valenza*, who quench'd the fire, and defended the Bridge, and who also recovered the Half-moon that was lost, forcing

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the assailants to retreat; but that which the Piedmontese could not effect, was done the next night by the River, which swelled so high as it brake the Bridge, and disordered the Boats, which *Villa* being aware of, he sent a greater number to re-assume the assault, who for a while were kept off by the Cannon and Muskets which plaid upon them from the Town; but at last they took the Fort, though they were held play till the Garrison, by means of the Boats which were yet fastned to the bank, got off with the loss of about 200 men, whereof some were drown'd whilst they sought to save themselves from the enemy; the rest being carried down the River in two Boats; the one whereof got safe to land, the other being driven upon the shore in the *Parma* quarters, were at first shot at, but afterward, upon yielding themselves, were taken Prisoners. This accident did much trouble the Spanish Camp, which being weak for want of men thought it self not safe in *Pieve*, whither, as hath been said, it had retreated, when it came out of *Valenza*; wherefore *Colonna*, calling a Councel of War, ask'd their opinion touching the urgency of the present condition; the greater and better part were for retiring from those quarters, thinking it the better course to preserve their men, then to tarry in *Valenza*, which not being to be relieved when the Bridge was broken, would assuredly be assaulted by *Villa*, who, being a wise Commander, had found the weakness of their men and quarters. *Colonna* inclined to this opinion, who to this purpose had sent some to finde where they might quarter with most safety thereabouts: but *Frederick Imperiale*, Son to the Marquess of *Oira*, Nephew by the Sisters side to the late Marquess *Spinola*, an approved Souldier, and train'd up under his Uncle in the wars of *Flanders*, was of another mind; and with him did *Pietro d' Aro* joyn, who was Lieutenant of the Horse; their reasons were, that they were to keep that station, were it only not to shew their fear and weakness to the enemy, and not to make the defendants despair of succour by their removal; that it was not probable that *Villa*, who was a no less wise then valiant Commander, being bound to keep the Town from being relieved, would quit his station to hazard an unsafe enterprise; that the place was capable of Fortification, and that it could not be long ere new Forces would come from the State of *Millain*, who were ready to march, and who when they should be come, the besieged would cease to fear any longer. This opinion was approved by all, and was successful in the sequel; for that very night there came thither a Brigade of Lombards, speedily raised at his own charge, by Cardinal *Trivultio*, in the name of his Son the Prince, and brought unto the Camp by Count *Carlo Marliani*, consisting for the most part of Souldiers that had fled from the Duke of *Parma*, whilst going out of the Territories of *Piacenza*, he went to joyn with the French Camp, and which were incited by the Cardinals authority, and by his large pay; they were a great help to the condition of affairs, in this so great scarcity of men, and when things were tottering, having not only weakned the Dukes Forces, but strengthned the Spanish Camp; so as *Colonna*, who together with the remainder of his men, *Valenza* being well garrison'd, could not keep the field, nor look the enemy in the face, but was likely to have abandoned his station; was able by the coming of this Brigade

to make his station good, to face his enemy, to maintain the affairs of the Town in reputation, to keep the enemy from forraging, to scoure the Country to the prejudice of the enemy, and to attempt somewhat upon the Towns thereabouts, particularly against *Santhia*. Don *Martino* of *Aragon* came thither also not long after, with some Companies of his Brigade which were quartered in *Novara*, and some few days after there came two other Brigades thither from *Naples*, raised by the Viceroy *Monterei*, as soon as he heard that the State of *Milan* was assaulted; the one consisted of 1200 Foot, conducted by Don *Carlo della Gatta*, the other by *Lucio Decriptanda*, wherein were 1600 men; so as the Camp was much re-inforced by the coming of these men; but though these Forces were sufficient for the safety of the Camp, and for the keeping of the Field, yet did they not at all serve for the defence or relief of the Town, which was severed from the River, and inclosed by the enemy on both sides, who were very well fortified; and which Town was already begun to be batter'd, and assaulted: the chief Battery was placed by the Covent of the Capuchins, situated at the foot of a Hill, behind *Valenza*, which by reason of the neerness and height of situation did absolutely command it; the others were disposed of lower in fit places; but though they all plaid continually, yet did they but little harm, not playing all upon one place, but sometimes on one place, sometimes on another, according as they were levelled, to the no little wonder of the defendants, who laugh'd at such Batteries; and the assailants seeing how little good they did thereby, began to turn their Batteries upon the houses; but were it either the fault of the Cannoniers, or the ignorance or treachery of those that ordered the Batteries, they got no more advantage thereby; for the bullets flew so high, as, for the most part, they either fell into the River, without touching the houses, or upon the opposite bank of the *Lomellina*; so as they only beat down one Gate, and the tops of two neighbouring Towers, which were soon mended by the defendants diligence. The Duke of *Parma* was impatient to see this, finding thereby the miscarriage of the enterprise, foreseeing the ruine of his so high hopes, and the insuing of the like to his own Territories; to this was added, that *Crichy* who did not much mind the Siege, was very negligent in the Government, and in the Discipline of the Camp; so as his men were likewise much lessened by running away: he was therefore forced to send for 2000 of the Militia of *Montferrat*, till he might receive new recruits from *France*; and the Duke being in greater want of men then the Marshal, (for his men ran so fast away, that of 1000 Horse which he brought with him from *Parma*, there remained but 200, and of the 7000 Foot, less then 3000;) not knowing from whence to get any more, he lay idle in his quarters; and there being no good correspondency held between him and the Marshal, he could not expect any assistance from him; and though the Dukes displeasure appeared to be somewhat mitigated by the coming of a Gentlemen, who was sent to the Camp by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to keep the Duke steadfast to the League, and to chide the Marshal for his proceedings, as well in carrying on the Siege, as in his behaviour to the Duke; and to wish him in the Kings name that he should hereafter treat the Duke with all honour

and ſatisfaction; yet theſe reprehenſions being thought to proceed from ſome complaints made to the Court by the Duke, they cauſed no good effects inwardly; and were ſo far from ſweetening their diſtaſtes, as they did rather exaſperate the malignancy which they had conceived one againſt another; and yet the Duke, continuing conſtant to the League, did not only not repent what he had done, but notwithſtanding ſo many diſtaſtes and misfortunes, profeſs'd more conſtancy ſtill in his reſolutions to Monſignior *Gorio Pannolini*, Vice-legate of *Bologna*, who was ſent unto him by the Pope, who being much preſs'd by the continual complaints of the Spaniſh Agents, had ſent him to admoniſh the Duke ſeriouſly, and to wiſh him that he would retire to his own Dominions, and not perſevere in the League any longer, to the ſo great perturbance of *Italy*, and of the publick peace. The Pope, all the while that the Duke appeared ſo highly diſtaſted with the Court of *Spain*, that he prepared for Arms, that he took Commanders and Souldiers into pay, with manifeſt appearance of making war with *Spain*; never cared to ſuppreſs ſo great a commotion, nor to ſprinkle a little water upon ſo great a flame; nor did the event of this Negotiation deceive the judgement which was made thereof; for when the Vice-legate was come unto the Camp, and had delivered his Embaſſie to the Duke; the Duke did not only not at all value it, but acquainted the Marſhal with it; wherewith the Marſhal thinking himſelf injured, he complained bitterly to the Vice-legate, that the Pope ſhould uſe his authority to divert the Kings Colleagues, and to withdraw them from ſiding with his King: at the making of which complaints the Duke being preſent, he ſeemed alſo to be diſpleaſed with the Vice-legate; ſo as the Vice-legate return'd with little ſatisfaction, and leſs fruit of his Negotiation, to *Bologna*; and the Pope not any ways reſenting this ſucceſs, nor having at any time after preſs'd the Duke to deſiſt from this enterpriſe, he did not only not appeaſe the anger of the Spaniards, but did the more confirm the general jealouſies which were conceived at theſe proceedings: it being unlikely, that he who, when he might, cared not to keep his Vaſſal from beginning ſuch a buſineſs, ſhould endeavour to withdraw him from it, when he was deeply engaged therein.

Now to reaſſume the Siege of *Valenza*. New recruits came daily to the Marſhal from *France*; ſo as the Camp being much encreaſed, when they ſaw they did no good by their batteries, they fell to aſſault the Trenches, about which, as alſo about the *Capponiere*, much labour was taken, with variety of fortune, and mortality of the parties; the end whereof proved, that ſeveral reiterated aſſaults proved ſtill unfortunate to the Aſſailants, who were never able to take any thing ſave one *Capponiere*, which they got not without much loſs, and did not keep long; and yet the Defendants having loſt many men, and not being able to be recruited, they began to forbear making out any more ſallies, whereby they had not a little prejudiced the Enemy; ſo as minding only the defence of their Trenches, they endeavoured to preſerve themſelves as much as they could, and to draw out the Siege at leaſt ſo long as that the earth might become untractable by the rains of the approaching winter, and might force the Enemy to be gone. But though the defendants had the better of the buſineſſes in repulſing aſſaults, yet was

it not had without the loſs of many men, whereof *Ceſare Caraffa* was ſlain for one, and a Spaniſh Serjeant Major; but many more of the meaner ſort of Souldiers, and many of the Captains, Officers, and Perſons of Quality, of the Enemy, were ſlain; but all this was not conſiderable, by reaſon of the continual recruits which they received from *France*; and it was reported, that ten Regiments were upon their march; ſo as the Town was not likely to hold out long: Moreover, by reaſon of the length of the Siege, many things neceſſary for the maintaining of the Town grew ſcarce, Moneys, Salt, Match, Oyl, and Griſt, the Enemy having beaten down the Mills which had furniſh'd the Town with Griſt; and none being left but two hand-mills, the generall neceſſity could be but badly ſupplied: Therefore all hope of preſerving the place grew daily leſs and leſs, not only in the defendants, who through ſuch wants decreaſed, but in thoſe who laboured to relieve them; for it being to be done either on this ſide, or on that ſide the River, it was (if not impoſſible) very hard to be done on either ſide. There was no thought of relieving it by the *Lomellina*, the Bridg being down; and to relieve it on the other ſide was too deſperate a buſineſs, the Mountain at the Foot whereof the Town ſtood, the Hill which ſtood on the ſide of it, the fields and banks which environed it being all of them poſſeſs'd, and well munited by the enemy; and *Parma's* quartet was at laſt recruited by the Marſhal: The difficulties growing thus great, the chiefeſt of the Spaniſh Army began to deteſt the generous reſolution of *Celada* and *Spinola*, by which they and ſo many of their beſt men had engaged themſelves in that defence, and whereby they had been obliged to hazard the Garriſon and State of *Millain*: not knowing therefore very well what to do, they inclined rather to abandon then to relieve the Town; and beginning now totally to deſpair of keeping it, they began to think what they were to do when it ſhould be loſt; and foreſeeing that when the enemy ſhould have taken *Valenza*, they would go either into *Alleſſandria*, or into the Territories of *Tortona*, as they openly threatned they would do, they began to build a Fort beneath *Valenza*, there where the *Tanaro* falls into the *Poe*, intending to throw a Bridge over there, whereby paſſing over into the Territories of *Aleſſandria*, they might the more eaſily get into that part of the State, to relieve either of thoſe Cities if they ſhould be beſieged, or to defend the Campagna if it ſhould be annoyed by inroads, or at leaſt that they might bring ſome help to the languiſhing Town, if any way might be opened whereby to do it on that ſide; which though they were but ſlender undertakings, and but of little hope, yet the extremity wherein they were did either perſwade them to it, or made them believe it to be the leaſt of evils: whilſt the Spaniſh Army was amidſt theſe miſeries, troubles and dangers, three Brigades came very ſeaſonably; the one Spaniards, under Don *John di Garray*, the other two Neapolitans, under *Achilles Minutulo*, and under *Andrea*, Count *di Marianella*, which made in all about 4000 good men, and well appointed, who were ſent by Sea by Marqueſs *Santta Croce*; who being gone the third time from *Naples* with the Fleet to Sea, to aſſault *Provence*, and hearing the great danger that *Valenza* was in, (and then the State of *Millain*,) held it his better courſe to endeavour the preſervation

ſervation of that State, then to put for poſſeſſing what belong'd to another; deferring therefore his chief enterprize, he very ſeaſonably landed theſe Brigades at *Finale*, and ſent them to before *Valenza*, by whoſe coming the Spaniſh affairs got a little breath, and every one began to hold the abandoning of *Valenza*, and the Captains therein, to be not onely ignominious, and deteſtable, but dangerous, and ruinous; ſo as they reſolved by all means to relieve it; to this purpoſe they held a conſultation in *Dorno*, a Town between *Pavia* and *la Pieve del Cairo*, whither all the Commanders, and Chief Officers being come; as the Cardinal *Alborno*ẓ, and with him Don *Franciſco di Melo*, Don *Antonio Ronchillio*, who was Lord Chancellour, and divers others of the Councel both of State, and War; they all were of opinion that the Town muſt be relieved; but with ſuch caution, and circumpection, as that by ſo doing they might not be enforced to a battel, which notwithſtanding the re-inforcement which was come, they did, all of them, abhor: the reſolution was in it ſelf repugnant, by reaſon of the neerneſs of enemies army, for the caution did abſolutely reſiſt the execution of it; and yet the buſineſs being long diſcuſs'd, there was a remedy found: Don *Martin d'Aragona*, and Don *John di Garrai*, took upon them the charge of this buſineſs, and propounded a means which was generally approved, and found a way how to relieve the Town ſafely, without hazzarding battle; and it was this, that ſome place ſhould be found out in the *Lomellina*, neer the *Poe*, and neer *Valenza*, capable to receive the whole Army, and all proviſions neceſſary for the maintenance thereof, which might be ſo fortified, as they might not be compelled to quit it, nor be brought to fight, neither by aſſault, nor want of proviſions; from whence they proved thus, that it might be poſſible to relieve the Town, without being forc'd to fight; the men which lay before *Valenza* would either come & joyn with the *Pidemonteſe*, who were quarter'd on this ſide the *Poe*, and which were feweſt in number; or they would not come; if they ſhould not come, who could doubt but that the Army being ſafely quartered in the *Lomellina*, wherein were 6000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe, all of them good men, and well appointed, and being to be maſters of the field, might by boats brought by land bring into the Town what relief they liſted, and not ſo only, but by the advantage of their numbers force the Savoyards to quit their quarters; and if they ſhould come to joyn with them, and that the greater part of thoſe that lay before *Valenza* ſhould paſs from that place to this, it was certain that they could draw the enemies army out of their quarters, without much ſlackning the ſiege of *Valenza*; in which caſe, the Town wanting oppoſers, they would not need many defendants, whereof having already more then needed, the ſame effect would be wrought by the paſſing over of the enemy, as if they ſhould be ſuccor'd by the defendants; moreover the enemies trenches being weakned, & almoſt abandoned by that coming over, men enough, and ſufficient proviſion might be convey'd into *Valenza*, from the City of *Aleſſandria*; theſe things being granted, they proved that doubtleſly the Town might be relieved, without their armies being forc'd to fight; this dilemma was generally approved of, ſo as ſome might be ſent to diſcover the countrey, & the enemies fortifications, before the reſolution ſhould be put in practice; but becauſe there was

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ſome difference in opinion between *Aragon*, and *Garrai*, about the manner how the ſuccour ſhould march towards the river, and about chooſing the place where the whole Army might be ſafely quartered; as alſo where they were to put the Boats into the water, which were to conveigh in the ſuccour; they were both of them ordered, that taking along with them Colonel *Frederick Imperiale*, *Vincenzo Monſury*, and the Count *Trotti*, they ſhould go to diſcover the Country, and chooſe out both the ſafeſt places; having with them a Convoy of four troops of Horſe, they viewed all the parts thereabouts narrowly, not without ſome oppoſition made by the enemy, who met them with the like number of Horſe, ſo a Skirmiſh hapned between them, with ſome advantage to the diſcoverers, who effected what they went about; they found a place neer a Chappel, between *Fraſcarvolo* and the *Poe*, as fit as might be for their purpoſe; being far from the enemy, munited before by a deep way, and behind by a rivulet of cleer water, which ſerved not onely for a ditch, and ſafety, but for drink for the Camp; and which was of more concernment, the place was almoſt fortified of it ſelf; they found it a harder buſineſs to chooſe the other place, for conveying the boats over, by reaſon of the Fort, which being firſt built to defend the head of the bridge belonging to *Valenza* towards *Lomellina*, and which (as hath been ſaid) was afterwards taken by Marqueſs *Villa*, was ſtill held by the enemy, and commanding both the upper and the lower ſide, kept them from all hopes of compaſſing their intents; and the leſs, for that though the retaking of that Fort was a thing not difficult of it ſelf, yet was it dangerous to put for, for fear leſt the attempting of it would draw all the Enemies Forces to defend it; in which caſe, they muſt either go thither with their whole Camp, and come to a battle, or not coming, quit the buſineſs; the one of which was contrary to the reſolution they had taken, the other of little honour, and leſs advantage. For their deſign being diſcovered by the attempt, they would fortifie the bank better; they therefore out of theſe reſpects left thinking of taking the Fort, and therewith the diſcovery of the upper bank, which lying between the Fort and the Piedmonteſes quarters, they could not well do; and went to diſcover the lower ſide, where they obſerved a place which being far enough off was out of the Forts reach, and fit to bring relief. So as they all approved it, except *Imperiale*, who ſaid that the ſame diſtance which rendred that place free from being offended by the Fort, made it alſo too far off for bringing relief, ſince it anſwer'd not juſt upon the banks of *Valenza*; but between *Valenza* and the *Parma* quarters, ſo as the boats which ſhould be put in there, would be neceſſarily carried lower by the current of the River; and falling towards the *Parma* quarters would not relieve the place beſieged, but the beſiegers. He therefore was for bringing ſuccour by the bank above the Fort, where the current would carry the boats to the very ſide of *Valenza*; and that to keep them from being endangered by the Piedmonteſes quarters, the body of their Army ſhould advance, and by its interpoſition keep the ſuccour from being offended. But this was not then neither approved, as being contrary to the reſolution of avoiding being compelled to fight; they therefore continued their choice in both theſe places,

places, and the Camp maſter General had notice given him thereof, that he might advance with the Army. The Army marched, and being come to the place near the Chappel, they made a flying ſquadron of 800 commanded foot of ſeveral Nations; which being led by Marquels *Torrecuſo* a Neapolitan, was ſent to *Fraſcarvolo*, which was the neareſt place to the Enemies quarters, that he might keep there, and ſecure thoſe who wrought upon the Trenches, and that he might be ready to receive and withſtand the firſt incounters. The reſt of the Camp ſtaying at the Chappel, there made up the body of an Army; and immediately giving out Mattocks, Pales and Spades, fell to fortifie, and perfected their works in one night and day; and having brought hither the proviſions which had been diligently provided by Senator *Arias*, they ſtood expecting what the Enemy would do in this ſo great alteration of Affairs. They were not long in comprehending, that counſels and reſolutions which are taken in common are better acted then diſcours'd of; for the Marſhal and Duke of *Parma*, fearing *Villa's* quarter, and that relief would undoubtedly be brought if they did not paſs over the *Poe*, went with the greateſt and beſt part of their men to the Piedmont quarter, where the Duke who was come but a little before from *Verſelli* was; and thinking it now time to fall to work, they marched out in ranks into the field, to aſſault the ſuccouring Army; they were about 4500 Foot, who all obeyed the Duke of *Savoy*, the General of the Colleagues; they advanced on the left hand towards *Fraſcarvolo*, having ſent ſome Troops of Horſe before, and ſome Foot towards the right hand near *Poe*, to hold thoſe Forces in play, and to oppoſe them which ſhould come from the left wing of the Spaniſh Camp. *Torrecuſo* march'd out with his men from *Fraſcarvolo* againſt the Enemies Army, when he ſaw it march toward him; and putting his men into a ſquadron, advanced with certain Files of Muſketeers, and poſſes'd himſelf of a great hedge which was before him: Under the ſhelter whereof he very ſeaſonably let fly a ſhower of Muſket-ſhot, againſt the Enemies van which approached; whereat the Spaniards, who were at dinner, ſtood to their Arms, and put themſelves in a defenſive poſture. The General was in his quarters, which were between the Artillery and the body of the Army; he ordered his Foot and Horſe to draw out into ranks, the Foot within the Trenches, and the Horſe at the place appointed for the Magazine; and in this interim the skirmiſh grew hot between *Torrecuſo* and the Enemies Camp. The Generall wholly intent how Affairs ſhould be governed in this onſet, and knowing *Torrecuſo* wanted Horſe, commanded *Don Alvaro Quinones*, Lieutenant General of the Neapolitan Horſe, to go ſpeedily and receive or withſtand him with three Troops of Horſe, which were then upon the guard; and ſent *Don John de Garras* firſt to him with a ſtrength of Muſketiers, and ſome carts of Ammunition, and afterward *Don Martin* of *Aragon*. *Quinones* finding *Torrecuſo* already much ingaged, kept in a place a little diſtant from the skirmiſh; and *Garras*, with *Aragon*, advancing, re-inforc'd ſome ſtations which they held to be convenient to maintain the skirmiſh; which when the General ſaw it grew greater then was thought it would have done, and that *Quinones* ſtir'd not, he ſent Colonel *Imperiale*, with two Troops of Horſe,

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to assist the fight, with directions to tell *Torrecuso*, that he should not ingage any further, and to protest unto him, that if he should be further charged by the Enemy, he would send him no more help then what he had already done; because, according to the common sence, he would not indanger a general battle. He notwithstanding endeavoured with the Horse, which *Imperiale* brought, to defend those stations which were reinforced by Foot: So as the skirmish being maintained valiantly, and in good order on this side, it continued for full four hours; neither side sending out any more men; For *Colonna* would not, as it was agreed upon, ingage himself in a general combat, and the Colleagues Army, which esteeming the Enemy to be far inferiour to them in Forces, was gon out with an intent to fall upon them, and defeat them utterly; seeing how Affairs were ordered, and that the Enemy, without coming out of his Trenches, sent a good strength of men out against him, conjectured that the Enemy was stronger then he thought at first he was; so as he cared not much to inforce the first encounters any more, but kept on the fight with sleight skirmishes till night coming on, he retreated to his quarters, from whence he was with such fervour come. Though some will have it that there was no good correspondency between the Duke of *Savoy* & the Marshal, which was the cause why things were not acted as it was agreed they should be. *Torrecuso* seeing that the defendants had the better, and having received orders not to advance any further, retired also into *Frascarvolo*, more like a Conquerour then conquered; and to observe his orders, he with-held his men from pursuing the Enemy, as they were desirous to do. But the Spanish Commanders being aware, that by the coming over of many of their men to that part, the Camp before *Valenza* was much lessened, and the Trenches but badly guarded; order was given that 500 Foot should come from *Allesandra* to *Valenza*, with good store of match, which the Town wanted much. These were led on by the Camp-master *Lodowico Guasco*, being guided by *Maximiliano Stampa*, *Count di Monte Castello*, nephew to *Guasco*, who knew those ways very well; and passing on successfully between the Duke of *Parma*'s quarters and those of the Montferrians, they were not at all disturb'd by the enemy, that side being open, without Trenches, and almost abandoned; but they ran danger in approaching the fortification of their friends; for as they drew near Fort *Rosario*, a Fort which stood towards the Mountain, and which had been bravely defended all the time of the siege by *Ottaviano Sauli*, a Gentleman of *Genoa*; and the fore-runners, or Scouts, not having given the true watch-word whereby they were to have been admitted and received, but had given the last nights watch-word, *Sauli* doubted that some treachery might lie hid under that false word, and therefore made them keep aloof off with his Musket shot, wherewith some of them were slain; but when *Guasco*, and other Captains who were very well known to *Sauli*, began to parly, they were soon known, and let in; by this happy success another better fortune followed; for *Cricky*, and the Duke of *Parma*, hearing that this relief was brought into *Valenza*, which was reported to be greater then it was, they began to apprehend the safety of their own Trenches, quarters, Artillery and Baggage, in case

case they should be assaulted by those that brought in the succour; for knowing in what woful condition they had left them, they verily believed they would have been taken and sack'd, with the loss not only of their honour, but of their Artillery, and with the destroying of their Fortifications, and the loss of those few men that were left to defend them, so as they thought good to return speedily to their first Quarters.

This so sudden resolution of the Colleagues facilitated the bringing in of the whole relief by the *Lomellina*; for the Spanish Army being encouraged by the preceding days success, and seeing that the Enemy had abandoned the field, knew they were absolute Masters on this side the *Po*, and saw not any thing that could keep them from relieving the Town; leaving therefore all their Militia, with half their Foot, under the command of Camp master *Boccapianola*, to guard their Quarters, they went out early in the morning with the rest of their men, and marched towards the upper bank. The Horse, which was commanded by the Count *di Sora*, marched on the right wing, within sight of the Piedmontese Quarters, to the end that the Foot, which were divided into three Squadrons, being sheltred by them, might advance safely towards the same side, and with them the munition; and three Troops of Horse went before the Foot Van. The convoy of relief went on the other side, towards the place that was chosen on the lower bank, led on by the Marquess *Lunato*, and Colonel *Frederick Imperiale*, to whose charge the whole business was committed: Two pieces of Cannon went before them, with some Foot; and behind came a competent number of Carriages, loaded with Boats, and with all things requisite for relieving the Town. In this posture did the Army march, being favoured by a thick mist, which kept them from being seen by the Enemy; and whilst the Scouts went without any opposition to the other side, Don *John di Garrai*, who having better considered the windings of the *Po*, and finding by the manner of the Enemies proceedings that no Forces would come from the Piedmontese Quarters which might any ways make him apprehend a general Battle, (having first agreed with *Colonna*, that the succour would come safe between the aforesaid Quarters, and the Fort) he ordered *Lunato* and *Imperiale* that they should go thitherward, and towards the place which was first proposed by *Imperiale*, to execute their Commission: The new Order was obeyed forthwith; so as the succour wheeling about behind the Fort, it drew near the bank which was above it, where it was playd upon by Musket shot, which came in abundance from the said Fort, and by two pieces of Cannon, which play'd from the top of the opposite shore; but the Cannon shot, though it were dreadful, yet being made but seldom, they did more terrifie then endammage; and to the hail of musket shot which came from the Fort, no readier nor fitter remedy could be found out then to assault the Port. Wherefore Colonel *Imperiale*, who attending still upon the succour, saw how necessary it was to provide against this inconvenience, sent to advertise *Colonna* how affairs went, and how requisite it was to assault the Fort; whereupon *Colonna* forthwith commanded some Companies of Spaniards and Italians, that they should assault that Fort, who going boldly on, took it; for they did no sooner skirmish then scale it: The Marquess *Torrecuso*

was the first man, who having moved *l' Imperiale* a little before to favour the putting of the Boats into the River, was intent upon the passing of them over, it being the action of most importance; when he saw the Foot advance to give the assault, leaving the whole care of the relief to Colonel *Imperiale*, he headed them with his sword in his hand; and plucking the Stakes from out the Steccado, wherewith the whole ditch was environed, he was one of the first that got upon the Parapet; all the rest, moved by his example, followed him; so as most of the Garrison were slain, and the Ensigne and Captain were taken prisoners. The succour past on the mean while without any disturbance, and advanced with their Boats, which falling down the stream, came happily to the Shore at *Valenza*, and by them as much relief as was desired was conveyed in, the Enemy looking on, who endeavoured in vain to hinder it with their Cannon and Musket shot from the Capuchins Chappel.

By this succour the Town was not only well provided of all things needful, but wholly freed from Siege; for the Colleagues despairing to make further progress, foreseeing that by the approaching winter the earth would become so spungie as it would not be to be wrought, and that the Army being bemired, and not able to receive any food, would be besieged even in the open field, they resolved after fifty days siege to give over the Enterprise, and to retreat, to the no little confusion of the Commanders in chief, who being at variance within themselves, and unsatisfied, laid the fault of this ill-guided Siege one upon another. The Duke of *Parma* parted not long after, much discontented, for *France*, where he intended to give a clear and full relation unto the King how Affairs had been carried in this Enterprize, and to desire to be protected by him, and to be defended in his Dominions, which, when this business miscarried, he apparently foresaw was exposed to the invasion of the Spanish Forces, for his having sided with *France*: But this happy success was a little overcast by the death of *Colonna*, who through his extraordinary pains taken in this Siege, died the day before the Town was relieved.

Valenza being freed, the Colleagues Army dissolved. The Duke of *Savoy* retreated with his men to *Verselli*; and the Marshal to *Cassalle*; upon whom the Gates of the Town were shut, upon pretence that there being scarcity of Victuals in that City, it could not provide food for so great a number of men, without evident danger of wanting necessary nourishment for them that were in the Town already; wherefore he was forced to divide his men amongst the Towns of *Montferrat*, which though they suffer'd the like want of victuals, yet being weak and unable to refuse giving quarter, they were forced to yield to the stronger power; the remainder of the Duke of *Parma*'s men were likewise distributed into the same Towns, the Duke himself being retreated to *Cassalle*, where he had the Castle given him for his lodging: on the Spaniards side, their Armies were also put into their Winter-quarters, except some of *Serbellone*'s Brigades, which were sent to recover the *Valtoline*; for at the same time, which was about the beginning of *November*, *Fernamont* who had raised more men in *Tirvole*, prepared to pass the Mountains once more, to reduce the *Valtoline* into its former conditions; & to this purpose he had sent to *Millain* and to *Serbellone*,

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to agree upon the time when they ſhould fall upon the French joyntly, *Serbellone*, on the State of *Millain* ſide, and he by *Tyrvolo*, that ſo they might effect their buſineſs the ſooner and more ſafely; but *Roban*'s ſpeed prevented theſe deſigns, who hearing how neer the Dutch were, ſent immediately 1000 Foot to *Bormio*, whither not long after he himſelf came with the remainder of his men: being come thither he found the Dutch fallen down by unknown ways into the Plain; without any delay, he once more aſſaulted them; and not without loſs on their ſide, forced them to re-paſs back over the Mountains to *Tyrvolo*: they being gone, *Roban* leaving a Garriſon in *Bormio*, and fearing leſt *Serbellone* might fall upon him on his back, and hearing that many Griſons were come down to aſſiſt him, he made the like haſte as before, and brought 4000 Foot with him, amongſt which 200 *Zuricani*; he appeared, unexpected, at *Morbegno* about noon, where *Serbellone* was with 3500 Foot and 200 Horſe, and not having heard of the rout given to *Fernamont*, expected news of his coming, to the end, that according to appointment he might at the ſame time fall upon the enemy on the back; but he fared no better then *Fernamonte*, for whilſt he was at dinner, he unexpectedly was aſſaulted by *Roban*; and not having time to aſſemble his men, who were diſpers'd into the parts thereabouts, he was ſoon overcome and routed, many of his Captains being ſlain or taken priſoners, amongſt which the Count *di San*, the ſecond Captain of Horſe, and Count *Valenza*, Nephew to *Serbellone*; and *Serbellone*'s ſelf being purſued by the enemy fled to Fort *Fuentes*, wounded in the arm and on the back; ſuch Souldiers as could ſave themſelves fled, ſome one way, ſome another way, to the neereſt Towns of the State of *Millain*.

Thus *Roban* having beaten the enemy the fifth time, remained all that Winter maſter and peaceful poſſeſſer of the *Valtoline*, of the Counties of *Bormio* and of *Chiavenna*; and greatly rejoycing, forc'd the Inhabitants to new agreements, pretending that the *Valtoline*, contrary to the Articles of *Monſone*, was wholly and totally fallen into the arbitrement of the King of *France*; and not being able to obtain of thoſe Inhabitants, though beaten by his Forces, and ſeveral ways oppreſs'd, any thing of what he demanded, he began by ſtrange rigour and extortion to tyrannize over them; but they little confiding in the promiſes of liberty and maintenance of their Religion, which were made them in the King of *France* his name, patiently underwent their bad treating, and would never forego the authority and protection of the Crown of *Spain*; promiſing themſelves, and confidently believing to be preſerved and maintain'd by the King of *Spain* in their intire Liberty and Religion, according to his Promiſes and Decrees: miſerable and woful wretches, whom you ſhall ſoon ſee abandoned to their former yoke of ſlavery, by thoſe in whom they ſo much truſted, and for whoſe ſake they ſuffer'd ſo much at the preſent.

The End of the Fourteenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

BOOK XV.

The Contents.

THe King of Spain, *for the preservation of the State of* Millain, *sends a new Governour, new men, and good store of money thither. The Duke of* Savoy *returning thither with his men, and with those of* France, *takes* Bremi, *and reduceth it to a Fort Royal; and by frequent inroads troubles that side of the Country. The Duke of* Parma's *Dominions are assaulted by the Spanish Forces, after his going for* France; *and are defended by Marquess* Villa, *who is sent thither by the Duke of* Savoy. *With a good strength of Horse and Foot, and is defended by strong diversions till the Spring; in the beginning whereof, the Duke of* Parma *returns from* France, *endeavours by means of the Colleagues Forces to get into his Country, goes to* Nizza Della Paglia; *being to throw down a great Trench which was made upon the bank of* Scrivia, *he turns back; and repassing the* Poe, *endeavours to effect his design on that side; but meeting with strong opposition there also, he is forced to return; and passing again with some men over the* Poe, *he tarries with them in* Nizza, *till such time as the Duke of* Savoy, *going with the body of the Army into the Confines of* Novara, *to annoy that part of the State, may divert the Governour from guarding the Grand Trench, and leave free passage by that way for the Duke of* Parma; *Who by several accidents abandoning the design, marcheth with a few men towards the Sea; where getting into a little Vessel, he passeth incognito into* Lavigiana, *and gets into his own Territories. The Duke of* Savoy *passeth successfully over the*

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Tesino, *and causeth such terrour and confusion in* Millain, *as the Governour is forc'd to abandon the Trench, and defend* Millain. *And going with all his men towards the Enemies Camp, he assaults it in* Tornavento; *but the Duke freeing himself from the assault returns to the greater Lake; whither being come, and fearing that the Governour who was gone to* Romagnano, *would assault him on that side, resolves to return towards* Piedmont. *The Governour seeing the State free of the Enemies Army, betakes himself, partly, to recover the Towns taken by the Enemy, partly, to retire himself to* Piedmont, *and the Duke of* Parma's *State; and having sent what Forces he could thither, he proceedes so far, as the Duke who was retired to* Piacenza, *maintains a Siege till such time as, seeing no succour, he is forc'd to compound with the Governour. The War of* Parma *being appeased, the Governour turns upon the Towns in the* Langhe, *which were yet held by the Enemy; and having taken some of them, he hears that the Duke raiseth Forces in the* Canavese; *he marcheth towards him, and having in vain provoked him to battle, he sends* Don Martino *of* Aragon *with a strong body of men to discover* Vercelli, *against whom Marquess* Villa, *who was returned from the State of* Parma, *coming forth with a no less number of men, a great Skirmish is had, wherein the Marquess hath the better. The Governour understanding afterwards, that* Count Verrua *was gone to besiege the* Roccad' Arazzo, *he prepares to defend it: And succeeding fortunately therein, his happiness was imbittered by a great defeat which the Duke gave to* Don Martino *of* Aragon *before* Monbaldone: *after which the Duke returning victorious to* Vercelli, *within a month after dyed. Some Islands in* Provence *are taken by the Fleet which came from* Naples. *A French Fleet comes from* Britany, *enters the Mediterranean, with which an other joyns which was provided in* Provence; *both which keep in the Ligustick Sea, doing but little good, and less in* Sardignia, *and Winter in* Tolone; *but putting to Sea in the Spring, they recover the Islands which were taken the year before by the Spanish Fleet. The* Pope *labours to compose the Wars between Christian Princes, but in vain. A League is concluded between the Crown of* Spain *and the Grisons, by which the* Valtoline *returns upon some conditions, under the ancient Dominion of the Grisons. The State of* Millain *is at last freed from the French Forces, by the recovery of* Bremi.

NEws being come to the Court of *Spain* of the assault given by the Colleagues Army to the State of *Millain*, and of the scarcity of provisions, and Garrison, which were there; though *Burgondy* were assaulted at the same time by the Prince of *Conde* with another Army, and *Flanders* and *Germany* were full of several perturbations; (all which required extraordinary provisions) yet the King would have the State of *Millain*, of all other parts, chiefly and fully secured and furnish'd. For it being the Bulwark, and, as a man may say, the Rendezvous of the Spanish Arms, the greater the prejudice should be that would result by the loss thereof, the more necessary was it to provide for the safety and preservation thereof. And Cardinal *Alborneozzi* who was a Church-man, not being very proper for that Government, in so turbulent and dangerous times, and the care of that State being

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to begin by the choice of a Governour, who might be fit for that charge, and for the condition of the present time; *Don Diego Philippes Guſmano*, Marquess of *Liganes*, who had formerly served in *Flanders*, was constituted to succeed him; Who though he went speedily from Court, came not to *Millain* before the midst of *October*, a little after *Valenza* was freed from the siege; and not long after that by the rout given in the *Valtelina*, the recovery of that valley appeared desperate. With him came many Spanish Cavaliers, who being zealous of that Crowns Reputation and Grandezza put themselves to serve as Volunteers under this new Governour; he brought also a million and a half of Ducates, which was brought after him in Gallies. But the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marshal, being with no great honour driven from before *Valenza*, and hearing how ill they were spoken of in the Court of *France*, and particularly the Duke, (who heard himself taxed of double dealing,) they endeavoured to give better satisfaction to the Court then yet they had done, by recovering their lost Reputation. Having therefore mustered their Forces at *Villata*, which was yet in their possession, they went to the *Lomellina*; and going to *Candia*, whither 400 Foot were sent by the new Governour, they met with some opposition; but making themselves presently masters of the place, the 400 Foot were sent prisoners to *Casale*: And not thinking that place convenient for their design, as being too far from the *Poe*, they went lower, and took *Sartirana*; where were 200 Foot, who being as the others, forced to yield, were, as the others were, sent prisoners to *Casale*; from hence they march to *Breme*, a Town upon the *Poe*, with whose situation being satisfied, they resolved to make use of it for a ground-work of their premeditated designes. For considering that, by casting a Bridge over here, they might over-run the Country of *Alleſſandria* and of *Tortona*, and the *Lomellina* and Country of *Pavia* joyning thereupon, they thought that when they should have fortified themselves there, they might make a good part of the State of *Millain*, on each side of the River, subject to their commands. Falling therefore with all diligence to do what they intended, they within a short space erected there a Fort Royal, big enough to receive an indifferent Army, and puting thereinto a good Garrison, they thought they might keep firm footing in the State of *Millain*, and lay a good foundation for the further designes they had upon that State; and if they should do no more, they thought they should win much glory and reputation in keeping a quatter in that State, and an almost impregnable bulwark, by which they hoped to have subjugated part of that, the whole whereof they so much thirsted after. The Duke of *Savoy* was thought to be a chief plotter of this, being desirous to cancel the finister opinion out of the French, which they had conceived of him, by reason of what had hapned before *Valenza*, by giving them this place in lieu thereof, which was of greater consequence, and a more convenient seat: And therefore he did not onely assist the already begun Fabrick by his care and diligence, but stuck not sometimes to work thereupon with his own hands as a private Souldier. The work was begun about the end of *November*, in a time when the *Lomellina* having already been the seat of the War before *Valenza*, was wholly destitute

of victuals, forrage, and of all things elſe neceſſary for the maintenance of an Army, in a time when the earth being cover'd over with Ice and Snow, and the ways deep, it was impoſſible they could be diſturbed in their work; an advantage which was well repaid, by the prejudice that the ſame difficulties occaſioned to the labourers, and to the whole French Army; for the Souldiers not being able to reſiſt the bitterneſs of the ſeaſon, and the ſcarcity of victuals, ſo many of them died, as in a ſhort time, and before the Fort was finiſhed, they were reduced to a very ſmall number; yet the work was finiſhed, and abundantly provided of all warlike neceſſaries; but not being able to tarry in ſo deſolate a Country for the ſcarcity of victuals, a ſufficient Garriſon being left there, all the reſt of the Souldiery went out, and ran plundering up and down, ſome in the lower *Monferrat*, ſome in the parts about *Aleſſandria*, where taking Towns, they, with much rigour uſed towards the Inhabitants, got together as much victuals as they could, and brought it all ſpeedily into the new Fort. The Duke of *Parma* was not preſent at this building, being gone to *Paris* to negotiate his own intereſts with the King, hoping not only to be rewarded and honour'd, but to be by him aſſiſted in the maintaining of his Dominions, which in his abſence were expoſed to the aſſaults of the enemy; in defence whereof, the Duke of *Savoy*, were it either to regain the Kings favour, and to cancel all ſhadows of ſuſpition, or to eaſe *Piedmont* from quartering, he ſent the Marqueſs *Villa* with 1800 Horſe, and 4000 Foot, to boot with the remainder of the *Parma* Forces, to go joyntly to the defence of thoſe States. The Marqueſs marching out of *Caſſale*, and having without any oppoſition croſs'd through the Country of *Aleſſandria*, came to *Scrivia* a River which runs neer *Tortona*; but the new Governour, who hearing of this marching, was before hand, got into that City, hoping aſſuredly to hinder the enemies paſſage over that River; to which purpoſe he placed two pieces of Cannon, and ſome Sacres, upon a certain riſe on the inward bank, on the oppoſite ſide whereof the enemy marched already; and he alſo placed all his Muſketeers there: he alſo ſent a Troop of Dragoons beyond the River to diſcover the enemy, which were driven back over the River by the Marqueſs his Guard, and forced with much loſs to get within ſhelter of the Artillery on the other ſide. The Marqueſs drew out his men in battle array to venture foording his men over; and after having skirmiſhed a while, finding himſelf inferiour to the enemy both in Forces and ſituation deſiſted from paſſing over there, and tried whether he might not overcome the enemy by Military induſtry: this River is foordable only in three places, the firſt in this place which was well guarded by *Tortona*; another five miles lower at *Caſtel nuovo*, the third between theſe two, which is called *paſſo della Lupa*. The Marqueſs would not venture over here, it being ſo neer the other place, and from him: the Prince being come to *Traghetino*, within three miles of *Caſtel nuovo*, found that *Villa* ſtood expecting him in the field with his men in order; and not thinking it fit to face a Captain and old Souldiers proud of their late got Victory, with freſh and unexperienced men, ſtaid expecting new recruits from the State of *Milain*; where, by order from the Governour, ſome 3000 Foot were in readineſs to aſſiſt the aſſaulted State, under Don *Jovan Vaſquez*

Vaſques Cornado, Governour of *Cremona*, and 800 Horſe under Don *Vincenzo Gonſaga*, Lieutenant General of the Horſe of the State of *Millain*; who being come from the greater *Caſſalle*, in Barques along the *Poe*, to *Boreto*, a Town of *Modena*, landed there, and joyn'd with Prince *Lewis*, intending to fall joyntly upon the State of *Parma*. Marqueſs *Villa*, at the news of the coming of this recruit, was gone from *Caſtel nuovo* to the banks of *Poe*, between *Barcello* and *Colorno*, thinking that this ſuccour would land there, that ſo he might keep them from landing; but ſeeing them fall lower, and fearing what did indeed happen, that when they ſhould be landed they would march into the Country of *Parma*, he thought to oppoſe them at the paſs of *Lenza*, a little River which divides the States of *Modena* and *Parma*, upon which there were two Bridges; upon one of the which, called *Ponte della Sorbolla*, he himſelf ſtood with his men, and ſent 500 men of *Parma* to defend the other, thinking that the enemy would fall on by that of *Sorbolla*: but ſeeing that they went to aſſault the other, and that having driven away thoſe of *Parma*, not without ſome loſs, they were paſs'd to this ſide the River, he feared that they would overrun the Country even to the Walls of *Parma*, as they might well do; wherefore leaving the *Parma* Militia to guard the Bridge of *Sorbolla*, he went himſelf with his men to the Hoſpital St. *Lazzero*, to keep them from advancing neerer the City; between the River *Lenza* and the City of *Parma* there goes a large way, with a great Ditch on either ſide; the Prince and the Spaniſh Commanders, thinking to charge through to the City, by that great way, they put their men in order; and ſo did *Villa* his: a Van of 500 Muſketeers march'd before the Prince his men, half on the one ſide, half on the other ſide of the way; betwixt whom the Horſe marched, and behind them the reſt of the Spaniſh Foot, and in the Reer came thoſe of *Modena*, 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, in number. The Marqueſs diſpoſed of his men *en Croupe*; and were it either that the Spaniſh Horſe which advanc'd wanted Muſketiers, or that the way through which they came galloping was ſo narrow, as no more then five Horſe could come on front, it was eaſie for the Marqueſs (who already was paſs'd over with the *Piedmont* Horſe) to make head againſt them, and to keep back and repulſe the enemies Horſe by his Muſket-ſhot, who being diſpers'd fled, ſome to *Caſtel nuovo*, ſome to *Ponte Curone*, ſome being ſore wounded, ſome ſlain. Don *Martine d' Aragona* received a ſore wound himſelf, and the Governour not appearing with any ſuccour, the foord was forſaken; ſo as not only thoſe who were already paſs'd, but thoſe that tarried behind, paſs'd over together with the Foot, without any gainſaying; *Villa* being doubly glorious, firſt for having deluded the enemies advantages by his cunning, and by his valour routed their Forces, he purſued his march, and came with his men to Caſtle St. *Jovanni*, and from thence into the States of *Piacenza* and *Parma*; and having diſtributed his men in theſe States, inſtead of being a guard and defence unto them, he drew a new war and a new enemy upon them; for he had no ſooner refreſh'd his men, but that he entered the Dukedom of *Modena* with 1000 Horſe, and 200 Foot, without giving any notice thereof to the Duke of *Modena*; and having taken *Caſtel nuovo del Regiano*, he made a Rendezvouz of Arms there, and

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quartered his Horſe in the neighbouring Towns, putting compoſitions upon them.

The Duke of *Modena* took this freedom ill, as he had reaſon to do; chiefly finding, as it was true, that this was not done by *Villa*'s own motion, but by order from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marſhal; and perhaps alſo from the Court of *France*, in reſentment of his parting from the League with *France*, without ſaying any thing, and for having wholly joyn'd with the Spaniſh party, when ſo great a change was leaſt looked for; it not being likely that the Marqueſs would otherwiſe have done ſo great an affront to a Prince, who was ſon to a ſiſter of the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe Captain General he was: the Duke of *Modena* thinking therefore how to defend himſelf, and how to reſent ſo great an affront, muſter'd 4000 foot, and 1000 horſe of the trained Bands of the State, with whom, and with two field pieces, he ſent his uncle Prince *Lewis*, to oppoſe thoſe who had entred his State in hoſtile manner; and having ſent news to the Governour of *Millain* of this unlooked for affront, he expected good ſuccour and aſſiſtance defended by the ſame forces; he therefore placed his deſign on the paſſage at *Caſtelnuovo*, as being further off and unguarded; ſo as while he kept his files in order upon the ſide oppoſite to *Tortona*, he feigned as if he would try his fortune over that foord, that he might ſo keep the Governour at bay, but ordered his horſe to go down the river towards *Caſtelnuovo*, where foording over the river without any oppoſition, he made himſelf maſter of the further ſhore; and when he thought his horſe were well advanced, he withdrew his foot, and marched after them; the Governor being too late aware of the Enemies purpoſe, began to doubt that he might paſs over that foord which was unguarded, whereſore he diſpatch'd away Don *Martine d' Aragona* ſpeedily thither with the greateſt part of the horſe, and ſome foot, to the end that he might be there before him, to defend the paſſage; but with expreſs order, that if when he ſhould become thither, he ſhould finde the enemy were not yet come neer the foord, he ſhould endeavour to keep them aloof off it; and if they were come ſo neer, as that they were already begun to wade, he ſhould withdraw a little into a wood which was not far off; for that he himſelf, who prepared to follow him, would come thither, when half the enemy being not well over, he might encloſe them between his men, and thoſe of the *Aragons* who were in the wood; and ſo having deſtroy'd that part, the reſt who were beyond the water, might be forc'd to wheel about, and might eaſily be overtaken, and being in an enemies country, and overpower'd by numbers might be aſſaulted, and defeated; but the deſign failed, were it either that the *Aragon* did not perfectly obſerve his orders, or that the Governour tarrying longer then he ought to have done, marched not ſoon enough; for the *Piedmont* horſe got to the foord before thoſe of the *Aragon*, who though he got to the other ſide with ſome of his fleeteſt fore-runners at the ſame time when thoſe of *Piedmont* entred the river, and endeavor'd to munite the bank with the militia of *Caſtelnuovo*, and to hinder their paſſage; yet inſtead of retreating to the wood, and affording time for the Governour to advance, he gave order that his horſe, leaving the foot behinde, ſhould

advance as fast as they could; which the horse observing, they came thither, when the first part of the enemies horse, on the head whereof was Marques *Villa*, having overcome the opposition made on the other side, had already boorded over with Musketeers otherwise. He placed 200 Musketeers on the Front, which were entertained by a great squadron of horse, 200 more Musketeers were on the right hand of the horse, a good part stood behind some trees that were cut down, which served for a Trench; he fortified a place behind him with *Parma's* Souldiers, to serve him for a retreat, in case he should not be able to resist so many men; nor herewith content, he did not fill up the whole breadth of the way with Artillery, to the end that if he were forc'd to retreat, he might do it without confusion, contrary to what the enemy did, who promising themselves assured victory, provided not any place of retreat: the Skirmish was fought with much valour and courage, and the Spaniards came very hot on at first, thinking to discompose the enemies ranks at the very first onset; but they were soon deceived, meeting with as stout resistance, for above two hours space; but at last being overpowered in numbers, *Villa* was forc'd to retreat, which he did without disorder, by the part of that way, which he discreetly had left open: Don *Vincenzo Gonsaga* pursued them fiercely, as also Baron *Battavilla*, and Count *Arese*; who being opposed by Don *Mauritio* of *Savoy*, with his regiment, they met with some resistance; but not long after the first falling on *Scipione Fiesco*, brother to the Prince of *Masserano*, and Captain *Guirini* were taken Prisoners, and many were wounded and slain, so as not able to make his party good any longer, he was disordered, and retreated without confusion also, by that part of the way which was left open; and certainly they would all have been certainly ruin'd, had not Marques *Villa*, who had all this while assisted in the fight, rallied all the valliantest of his men, and putting himself on their head, fought undauntedly, and withstood the violence of the enemies, who thinking themselves sure of victory, came up in close ranks, and cheerfully pursued the chase; and though the Piedmontese met with hard usage by the Musket-shot, wherewith many of them were slain, yet did they so resolutely resist, and the assailants were played upon so fast by the Musketeers, who were placed behind those trees which being cut down, served them for a rampier, or trench, as *Gonsaga*, *Battavilla*, and *Arese*, who fought on the head of the horse; being wounded, *Villa* easily disordered the enemies horse, being now without leaders; and forc'd them afterwards to fly back in disorder: *Villa* pursued them till night, which came soon on, and then he left free passage for the enemy to fly, and to retreat; and he bringing back with him above a hundred prisoners, and of these some of the Chiefest, he retreated victoriously towards *Parma*: the Guy refusing to receive in so many men, shut the gates upon them, but took in the Captains, who were nobly treated by the nobility of *Parma*, and the rest were sent to quarter in S. *Secondo*, *Soragna*, and in *Fontanella*. At the same time that this succour was sent directly from *Milain* to the Duke of *Modena*, the Governour would also assist his State, and his affairs by diversion; he therefore ordered Don *Carlo della Gatta*, to enter the Dukedom of *Piacenza* with 4000

foot,

foot, 600 horſe, and ſix pieces of Artillery; who in obedience thereunto, ſat down immediately before *Caſtel S. Jovanni*, the firſt Town of that Dukedom confining upon the State of *Millain*; and placing his Artillery againſt the walls of that Town which were weak, and old, and not lined with earth, the Townſ-men, who ſaw they could not reſiſt, ſurrendered the Town; and *Gatta* entring thereinto fell to take the Caſtle, wherein were 120 French men, who after 15 days ſiege were forc'd to give it up; during which time the Governour deſired that the horſe, who were not imployed in that ſervice, might over run, and lay waſte the countrey of *Piacenza*, to help the Duke of *Modena*, yet more by diverſion, which was moleſted by Marqueſs *Villa*: wherefore the Marqueſs of *Carracena*, who commanded them, choſe out 300 of the beſt horſe, and went firſt to aſſault 250 French horſe, who were quartered in the Towns three miles from *Piacenza*; he fortunately routed them, and chaſed them till they came to a certain rivolet which ran croſs the way, which when the French had paſt, they rallied, and faced about, and being routed again by *Carracena*, they got under a Town called *Rottofreno*, from whence ſome Foot came forth to aid them, they fell to skirmiſh the third time; wherein *Carracena* being ſore hurt in the leg by a Muſket-ſhot, he retreated and gave over the fight; ſo as the French Horſe which purſued them, rouſed them, and had the ſlaughter of them till they came to *Caſtel San' Jovanni*, which when they were come neer unto, the reſt of the Horſe which were there coming forth, together with a Foot Company to aſſiſt them, they fell into further diſorder; for this ſuccour coming the ſame way as thoſe that were purſued did, they were broken and diſordered by their own men, who fled back by the ſame way: in this action about 100 of *Carracena's* Horſe were ſlain, and ſome taken priſoners, amongſt which *Beccaraia* a Captain of Horſe, who was firſt ſore wounded; and yet the entrance of *Gatta* and *Carracena* into the Territories of *Piacenza* was not to no purpoſe; for it freed the Duke of *Modena* from having his Country moleſted by the Piedmonteſe; it being neceſſary to ſend for Marqueſs *Villa* back to relieve the parts about *Piacenza*; ſo the Duke of *Modena* being free from this diſturbance, had leaſure to reſent himſelf, and to take *Roſſenna*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Parma*, which was wholly environed by the Territories of *Modena*. The Spaniards took likewiſe *Colorno*, a Caſtle belonging to the Duke of *Parma*, conſiderable for its ſtrength, and for the opportunity which it afforded of paſſing to the City of *Parma*; and ſome monoths before, *Fiombo*, and *Guadamiglio*, two Towns in the Territories of *Piacenza* lying beyond the *Poe*, were taken by the Marqueſs of *Carracena*. But the Governour, that he might revenge himſelf yet further upon the Duke of *Parma*, gave order to *Gerardo Gambacerta*, General of the Neapolitan Horſe, that he ſhould enter his Territories with two Dutch Regiments, the one of Horſe, conducted by Count *Slic*, the other of Foot led on by Colonel *Gil d' Ais*; and that they ſhould proceed further againſt him. The Duke of *Savoy* and the Marſhal thought that it would redound to the diſcredit of the League, if they ſhould ſuffer thoſe States to be invaded whilſt they ſtood idly looking on with their fingers underneath their girdles, and ſhould behold the misfortunes of that their Confederate Prince, whereby they

might fall into the displeasure of the King and Court of *France*, the King having given the care of preserving his Dominions in charge to them; since therefore they could not directly assist by opposition, they resolved to do it by diversion; so joyning their Forces, and making up a body of 9000 Foot, and 500 Horse, the Marshal went therewith from *Vercelli*, and passing over the *Sesia*, took *Palestre*, an open Town, where there was no Garrison, from whence he went to *Confienza*, and then to *Robbio*, where there were some small Foot Garrisons; and taking them upon conditions, he pass'd with all his men over *la Gogna*, a River in *Lomellina*, and went to *Vespolano*, where for two hours space he was stoutly resisted by the Towns-men, who when they were able to do no more, quit the Town, and retreated to the Castle. The Marshal entred the Town, and quarter'd his men thereabouts; but at so small a distance, as they might easily come together and joyntly defend themselves, in case they should be assaulted: The Governour hearing of this new commotion, sent Orders immediately every where, that all the Foot and Horse should meet about the *Tessino*; he recalled *Gambacorta* with his Dutch Regiments from the parts about *Piacenza*; and fearing that the enemy might fix their eyes upon *Vigevano*, he ordered them to march with all diligence towards that City; whereinto having formerly sent 100 Spaniards, he went from *Millain* to *Biagrassa*, where *Gambacorta* was come that very night with two Dutch Regiments, and with the Horse from the Country of *Piacenza*; and there being only a hundred Spaniards and some few Dutch in *Vigevano*, he feared that the Marshal might keep that City from succour, if the Marshal coming to the *Tessino* should hinder the passing over of that River, and consequently it would be taken; wherefore he commanded *Gambacorta* that with all speed he should passe over the *Tessino*, and should secure that City and all the adjacent Towns from being sack'd, and from inroads; all which being punctually performed by *Gambacorta*, the Governour pass'd with the rest of the men to *Vigevano*, where he tarried some days to expect a Regiment of Dutch, conducted by the Baron *di Lezer*, who was to come shortly, and also to tarry for the Artillery which was come out of *Pavia*, and could not be long a coming. In this interim some of the Marshals Forces advanced to a little weak Town called *Civagliana*, which they took, leaving the Castle unattempted, which they would not tarry to take, the enemy being so neer; but the Governour, who was in *Vigevano* with 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse, thought it stood not with his honour, that the enemy should advance armed further into the State of *Millain*; and should continually grieve the Inhabitants, sometimes with quarter, sometimes with composition: he therefore resolved to march into the field, and keep them from such insulting; he went straight to *Novara*, intending to come upon the back of the enemy, that so by keeping him from returning he might easily vanquish him; being gone a few miles he heard news, that the Marshal was gone with his Army out of *Vespolano*, and that he was ready to give him Battle if he should advance; and that to that purpose he had sent some Forces that morning to *Sastrego*, a Town neer *Strano*, where the Governour was to quarter that night: the truth is, that the Marshal was advanced with

1500

1500 Dragoons, and 1000 Foot, to *Serano*, and leaving them all in a certain Wood, he himself advanced to discover *Serano*, where he intended to lie that night, and so to advance towards the *Tesino*. The Governour hearing this, which was also confirm'd unto him by *Gambacorta*, who was so far advanc'd, and got so neer the Enemy, as he could not retreat, he sent him forth with order to fall upon him; assuring him that he would come in unto his succour with the rest of the Forces. *Gambacorta* was not slow in executing his orders, nor the Marshal less slow then he in receiving the onset, thinking that the whole body of the Enemies Army was not there, but onely some Troops of Horse which went for forrage, or to quarter in the neighbouring Towns: So as falling together by the ears, they fought a while with equal Valour and Fortune, till two Troops of Dragoons of the Spanish party advanced; who gave fire so fast, as beginning to disorder the first ranks, which were already well advanced, all the rest were routed by the Commissary General of the Cavalry, *Don Ferdinando d' Heredia*, and turning their Horses heads began to run, and were pursued for a mile and a half by *Gambacorta*; till being come to the wood where the ambush lay, they staid. *Gambacorta* doubting the coming of the Governour, whom he saw not yet appear, and seeing that the Enemies faced about, and prepared to resist feared an ambush, and forbore pursuit; nor durst he with unequal Forces run the hazard which he apprehended, as if the Governour had come he would have done, and so have gotten a fuller victory; for which he deserved to be accounted not onely a valiant, but a cautious and prudent Commander. For being content with the slaughter and imprisonment of many, he very seasonably with-drew himself and his men from the imminent danger. There were slain in this conflict about 150 of the Marshals men, and some 60 taken prisoners; and all the mischief befell the Duke of *Savoy*'s Horse, which fought more stoutly then the rest; and hereupon some dispute arose between the Duke and the Marshal: The Duke complaining that the Marshal, upon the first declension of the fight, got upon a fleet Horse and to save his life abandoned the Dukes Horse. Those that were worsted retreated from *Vespolano* to *Palestre*; and the Governour going to *Novara* pursued the Enemy, who though they made some shew of facing him, yet when they heard he was come neer them, they past back over the *Sesia*, and retreated into *Piedmont*: Hastily freeing that State, which but a little before they had so resolutely assaulted. And as this assault proved unfortunate for the assailants, so neither had the diversion intended that effect which was hoped for; For the States of *Parma* and *Piacenza* were molested in the interim; the Duke of *Modena* was assisted in the State of *Parma*, and the Kings men, notwithstanding this unexpected assault, were not sent for back from the parts about *Piacenza*. But both the Dukedoms of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, were sacked, pillaged, and laid desolate; and yet was the Duke of *Modena* sent to by the Pope to forbear all Hostility against the Territories belonging to the Church, and was desired by his Wife, who was Sister to the Duke of *Parma*, to come to composition; and the great Duke of *Tuscany*, Brother in law to the Duke of *Parma*, interposed himself also in the business of compounding; wherefore the

Duke

Duke with-drew his Souldiers to within his own State. But notwithstanding, the Spaniards, who were come to succour *Modena*, forbore not to ransack the Country, and to commit other hostile acts; *Carlo della Gatta*, having taken *Castell St. Jovanni*, went to *Rottofreno*, a Town 7 miles from *Piacenza*, and not far from the *Poe*, took it, fortified it, and put a Garrison of 600 Foot, and 200 Horse into it, which curb'd and troubled the whole Country. It was likewise thought fit to molest the States in those parts which lay nearest *Genoa*; 400 Foot were sent to *Frederico Imperiale*, under Sergeant Major *Francesco Tuttavilla*, and two Troops of Horse, the one Curassiers, the other Dragoons; who together with some of Prince *Doria* his Militia, being raised in *Bobbio*, went against *Valdetara*, a large Town belonging to the Duke of *Parma*; where the Horse not being yet come, 70 of the Trained Bands of the Country were entred; but *L' Imperiale* making himself master of the parts thereabouts, and causing two peice of Cannon to advance, it yeilded: That Town being taken and well garrison'd, he went to destroy *Le Ferriere*, a very advantagious place belonging to the Duke of *Parma*, to which the way lies by a very narrow passage at the foot of a high Mountain, called *Della Penna*, wherein was a Garrison of the Duke of *Parma*'s subjects; *L' Imperiale* came against it with 500 Foot, and the Troops of Dragoons; the Pass after the first volley was abandoned, all men running shamefully away; passing on, he came to *Le Ferriere*, wherein there being a Garrison of the Countrymen, with some peices of Artillery and Morter-peices, he met with some resistance; but it lasted but a while, for it yielded the same night that *Imperiale* came before it, and all the Forges and instruments thereunto belonging, were forthwith destroyed; which was done by order from the Governour. Moreover, the Souldiers were permitted to plunder the whole Country, who got thereby great booty in cattle and victuals. Some few dayes after he past to the plain of *Piacenza*, where he found the whole Country forsaken by the Inhabitants who fled, and *Imperiale* advanced no further; for hearing that greater number of the Dukes Forces, both Horse and Foot, drew nigh, he kept his men on the side of the Mountain, expecting greater recruits from *Millain*, which did not onely not come; (for at *Millain* they endeavoured to send greater Forces on that side against the Dukes dominions;) but these very men were sent for back, to be used in more necessary imployments. The State of *Millain* was molested by the French at the same time that the Duke of *Parma*'s Country was annoy'd by the Spaniards: For the Garrison of *Bremi*, over-running the adjacent parts of the State of *Millain*, made themselves be soundly felt; and on the other side, the French were much afflicted with sickness, occasioned by the ill ayr, and marshes thereabout; where of 40 and 50 dying on a day, they within a few moneths lost above 1000 of their men; and it was thought, what between the building and maintaining of that Garrison, that Fort cost the French more men, then the taking of such another would have done; and diminishing not onely by the death of so many, but also by the running away of multitudes, the French Army already was reduced to so small a number, as it could not have subsisted long, had it not received new and great recruits. Nor did the

Kings

Kings men ſuffer ſore hardſhips here onely, but the Inhabitants of the Counry of *Como* ſhared in the like. The Duke of *Rohan* being (as hath been ſaid) after the rout given before *Morbegno* to *Serbellone*, peaceſully poſſeſs'd of the *Valtoline*, and having with him about four thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, was impatient to think he ſhould lie idle; and envying the Marſhal, who made himſelf be ſo terribly felt from the Fort of *Brenil*, and who did ſo enrich himſelf by booty, deſired to do the like himſelf, and to get more footing in that State: He therefore made ſome ſmall barques in the *Valtoline*, which being brought in the beginning of the Spring, 1636. to the bank of the little Lake, full of Souldiers, he put them into the water; and going to *Pradel*, he took it; and going by the way called *Franceſca*, and thence to the three *Pievi*, Towns belonging to the State of *Millain*, he burnt and conſumed them, together with many other neighbouring Towns. He came next (but without Artillery) to Fort *Medegine*, whither *Lodovico Guaſco* being ſent a little before with a ſtrong Garriſon, *Rohan* proceeded no further, but retreated to the *Valtoline*.

But greater preparations for War then thoſe of *Rohan*, or the Marſhal, were made the preceding Winter in all parts. Nine Troops of Horſe, and nine Regiments of Foot, were newly fallen down from the *Alps*; and the King of *France* having ſet his heart upon being Maſter of the Mediterranean, he aſſembled many Ships and Galleoons in *Britany* and *Provence*, and increaſed the number of Gallies in *Provence*, wherewith he gave out he would do great things. On the other ſide, the Spaniard made no leſſer prepatations, as well to defend his own Dominions, as to offend thoſe of others: They had taken order for four Regiments in *Germany*, two of Horſe, and two of Foot, whereof one was Curaſſiers, the other Dragoons, which they expected ſhortly; and being to paſs thorow the Swiſſers Country, they had already ſent moneys to thoſe Cantons, to the end that being paid, they ſhould not hinder their paſſage: Moreover 3000 Spaniards were entered the State of *Millain*, ſent from ſeveral parts, and 1000 Horſe from the Vice-roy of *Naples*, who being ſent thorow *Romagna*, into the State of *Modena*, were already come into that of *Millain*: But before theſe, the French Regiments appeared in *Piedmont*; and the Duke of *Parma* was alſo come thither, who was returned from *France* loaded with promiſes, and ſatisfied with the Courts good intentions and effects; for he brought preciſe Orders to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the Marſhal, to re-place him in his States; in obedience whereunto, the Duke of *Savoy* went anticiparely into the Field, together with the Duke of *Parma*, and the Marſhal: their chief intention was, as the effects did afterwards demonſtrate, to put *Parma* into his State; which when they had done, they ſhould, with his men, and thoſe of *Villa's* which they ſhould there finde, aſſault the State of *Millain*, either by the territories of *Tortona*, or by thoſe of *Cremona*, whilſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marſhal ſhould do the like by that of *Novara*, and by the *Lomellina*: or if they liked it better; they ſhould turn upon the State of *Modena*, and oblige the Spaniards to aſſiſt that Prince with good forces, who for having abandoned the French party, and adhered to the Spaniſh, they deſired to ſuppreſs; and thus by either of theſe ways to divide the Spaniſh force;

and

and make them less able to defend the State of *Millain*. Thus the Duke going from *Vercelli*, and the Marshal from *Cassalle*, they joyned their forces together, which amounted in all to about 18000 foot, and 4000 horse, and past over the *Poe* at *Bremi*, and the *Tanaro* at *Filizzano*, and from thence advanced to *Nizza della Paglia*, to repossess the Duke of his Dominions: The Governour was then far inferiour to them in men, the regiments not being yet come which were expected from *Germany*; so as not thinking it fit to oppose them in open field, he resolved to fortifie the right bank of *Scrivia* with a great Trench, which beginning from the skirts of the *Appenine* should run along the river to where it falls into the *Poe*, which would be above fifteen miles in length, which the river it self served for a ditch, the river being very dangerous to wade over, by reason of the swift current, and which therefore made this fortification unaccessible; so as though it seemed not to be defensible, as requiring many more Souldiers to defend it then the Governour had to place there, yet since the river admitted access to the trench, but in very few places, those places being well munited, it was sufficiently well provided for elsewhere, by the swiftness of the river, and by some *Corps de Guard* placed in convenient places, which might hinder any desperate attempts which might be made by the enemy where they should think them weakly guarded; and yet the Governour being desirous that the defence should not be defective, he brought thither all the Souldiers that he could get either in the State of *Millain* or elsewhere, even to the lessening of the usual garrisons, and most important places; he did not onely summon the common Souldiers thither, but the Officers, and best experienced Commanders; nay, he himself would assist there in his own person; nor did his counsel herein, nor his expence, and labour in that work prove vain; for the enemies being as desirous to overcome that Trench, as the Governour was to defend it, they sent the most experienced of their army to discry it, who finding it untakeable, and unpassible they gave over the thought of attempting it; they thought it not good to expose their Souldiers at one and the same time to the swiftness of the river, and to the shot of the Spaniards; they therefore resolved to try another way; they went from *Nizza*, and past back over the *Poe*, and coasted along the left side of the river, till being come to *Giarvola*, they had past by the head of the Trench of *Tortona*, which terminated on the opposite bank: here they thought to pass the Duke over into the Countrey of *Piacenza*, in their Boats which followed them down the stream; and so they thought to couzen the Governour; but they found new difficulties, which opposed them also in this their enterprise; they first saw Marquess *Spinola* with many Musketeers on the other store, ready to hinder their passage; wherefore not thinking it fit to attempt it there, they marched on; hoping they might advance so far, as that they might find Marquess *Villa* on the other shore in the confines of *Piacenza*, with his own men, and with those French who were in that State under Count S. *Paule*; who might receive the Duke, and secure the passage over the river; *Villa*, upon orders received from the Duke, was really joyned with Count *S. Paule*, and was marched thitherward; and having in his passage re-

cover-

covered the Town and Castle of *S. Jovanni*, was come to *Arena*, a Town in the Territories of *Pavia*, to receive the Duke, whom they expected suddenly to see on the other shore; and having driven away some horse which were in *Arena*, they kept in those parts; but the Dukes met with new and greater oppositions, which kept them from advancing so far: Count *Ferrante Bolognino*, a Knight of *Jerusalem*, one who had been long versed in the wars of *Flanders*, and who was newly come to *Italy*, to serve as Camp-master in these Wars; having received orders from the Governour to hinder the passing over the *Po*, had made some fortifications upon the mouth of *Tesino*, and had drawn thither also many mills, upon which, as also upon the banks, he had placed many Canoons and Musketeers: So as the two Dukes finding these new difficulties, and oppositions as hard to overcome as those of *Scrivia*, they past no further on; but betook themselves to make Inrodes into the Countrey, and to prejudice the Towns thereabouts; which causing great fear in those of *Pavia*, they knew not how they should be able to defend themselves from being sack'd, if the enemy should draw neer their walls; and truly there not being so much as one Souldier in the Town, (for the Governour, as you have heard, had sent for them all to the Trench) the danger of that City was not inconsiderable; not onely in respect of plunder, but also that it would be very hard to get the enemy who was very strong, out, when he should be possest thereof; the Governour apprehending this, sent *Spinola* immediatly to defend it, with five hundred Musketeers, which yet were not sufficient to free those Citizens from fear, who for their greater safety, and to keep the enemy from their walls, were resolved to break down an arch of that noble and magnificent bridge, which close to the City stands over the *Tesino*; but these and other provisions which were had, were more then was needful for the preservation of *Pavia*, for the Confederats, letting slip so fair an occasion, whereby they might have conveyed the Duke safely into his Countrey, drew back, though they were not pursued, and returned to *Bremi*; where not giving over the thought of conveying the Duke into his Countrey, they resolved to make the enemy forgo the Trench by a lusty diversion; which being abandoned, they might pass him over with a few men into the country of *Piacenza*; they knew that the continent of *Novara*, as being that part which of all the State of *Millain* was farthest off from the Trench, was totally without Garrison, or defence; wherefore they thought, that by going thither with the main body of their army, they might cause the Trench to be abandoned; so being come to *Bremi*, they sent the Duke of *Parma* with 3000 foot, and 300 horse towards *Nizza*, to the end that when the Trench should be forsaken, he might pass with those men into his own dominions; they afterward gave out that they intended three things, to the end that the Governour being to defend them all might speedily leave the passage over the Trench free to the Duke: The first was to sit down before *Valenza*; The second, to go take in *Sandoval*; And the third, to march strait towards *Novara*: The Governour hearing these designs published, did at the same time make two provisions; he sent Don *John di Gastil* with 3000 foot, and some horse, to succour *Valenza*, whether Don *Fran-*

cisco di Melo resolved to go soon after; and he sent *Gambacorta* with the greatest part of the Cavalry, to relieve *Rossofreno*, wherein there was but a small Garrison, for that part thereof were sent for to the Trench: wherefore it was straightly besieged by Marquess *Villa*, who finding the Dukes expectation vanished by withdrawing of the Leagues Army, and hearing how the forces were lessened about that place, did not let slip the occasion of going to take it; both these provisions were well warranted; for *Garras* getting into *Valenza*, whilst the enemies army looked on, endeavour'd sollicitously to perfect the Fort S. *Diego*, which was already begun upon the Banks of *Po*, in the same place where the Fort was much guarded the foot of the Bridge of *Valenza*, toward the *Lomellina*, that upon the like occasions that place might be secured; which Fort was soon perfected, or at least put into a condition of convenient defence; so as being assaulted by the *French* whilst they marched from *Bremi* to *Novara*, it did not onely resist the assault, but two hundred horse going forth under the shelter of the Artillery of the Fort, they repuls'd the assallants, and slew some of them, and in particular the Marquess of *Canesi*, a prime Cavalier of the French, and of great expectation and *Gambacorta*, who went to *Rossofreno*, finding the passes well block'd up, and fortified by *Villa*, returned back, not doing any thing; yet the preservation of that place being of great consequence, he was sent thither again with the same Cavalry, accompanied with a good strength of Musketeers, and being come thither he did not onely bring in the relief, but made the enemy remove just when the Town was ready to surrender; which mean while notice being come to the Trench, that the enemies Army was marched towards the territories of *Novara*; the Governour being very careful of those parts which were wholly unprovided of any Garrison, sent Don *Martino d' Aragona* and *Lodovico Guasco* away with all speed, and with a good strength of men to mark what way the enemy went, and to defend the Towns of those parts as well as they could from them; and to the end that the enemy might not attempt passing over the *Tesino* in the Barques which usually go thereupon, he gave order that they should all be detained either in *Pavia*, or in the greater Lake, from whence *Tesino* comes. The Governour continued (notwithstanding) with the main Body of his Army at the Trench; except it were those who were sent to *Valenza* when the enemy drew neer the Town, and who returning were busied in keeping that pass block'd up from the Duke; the Duke was come already to *Nizza* with the men that were allotted him; where he tarried till he might see the Trench abandoned, that he might pass into his own Dominions; whilst the Army of the League, being come into the Territories of *Novara*, overran that Country, firing and laying all things waste where they came, sacking some Towns, and bringing others under composition; and as it went to *Fontaneto*, a Town not much fortified, but of much consequence for entertaining Commerce with *Vercelli* and *Piedmont*, the Towns men who confided in the Castle which was there, made some resistance; but being overcome on the fourth day, they were miserably sack'd, in revenge for the death of Marshal *Toras*, who was unfortunately slain by one of the first Musket-shot that was made out of that Town; a

death

death unworthy ſo gallant a Commander, and which was very ill reſented, not only by his friends, but by his enemies, for his ſingular valour, and for the gallantry of what he had done. *Fontanero* being taken, they talked of going to *Sandoval*, or to before *Novara*; but a ſtrange and unexpected accident hapned, which made them think of greater things: ſix French Souldiers, who according to the faſhion of the Spaniſh Souldiers wore red Scarffs, coming to the *Teſſino*, feigned themſelves to be Spaniſh Souldiers; and ſeeing the Barque wherewith they croſs the River, and which is commonly called *Porto*, on the other ſhore, as he is called *Portenaro* who guides it, they earneſtly deſired the *Portenaro* that he would come and paſs them over to the other ſide, offering him a good reward for their wafrage: the *Portenaro* thought them to be friends, by the red Scarffs which they wore, and being too credulous and too greedy of gain, went to the other ſide the River, and took them into his *Porto*, who preſently ſlew him; and paſſing over to the other ſide, they found the Country abandoned by the Inhabitants, who by reaſon of the neerneſs of the enemy were fled to the tops of Mountains; ſo they took ſome Cattel, and paſſing with them over the River, they went and acquainted the Duke and the Marſhal with what they had done, and ſhew'd them how eaſie it was to paſs over the *Teſſino*. The enterpriſe was very hopeful, and glorious beyond expectation, and was not to be deſpiſed; and ſo much the rather, for that to keep in the State of *Novara*, as they had done till now with little advancement, made but little for their honour; wherefore that ſomewhat might be done, they thought they were forc'd to embrace any whatſoever hard imployment, and then much more this which was ſo eaſie, and which was ſo propitiouſly preſented to them by fortune; they were the more encouraged to this enterpriſe by what little eſteem was had of the enemies Forces; which keeping ſtill within the Trench, they thought they would not dare to encounter them, and that at the preſent they would ſhun coming into the open field, to keep from hazarding the welfare of the State upon the uncertainty of a Battle; having therefore ſent ſome Horſe over the *Teſſino*, to diſcover the Country and the affairs better, they tarried expecting their return; that they might the better ground their reſolutions; and finding by what they brought back, that they agreed, in their relation, with what the others had ſaid, they threw over the boats which they had brought with them in Carts, and making a Bridge of them paſs'd the Army over to the other ſide; and ſtaid ſome days waiting ſome happy occaſion, which this ſo fortunate accident might preſent unto them; the Bridge was thrown over neer *Caſa della Camera*, the firſt thing which they did after they were paſſed was to break the *Sprone* (which is nothing elſe but the keeping in of the *Teſſino* with great ſtones, to the end, that the water being thereby ſtop'd may riſe into a channel, which they call *il Naviglio*, whereby they paſs even to *Millain*, carrying and re-carrying boats full of proviſion (from the Lake whence the *Teſſino* comes) to *Millain*, and which are neceſſary for the City, and for the Inhabitants (who live upon the Lake) and to take away the water from the *Naviglio*, that ſo they might ſtreight the City in point of proviſion; and bereave it of the advantage it got thereby; they afterward fortified themſelves in *Tornaven-*

to, a little Town on the left bank of the *Tesino*, and extended their Fortifications to the *Brughera*; which is nothing else but a Copse of many miles about where nothing grows but brush-wood or low shrubs, which those of *Lombardy* call *Brughi*; they tarried there some days pillaging those parts; and having no place to take, nor Mountains nor Rivers to pass over, nor no enemy to encounter (for *Guasco* was not yet come thither, and Don *Martine d' Aragona*, being far short of them in numbers, who heard in *Novara* that the enemies Army had passed over the *Tesino*, did also pass over it himself a little lower, and was come to *Bigarasso*) they might march safely to the Walls of *Millain*; when the enemies passage over the *Tesino* was heard of, and that an infinite number of the Inhabitants thereabouts were flock'd together, with their Wives, Children, and with what else they had of most value, as to a place of refuge, the Citizens fell into such terrour and confusion, as greater was never known in the memory of man, or was ever read of in ancient Story. The City of *Millain* was bereft of defendants, and as it were, exposed to be assaulted by the enemy, who was very strong, neer at hand, and was hourly expected to appear before the City walls; they saw the Governour and all the chief Officers stood idly, minding only the keeping and defending of the Trench, and that they did not at all care for the rest of the State, so as they might keep the Duke of *Parma* from passing over; that this was the chief thing whereupon all their thoughts were bent, that they cared not though the enemy burnt, plundered, and laid the Country waste; they saw that the Army which had been raised at the peoples so great expence, and which had suffer'd such hardship in their quarters all the Winter, made nothing at all for their safety at this time of so neer danger; so as the people exclaimed in the streets against the Spaniards, and against the Governour himself; and bewailing their miseries were neerer tumultuating, then preparing to prevent their imminent danger: many also thinking the City lost sent away what they had, of most precious, into the State of *Venice*; so as the Gates of the City were pester'd by those who believing in her safety ran thither with what best things they had, and by those who not confiding in her safety fled away with what they had of most precious, and convey'd them into safer places; they were all the more disturb'd by hearing that the Duke of *Rohan* was fallen down by the Valley of *Sarsina* into the State of *Millain*, and was come neer *Lecco*, which if he should take, he might safely come to the City, and joyning with the Confederates Army might put for mighty things; so as in this great confusion, many of the chief Gentlemen had recourse to Don *Ranchillo*, a Spaniard, and Chancellor of the State, who in the Governors absence supplied his place, desiring that he would use his authority, and that he would endeavour the peace and safety of the City: he had at the same time received Letters from the Governour who was at the Trench, of the same tenure; wherefore beating up Drums immediately, to raise as many Citizens as he could, as well Gentlemen as others, he distributed them upon the Walls and Gates in several places to defend them: he also took care for repairing the walls and Gates, where it was most requisite, whereby, and by other provisions, men began to be of better hopes; they were chiefly quieted by the coming

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of Prince *Borſo da Eſte* into the State with 2500 Dutch, who ſent them immediately towards *Lecco* to oppoſe the violence which *Roban* threatned, and to keep him as far from the City as he could; but the confuſion of the Confederates was not leſs then that of the Millainois, when they found themſelves in an enemies Country, which was laid waſte, abandoned by the Inhabitants, and wherein the neighbouring Towns not being able to furniſh food, contribution nor quarters neceſſary for their daily ſuſtenance, they were forced, not without delay, difficulty and danger, to have them from *Piedmont*, and from the Continent of *Novara*; they therefore knew that to keep there with ſo much inconvenience, was impoſſible; and that to go to *Millain*, as their ſo happy paſſage did in honour bind them to do, was dangerous and difficult; for if they ſhould do ſo, they muſt neceſſarily, in the firſt place, abandon the Bridge, which not being to be fortified, it was impoſſible to ſecure; and the impoſſibility of ſecuring it aroſe from the left ſide of the *Teſſino*, which being very high and commanded by many Hills, it was altogether as impoſſible as neceſſary, to fortifie all thoſe Hills, ſo as to ſecure the Bridge from battery, and to fortifie them ſo, as that the one might be a help to the other, and that they might all joyntly concur with that which guarded the head of the Bridge; for otherwiſe any one of thoſe Hills being taken by the enemy, and a battery being thereon placed, the Bridge muſt neceſſarily be beaten down, the Army muſt be debar'd the River, being in an enemies Country, wanting the conveniency of retreating, and of thoſe ſuccours which they were only to expect by the Bridge; being, moreover, expoſed to be inſulted over by the enemy, who (it was to be ſuppoſed) would quickly come, and fall upon them, to their ruine and undoing: to this was added, that they heard a flying rumour, that the Governour hearing that they were paſs'd over the *Teſſino* was already removed, and was already come with his Army very neer *Millain*; ſo as if they ſhould go thither, the Governour muſt either neceſſarily be got before them with his Army into the City, or come upon them when they were hotteſt in beſieging it, or when they ſhould have finiſhed their Siege; in any of which caſes there appeared manifeſt ruine; for if he ſhould come before they were ſat down before the City, it would be a raſh and headlong reſolution, to go to aſſault a great City well peopled, and that they ſhould not be able to continue the Siege, having an enemy Army upon their backs, and that in their retreat, which would be neceſſary, they were likely to receive a great blow; and that, ſay they ſhould take the City, the Souldiers would aſſuredly fall to plunder, and would not obey their Captains commands, but flying from their colours, and running about the City without any Military Diſcipline, nothing but ruine was to be expected; they therefore concluded, that their going to *Millain* would afford the enemy an opportunity of obtaining a ſignal Victory: Yet the Duke of *Savoy* had much a do to keep the Marſhal from going thither. Who alleaged that the paſſing over the *Teſſino* had alwayes been dreadful to that City, and was likely to prove ſo now more then ever. That therefore it behoved them to make uſe of the occaſion, and aſpire after the victory, which they could not fail of, if they would courageouſly go about it: That elſe

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they had done better never to have paſſed the *Teſsino*, then after ſo happily paſt it, to do nothing. That to make any doubt thereof, was nothing elſe then to abandon the occaſion of overcoming, and to ſhun victory: That the French Army had never paſt the *Teſsino*, but that the iſſue thereof had been the entire acquiſition of the State of *Millain*. Wherefore then ſhould they now forbear, when the Enemy, who were inferiour to them in Forces, and far more inferiour in Courage, would never dare to ſhew their faces, nor hazard battle? When the people full of confuſion and fear, and moreover, very ill ſatisfied with the Spaniſh Government, would joyn with them in the ruine of ſo abhorred an Empire. But reaſons to the contrary, and the authority of ſupream command which reſided in the Duke, prevailing over the Marſhals Allegations, and the having alſo heard for certain, that the Governour was at laſt gone from the Trench, and was come neer the City; the Marſhall was forc'd to give way to the Dukes will, not without much murmuring: Not proceeding therefore any further, and being forc'd to go from thence by Famine, they reſolved to go towards the Lake, and to take *Seſto*, *Anghiera* and *Arona*, which were ſcituated in the mouth thereof; which believing they ſhould take without any manner of difficulty, they thought to be thereby maſters of the whole Lake; Whereby they ſhould command the onely paſſage which the Spaniards had to bring men from *Germany* into the State of *Millain*. And not being now able to bring in any by the *Valteline*, that State would be a prey to the French Armies, when they ſhould aſſault it with greater Forces. The Duke therefore preferring the ſafety and advantage of this propoſal, before the airy and perillous enterprize of *Millain*; made the Bridge be broken up, and ordered that the Army ſhould march towards the Lake; putting ſome of the Boats, whereof the Bridge was made, into Carts; and drawing ſome againſt the current of the River, they marched with their Army divided by the River; the Marſhal with his French along the left ſide, the Duke along the right ſide, with his Piedmonteſe. But the Governour having, in this interim, heard of the Enemies being paſt over the *Teſsino*, by meſſengers ſent unto him from the City, & of the confuſion of that City, the deſolation of the State of *Novarra*, and of the Towns on this ſide the River, he at laſt left the Trench; and ſending preciſe orders to all thoſe that were either in the Country of *Tortona*, or in the parts about *Piacenza*, to follow him, he paſt over the *Po* and the *Teſsino*, with Don *Franceſco di Melo*, and ſome others, and came to *Pavia*, and without entring *Millain*, he went directly toward *Biagraſſa*. He ſent *Melo*, notwithſtanding, to *Millain*, to be Governour of that Caſtle, leſt ſome diſaſter might happen in ſo great confuſion. For fearing leſt the Enemy might approach the City, he thought fit to put a wiſe Governour thereinto, and one of authority. *Melo* being come thither, was very diligent in bringing Ammunition into the Caſtle by night, leſt if it ſhould have been diſcovered, it might have cauſed greater fear in the people. He alſo armed 1200 Horſe which were come a little before from *Germany*, and put the much confuſed Affairs of the City into better Orders. The Horſe being armed, were preſently ſent to *Biagraſſa*, and with them 13 Companies of Neapolitans; and thoſe who were come from the French,

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and from the parts about *Piacenza*, past over the *Po* and the *Gravalone*, and went to joyn with the Governour, who in a short time was able to muster 15000 Foot, and 5000 Horse. And whilst others were coming, the Governour went with three Troops of Horse from *Bigarasso* to *Tornavento*, the same day that the Enemy going from thence went towards the Lake. The Marshall hearing this, who marched on that side the River, and was not advanced full twelve miles, halted, and advised with the Duke, and they both resolved to return back, and go to their former quarters of *Tornavento* and *Brughera*; for it was very probable that those who marched on this side with the Marshal might be defeated if they should be pursued by the Enemy, being divided by the River from their associates: For the River, which runs very swiftly from the Lakes mouth to *Tornavento*, would not suffer them to throw over the Bridge there, that so they might joyn their Forces together; nor did the same swiftness of the River permit that the boats which were drawn against the Current could come time enough to perce with the others, before the Enemy might come upon them. Whereas on the contrary, by returning back, the Boats which were below, would anticipately come to the former place; so as the Bridge being speedily put together, they might meet with their joynt Forces, before they could be assaulted by the Enemy. This Resolution was soon put on and executed; and about the going down of the day, the Duke and the Marshal came both of them to *Tornavento*, the Duke on that side, and the Marshal on this. The Marshals chief care was to fortifie that place, and the Dukes, to cast over the Bridge speedily; a little below *Tornavento*, where the Enemy might advance, there was a great ditch, which had been formerly made by the French, when they were masters of the State of *Millain*, that they might bring the water of *Tessino* thereby, and convey it elsewhere; which ditch, because it proved to no purpose, and had cost much money, was then, and is yet called *Panperduto*, (which we may translate lost labour) the Marshal made use of this ditch for a Trench and Parapet to his men. For intending onely to stand upon defence, he had left Monsieur *Di Boisac*, Commissary of the Horse, without, with 300 Horse, that he might flank *Panperduto*, and playing upon the assailants on that side, might keep them from being assaulted. The rest of his men he kept within the ditch, where on the Front, and on the left side, they were sheltred by the same ditch; on the right side by the *Naviglio*, and on the back by the *Tessino* and *Tornavento*. Being thus securely seated, the Marshal stay'd expecting the Governour, who being returned before the Marshal from *Tornavento* to *Bigarasso*, made his men advance to *Constanzano*, within three miles of *Tornavento*, that he might gaul the Enemy on the back, in case he should continue his march towards the Lake, and that he might fight him if he should tarry by the way. The Governour came to *Constanzano*, the same night that the Marshal was returned to *Tornavento*: And notwithstanding that all those that were at the Trench, nor other that he expected, were not yet come to him, and those that were already come were very weary by their long and speedy march, yet placing his hopes of victory upon coming before the Bridge should be perfected, which till it should be so kept, the Enemies

mies Forces un-united, he was ready to go to assault them, the rather for that two hours before day *Gambacorta* was come to him with part of the horse whereunto he was driven, not so much out of the danger which delay might occasion, by giving the enemy leasure to perfect the Bridge, as for that his Army not being able to continue in the place where they were, out of many reasons, but especially for want of water, he could not, without much danger, and without loss of honour, retreat, the enemy being so neer; so as the choice was turn'd to necessity, and the peoples murmuring made the necessity greater, who being subject to such charges, and to such trouble in quartering, could not endure that the War should be spun out, without hopes of ever seeing an end of their so many sorrows and calamities; he therefore doubted that if he should delay fighting them now that they were so neer, the people might go wild, and perhaps produce some bad effect; so as their opinions were not listned to who thought it rashness to go in the condition they were in to assault an Army well munited within its Works, and which, when the Bridge should be made, would become more powerful; but the peoples crying out for battle prevailed over these and many other considerations; and the Governour inclining to give them satisfaction, gave order to fight; he had not now above 10000 Foot in his Camp (for all the Foot were not yet arrived) and between four and five thousand Horse, who by reason of the streight situation were placed behind the Foot, in nine Squadrons; so as the Foot were to undergo the whole brunt of battle, without receiving any help from the Horse. Marquess *Spinola* was by the Governours side, and Don *Francisco di Melo* who was come that very night from the Castle of *Millain*, out of the great desire he had to be present at this action: The conflict, or rather the assault, began four hours after Sun-rising, on the second of *June*, and endured till three of the night; so as they fought fifteen hours without any intermission, and was continued by the assailants, with much valour and constancie, though upon so many disadvantagious terms; the enemies were very well shelter'd (as hath been said) on all sides, and yet the assailants, who gave the assault with naked breasts, and in open field, advanc'd so far, as they came to push of Pike, for all the hundred horse which were left without by the Marshal; for though they turned at first to good purpose, to keep the assailants aloof from the Trenches; yet the Governour having sent *Gambacorta* against them with five hundred horse, and after him another squadron of as many Curassiers, commanded by *Augustine Fiesco*, *Gambacorta* fell furiously upon the Enemy, and drove them into a wood which was behind them; whereinto when he with his men entered, they were furiously played upon by musket shot from the Enemies Trench, whereby some of them were slain, amongst which *Gambacorta*, who was shot through the body with two Musket bullets; A death which was esteemed a great loss; he being a gentleman of a stout heart, good at Counsel, and well vers'd in military affairs, wherein he had given good proof of his valour: wherefore his death was much resented by the whole camp; the horse which entred the wood with him, their captain being slain, were forc'd to retreat, and were pursued by the enemies horse, which (in this the others consternation,) had time to rally themselves; they

they chased them till they came to *Fiasco's* squadron, who did not only make head against them, but forc'd the French back into the same wood, whence not daring to come forth any more, the assailants, when that impediment was removed, had opportunity to advance unto the Trenches; amidst all this toil and danger the heat was excessive great, and there was no water thereabouts, so as the souldiers, hot with continual fighting, having no shade to shelter them from the Sun, which shone then excessive hotly, nor water wherewith to quench their thirst, they could no longer withstand the extream heat, which consumed them both within, and without. Serjeant Major *Oliverius* found a Windmill somewhat far from the place of fight, but well guarded by the enemy; he went thither with a great many Musketeers, and driving the Defendants away, not without much contest, he became master thereof, and opened unto the thirst-burnt Souldiers a large vein of water, who as soon as they heard thereof forsook their ranks, and without any respect ran confusedly in crouds to refresh themselves therewith; this refreshment enabled the Army to continue the fight more vigorously, and the Governour hearing what refreshment the Army had received, ordered *Sanli* to have a great care of that station, and not to abandon it without particular order from him; but all this while the victory was far off, the Duke of *Savoy* having remade the Bridge, past over with his freshmen to this side the river, and brought very seasonable succour to the French, who were ready to forsake the field; by whose coming though the defence was much strengthned, yet did not the assailants fail to play their part, but kept the field as before; and therefore though the Dukes arrival took from them the glory of victory, yet was it not sufficient to make them losers; at last that which the night could not do, the wearyness of the souldiers did, which put an end to the assault three hours after Sunset; the assailants departed in good order, not losing one man in the retreat, being well backt by the Cavalry, but this was more then needed, for not any of the enemy (a thing not often read of) came out of their Trenches, to pursue them, their end being onely to keep their quarters, they thought they had done enough to keep from being driven from thence, or peradventure the Gallantry shewed that day by the assailants made them keep in, but because the place where the fight was was incapable of quarter, being nothing but brush wood, without water, save that of the Mill, without Trees, without fortifications, or forradge for the Horse, which had born armed men all that day, without either food or rest, they were forced to go quarter at *Biagrassa*, which was fifteen miles off; this businesse decided the difference between the Duke and the Marshal touching going to *Millain*; and the Army that was assaulted had the honour, though not the title of victory, which was due to it by Military law, for having kept it's station; and it would have carried away entirely the title of Victory, if the Duke of *Parma*, who was the chief occasion and end of these conflicts, had made use of the occasion of passing over the trench at *Tortona* at the same time when it was abandoned by the Governour, and had so past happily into his Dominions. This Prince, as you have heard, was sent from *Bremi* to *Nizza*, with a convoy of three thousand Foot, and three

hundred Horſe; to the end that the going of the Confederates army towards the territories of *Novara* being likely to draw the Governour, with his men, from defending the Trench, to defend theſe parts, the Duke might make his way by that Trench, when it ſhould be abandoned, and paſs ſecurely into the Countrey of *Piacenza*. The buſineſs ſucceeded as it was deſigned, and better; for the Governour being forced by the unexpected paſſage of the French over the *Teſino*, haſtily to forſake the Trench which he left guarded by *Carlo della Gatta*, with onely five hundred foot, too ſmall a number by much for the large extent thereof, and the weather being then very dry, and the *Scrivia* very ſhallow, it had been eaſie for the Duke to paſs the Trench, and come into his States; and if, as eaſily he might, he had done ſo, what greater glory could the Confederates have won, then to have then put that Prince happily and honourably into his Dominions; and that whereas to keep them from doing ſo the Governour would force them to fight with ſo much diſadvantage, againſt the Trench of *Tortona*; they to effect it, by better and more adviſed counſels had compelled him to abandon that Trench, nor had their glory ended here; for they might moreover have boaſted to have almoſt totally freed the Dukes Dominions, and to have brought his Convoy ſafe into the territories of *Piacenza*, which being joyned to the forces which were there already might have defended that Prince from being injured by the Spaniſh forces; which ſucceſſes would aſſuredly have been glorious, and memorable, if the Duke of *Parma* had co-operated to perfecting of the common ends and Counſels; the reaſons which hindred the Duke of *Parma* from doing ſo may be gueſt at by a letter which he writ to the Duke of *Savoy*, in anſwer to one written to him by the ſaid Duke, two days before the conflict at *Tornavento*, wherein *Parma* was exhorted to advance, and get into his Dominions by the Trench which the enemy had abandoned; whereunto *Parma* anſwered the day after what had hapned at *Tornavento*; that it was impoſſible for him to undertake that journey, for want monyes; that moreover he wanted victuals, munition, and carriages to convey his baggage, though it were but little; and that it was impoſſible for him, though he ſhould make never ſo much diligence, to repair ſo many wants; eſpecially ſince he who was deputed to defray the expences had refuſed to pay a ſmall ſum of money which he had deſired; he alſo ſaid that by the convoy which was given him he had no power to command, nor to make the Souldiers obey him; ſo as he could not make uſe of them who were become very contumacious; for though at firſt, they ſeemed very willing to ſerve him, yet not long after they had altered their minds at the inſtigation of others, who had ſuggeſted unto them, that they ſhould not be ſatisfied in their pay, when they ſhould be come into his Countrey; wherefore perceiving that ill blood began to be bred amongſt them, and that this malady began to ſpread abroad in the multitude, it had ſo infected them, as many of them had run away that very night; and that therefore he had given them leave to go unto the Camp, to the end that his Majeſties affairs might ſuffer no prejudice by their abſence; and parting that very night from *Nizza* with ſeven other horſe, he went towards the Sea, whither being come about break of day he hi-

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red a little Veſſel at *Veltri*, and ſteering directly towards *Lerici*, and paſſing incognito through the *Luniggiana*, he came unknown and almoſt unaccompanied into the ſame City from whence he departed ten moneths before, ſo nobly attended by Lords and Souldiers, full of high and generous deſigns, like one who had return'd from war in triumph; and yet when he was come home, he ſeemed more diſtaſted with his ſucceſs, then ſorry for what he had done. Marqueſs *Villa*, by reaſon of new advertiſements which he had received, was gone with the *Piedmont* Horſe and Foot to *Voghera*, to aſſiſt the Duke in paſſing over the Trench; but hearing that he was gone towards the Sea, intending to go by that way into his States, he reſolved to march to *Piedmont* whither he was ſent for by the Duke of *Savoy*: he therefore went from *Voghera* to *Caſtel nuovo* upon the *Scrivia*, where refreſhing his Souldiers and his Horſes, he went ſtrait towards the Trench which was not far from *Caſtel nuovo*, and making a ſufficient gap by Mattockes and Spades, he paſs'd through it, ſo neer *Tortona* as he was ſaluted by the Artillery, though without prejudice; whereby the Duke might know how glorious an action he had let ſlip. Having once more paſs'd through the Territories of *Aleſſandria*, with like happy ſucceſs as he had done before, the Countrey being unfurniſhed of Souldiers, he came without any oppoſition to *Aſti*, and from thence to the Duke, who was ſtill with the Marſhal at *Tornavento*, that they might not loſe the glory which they had won by making that place good againſt ſo fierce an aſſault; and as if they expected a ſecond aſſault, they ſeemed not at all to fear it, but ſtood fix'd, and reſolved to receive it; but not being re-aſſaulted, nor being able to tarry there any longer with ſo many diſ-accommodations, and being greatly moleſted with abundance of Horſe flies or Hornets, which the dead unburied carcaſes had either drawn thither, or generated, they reſolved to remove from thence, leaving theſe words written in a conſpicuous place.

Quod non potuerunt Hiſpani, potuerunt Taffani.

What the Spaniards could not do,
Hornets and Horſe-flies did purſue.

And making their firſt march towards the Lake, when they were come thither, they threw a Bridge over between *Seſto* and *Caſtelletto*, Towns which lie in the mouth thereof, intending to go from thence to before *Arona*, and to take it; and thinking to make themſelves firſt maſters of *Angiera*, a Town which lies alſo upon the Lake, over againſt *Arona*, they planted Batteries againſt it. The Count *Bolognino* was entred *Arona* with a good Garriſon, which would have withſtood the Siege a good while, if it had been attempted by the enemy; but a new and unthought of neceſſity forced them to retreat and quit the Country; for the Governour, after what had hapned at *Tornavento* had made up the Body of an Army neer *Buffalora*, between *Biagraſſa* and *Tornavento*; and having ſent *Melo* back to guard the Caſtle

of *Millain*, and *Bolagnino* with Forces into *Arona*, he threw two Bridges over the *Teſsino*, by which paſſing over that River, he gave out that he would go to *Romagnano*, a Town on the left ſide of the *Seſia*, where he might commodiouſly beſiege the enemy, who were quarter'd in the mouth of the Lake, and hinder their proceedings, and keep them from retreating; ſo as they muſt neceſſarily be conſumed there, for want of meat: for that Country being abandoned by the Country people, who were withdrawn to the Mountains, and the Governour keeping in *Romagnano*, they could not be nouriſhed by the Country, nor receive victuals nor ſuccour from *Piedmont*, nor from the County of *Vercelli*, by reaſon of the craggy Hill which riſeth from *Romagnano* towards the Lake: on the ſide whereof there were only three ways, which being guarded by reaſonable Garriſons, excluded all paſſing from *Piedmont* to the Lake: this evident danger being foreſeen by the Duke, and by the Marſhal, they quickly gave over the enterpriſe and retreated; and paſſing back over the *Teſsino*, they got before hand into *Romagnano*, where they fix'd their quarters, ſeeming as if they would keep there; but the Governour being come to *Carpignano*, he incommodated them there, and begirt them on ſundry ſides, and ſent ſome men into the Country of *Vercelli*, to hinder the bringing of proviſions to *Romagnano*; wherefore they were forced to go from thence, and abandoning the State of *Millain*, retreated into *Piedmont*, being leſſened both in Forces and Honour; inſomuch as the reſt of their Army being diſbanded, moſt of the French retreated to *Pinarolo*, and from thence into *France*, and the Piedmonteſes kept in *Piedmont*.

The Confederates Army being diſſolved, the Governour betook himſelf to drive out the French Garriſons, which kept yet fortified in ſome parts of the State of *Millain*; and ſent ſeveral Commanders to recover them. Don *Martino d' Aragona* recovered *Fontaneto*, in the County of *Novara*, which was taken by the Confederates, and ſtill now kept with a ſtout Garriſon. Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* recovered many other Towns in the ſame. *Giuſeppe Monpavone*, Governour of *Aleſſandria*, drove the French Garriſon out of *Annone*; and it being a place of conſequence, he fortified it; and now there remained no Towns in the hands of the French, except *Bremi* and *Villata*. *Villata* was quickly ſlighted and abandoned by a ſmall Garriſon which was in it; ſo as all the remainder of the French were in *Bremi*; which being a ſtrong Town, and well munited, the taking of it was put off to another time. The Governour alſo ſhew'd ſome reſentment againſt the Duke of *Savoy*; *Lucio Buccapiamola*, by his Orders, entred *Gattinara*, and without any oppoſition took it, and ſack'd it; and Don *Philippo di Silva*, who ſucceeded Marqueſs *Spinola* in the place of General of the Horſe, entred the County of *Aſti* with ſome Horſe, and took *Arabzo*, *Montealto* and *Montegroſſo*; and ſome of the Garriſons of *Aleſſandria*, made inroads into the enemies Country, burning and ſacking many of their Towns: which actions did gainſay thoſe ſecret intelligences which ſaid, and more publickly the Marſhal, that the Duke held with the Spaniards; but greater reſentments were plotted againſt the Duke of *Parma*, who being come into his State was not idle; for though the Marqueſs *Villa* was gone from thence (as hath been ſaid) and was returned

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to *Piedmont*, and that consequently the Duke wanted that assistance, yet overcoming all difficulties with his undaunted spirit, and having yet some two or three thousand French with him, part whereof were come with Marquess *Pilla*, part sent to him by the River of *Genoa*, with permission from the Genoeses, and having added to these a Body of his own Subjects, and some others that he had taken into pay, he once more besieged *Rossofreno* at a distance; nor herewithall content he by way of relenting Prince *Doria's* attempts against *Valdettaro*, sent to take St. *Stephano*, a Town belonging to the same Prince in Fee from the Emperour, seated upon the Confines of the State of *Genoa*; and passing over the *Poe* was entred into the State of *Cremonia*; and doing much prejudice to the Towns of that Country, he pretended revenge for the ruines occasioned in his Country by the Kings Souldiers; wherefore the Governour, being scandalized at these new attempts, and seeing the State of *Millain* almost freed of the Confederates Forces, he sent some of his men under Don *Martine d' Aragona* to prejudice that Duke, with order to quarter in those States, and that without attempting any thing against the chief Cities he might over-run the Country, to the end, that the Duke being mortified by such losses, and terrified by fear of greater, might learn to know how unable he was to defend himself against the Kings incensed Forces. Don *Martine* being entred into the State of *Piacenza*, first, freed *Rossofreno* from being besieged by the Dukes men, drove away the assailants, and killing and taking many of them prisoners pursued them to underneath the Walls of *Piacenza*, he afterwards recovered the Castle St. *Stephano* for Prince *Doria*, which was taken from him by the Dukes men; and Cardinal *Trivultio* being entred at the same time, by Orders from the Governour, with a Regiment of Dutch, into the States of *Cremona* and *Lodi*, he drove out those that were placed there in Garrison in some Towns that the Duke had taken but a little before in those parts; then passing over the *Poe*, and joyning with *d' Aragona*, he went to possess himself of the State called *Palacicino*, by which acquisition all Commerce was almost interdicted between *Parma* and *Piacenza*; many Towns of those Territories were afterwards taken, and the Salt-pits were destroyed, which brought in a great revenue; and the Duke of *Parma*, not able to keep the Field against the Spaniards, retired to *Piacenza* where he was first besieged at a distance, and closer afterwards: it is a thing very well worth observation, to think how that Prince amidst so many adversities, and being so neer utter ruine, did notwithstanding keep so close to his first resolutions, and how he kept his first hopes, against all probability of not only obtaining his pretensions, but even of being preserved from imminent ruine; for though he had much reason not to doubt that the King of *France*, who was his onely hope, and who endeavoured now to get the Princes of *Italy* to adhere unto him, would suffer that the first and almost onely one of those Princes, and who so freely and so couragiously had declared for him and his Crown, would suffer that he should now upon that account be oppress and ruined; making him thereby an example to others, how little they were, in the like case, to relie upon the protection of that Crown; yet the Affairs of that King were at that time reduced to so bad a condition, that they rather seemed

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to need being assisted by others, then to assist others. The Cardinal *Infanta*, going from the Confines of *Flanders* with a gallant Army, was entred *Picardy*; and having taken *La Capella* and *Corbie*, two principal places upon those Frontiers, over-ran that Province victoriously; and burning, and sacking all before him, he was advanced even to the Walls of *Amiens*, and St *Quintins*. And the King not having Forces in readiness, to with-stand so sudden, and so unexpected a storm, caused Men and Armes to be tumultuously raised, for the defence of *Paris* it self; and by an Edict, which the French in their Language call *Arierban*, which is as much as to say, the last Call, (which the Kings of *France* never make use of, but in extream necessity) he summoned all his Feudatories, and all his Nobility, to assist in defence of the publick safety, which was then tottering. Nor was this all the danger of that Kingdom; for the Prince of *Conde* was forced to rise from before *Dole*, a Town in *Burgondy*, whither he had been sent a little before by the King with a powerful Army. For *Gallasso* being assisted by people of the same County was entred *Burgondy* with a strong Army; and over-running all the Towns thereof on this side the *Some*, had taken *Merabante*, and was come to before St. *Jean di Beaulme*, a Town standing upon the *Some*, between *Verdune* and *Shallonne*. Nor was this Kingdom in less danger on the parts towards *Spain*; whither the King having sent a powerful Army, commanded by the same Prince of *Conde*, wherein were many Signieurs of *France* that served to assault *Spain* on that side; and the Prince being encamped before *Fonterabie*, a frontier Town of *Spain* over ag ainst *Gascony*, he had reduced it to great extremity, not without much danger to *Spain*, if it had fain into the hands of the French, as necessarily it must have done, had not the Admiral of *Castille* come from *Spain* with 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, which passing over the Pirenean Mountains, came unexpectedly to before *Fonterabie*, just as it was upon Articles of surrender, and freed it luckily; for at the Admirals appearing, the Prince of *Conde* raised the siege, and the Admiral taking St. *John di Luz*, and besieging *Bayonne*, over-ran *Guascony*, plundering and bringing the parts thereabouts into composition; how could the Duke of *Parma* expect or fancy unto himself any assistance from the King of *France*, whilst his own Kingdom was so full of troubles, and assaulted on so many sides? and which was worse for him, the French were almost gone all out of *Italy*, and the Spaniards were increased in numbers and reputation, and left untroubled by that League which was intended for their ruine. He saw apparently that could not be diverted from prejudicing him; nay, the Governour of *Millain* having heard that some few French, who were yet in *Cassallo*, were ready to pass over to *Placenza* in boats, when they should see the *Poe* swolne with water, had ordered that a Steccado should be made over that River neer *Valenza*, to withstand those Forces, and had a good Garrison to be placed there to oppose those boats, and all others who should go upon that River: And the Governour had given order to Cardinal *Trivultio*, to have an eye to those parts; who fearing lest some Mantuans, and some of the State of *Venice*, not being able to enter the neareſt way into the Dukes States, might by way of diversion assault the State of *Cremona*, or of *Lodi*, he went first with the men that were

were assigned him to the frontiers of those Counties, to defend them from any incursion; so as that Prince was excluded from any succour on every side. There was onely one loop-hole left open, from which he might hope for safety amidst these so many streights; which was the King of *France* his Fleet, at that time come into the Ligustick Sea, as shall be said in its proper place. But to boot with the hindrance (as shall be said) which the Spanish Gallies gave to the landing of the French Fleet, keeping it from landing its men, the Governour who was himself with part of his Army in *Alessandria*, stood ready to oppose any who should land in relief of the Duke, or to prejudice the State of *Millain*. This was the condition of this Dukes Affairs; and to fill up all his misfortunes, the Emperour after having taken the Duke of *Saxony* off from the Protestant League, and brought him by the peace of *Prague* to side with him, he had also at this very time compassed his fervent desire of seeing his Son, the King of *Hungary*, Elected King of the Romans; an Election which had suffered great opposition, by those who desirous to abase the Austrian name, used all the means they could to keep him from it; the which being overcome by the dexterity and several negotiations of the Spanish Agents in that Court, and particularly by *Count d' Oguate*, it was happily atchieved about Christmas, the year 1636. In which Election, the Marquess of *Castagneda*, who was Embassadour from *Spain* with the same King of *Hungary*, upon whom the Election fell, did very much co-operate. True it is that the success of the Austrian Forces at this time did very much facilitate this choice; which having shut up the Swedes in the furthest corner of *Pomerania*, and were neer driving them out of *Germany*, obliged some of the Electors, though contrary to their wills, to permit that the Imperial Diadem should be continued in the House of *Austria*; the peace and union of the Duke of *Saxony*, and this Coronation, and the late victories, did doubtlesly redound much to the greatness and security of the Austrian name: so as the Duke of *Parma* might see how prosperously the Austrians whom he had abandoned, proceeded; and on the contrary, how the devotion embraced by the King of *France* his affairs, which he had so readily and with so much, I say, they had miscarried, and consequently he might easily perceive to what condition his affairs were brought; and that to stand pertinaciously to these designs was nothing else but to fight against heaven, and to run head-long into ruine; he might also know that the Princes of *Italy* were not well pleased with this new fire which he had kindled in *Italy*.

The Pope, in consideration of the Sovereignty which the Apostolick See hath over the Duke of *Parma*'s Dominions, feared that they might be possessed by the Spaniards; and was angry that the Duke who was his Feudatory should so obstinately subject himself to so many evils; wherefore not only he, but the great Duke, whose Sister was Wife to the Duke of *Parma*, interceded for him to the King of *Spain* and his Agents, to be more reserved in their resentments, desiring them to pardon somewhat, in respect of the merits of the former Dukes of *Parma*, much in respect of the Prince his young years, and not to discompose *Italy*; and they continually sollicited the Duke, sometimes by

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fair means, sometimes by foul, that he would foresee and know his danger, and the like of the common affairs; they prevailed more with the King of *Spain* and his Agents, then with the Duke. The King seemed willing to pass by so many offences, and to restore his Territories free and entire to the Duke, as they were before he had used any hostility, without lessening his former authority or liberty; but all this was nothing; for the Dukes devotion to the King of *France* was such, and had so bewitched him, as he was no more himself; so as not knowing how to forsake this earthly deity, by whom he hoped to obtain an earthly Paradise, he seemed to rejoyce in becoming a Martyr, and in sacrificing his State and Fortune in maintenance of his Faith and Devotion towards that Deity whom he had once adored, and to whom he had wholly dedicated himself; wherefore the losses he had suffer'd, the dangers he had run, and those which did still threaten him, nor the afflictions of his people, (who desirous to rid themselves of so many sorrows desired he would incline to peace;) nor any fair conditions that could be offer'd him, could do no good upon him; nor did they appear adequate remedies to mitigate his mind, but rather made him the more refractory. The Governour not being able any longer to endure so much obdurancy justified the Kings intentions to these Princes, which was not to oppress this Prince, but to reduce him and all *Italy* to quiet; and resolved at last to alter his way of proceeding; and to proceed with more severity since he saw fair means could do no good; he therefore gave order to Cardinal *Trivultio* to besiege *Piacenza* yet closer, and sent Colonel *Gil di Hays* to him, a valiant and understanding Souldier, who by order from the Cardinal assaulted *Rivalta*, and took it within five days; there were in it 400 Foot, whereof 50 French, who went all free out, and the French were sent with a sufficient convoy into *France*. The Cardinal designing afterwards to take the Island which is incompassed by the *Pee*, over against *Piacenza*, sent Serjeant Major *Ottaviano Sauli* to take it; who going first to discover it, with the Engineer *Prestino*, drew afterward neer it with his men; who being got into the Island they first repuls'd five barques loaded with Souldiers which were sent from *Piacenza*, as soon as the enemies design was known, to prepossess the Island; he also fortified the bank which was opposite to *Piacenza*, and built a Fort in the midst of the Island, whereby he became master of it, and began to streighten the City; and at the same time the Cardinal and Marquess *Antonio Pietro Lunato*, who was General of the Artillery, did much molest the City with their Artillery; affairs continued thus for above a moneth; in which time he Cardinal sent Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* to take several Castles in the territories of *Parma*, and *Gil di Hays*, to take others in those of *Piacenza*; by the taking whereof the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* being more streightned were quite excluded all communication; at last the Duke seeing the Mills neer the City beaten down by the enemies Artillery, the State almost wholly possess'd by the enemy, all Commerce kept from the City of *Parma*, himself and his Wife so streightly besieged in *Piacenza*, as the scarcity of victuals was so great in that City, that wanting meat even himself to eat, he held it for an extraordinary present to receive every week a Calf from *Ottaviano Sauli*, which

which was duly ſent him by order from the Governour, and which being ſafely kept was all the fleſh he had for his own Table for the whole week; finding himſelf therefore, I ſay, thus ſtreightned, and having no hope of ſuccour, he foreſaw he ſhould be reduced to utmoſt extremity, if he ſhould not yield to theſe ſo terrible tempeſts; wherefore he began to liſten to conditions of Agreement, which were ſtill kept on foot in *Millain* for all the fighting and batteries, by Count *Carpegna* in the Popes name, and in the name of the great Duke, by his Secretrary *Dominico Pandolphino*; nor was the agreement hard to be made; for the Spaniſh Agents being deſirous to have an end of all this trouble, accept of any conditions: when therefore it was known that the Duke would parley, all hoſtility was ſuſpended, and an agreement was quickly made between Don *Franciſco di Melo*, Embaſſadour plenipotentiary from the King of *Spain* to the Princes of *Italy*, and Secretary *Pandolphino*. The Articles were approved by the Governour, and by the Duke; but were never publiſhed but by what was comprehended by the ſequele, and by what was commonly ſaid, they were; that the Duke returning to the King of *Spains* devotion ſhould enjoy the ſame, nay greater honours under the protection of the King *Spain*, then formerly; that he ſhould renounce any League made with any other Prince, againſt the Crown of *Spain*; that he ſhould diſmiſs all the French, with a Paſsport that ſhould be given them by the State of *Millain*, whereby they might ſafely paſs into *France*, and that in lieu of them the Duke ſhould have a Garriſon of Italians, Dutch or Swiſſers, ſuch as the King ſhould confide in; That the Governour ſhould withdraw all his men into the State of *Millain*, quitting all Towns that were taken, and leaving them in the ſame condition they were in before the War; all which Articles were fully performed on both ſides.

This Peace, as alſo the precedent War, afforded diverſity of Diſcourſe. Many praiſed the Kings moderation and magnanimity, even to the skies, who being ſo highly offended by ſo inferiour a Prince, had notwithſtanding ſuffer'd it, with a Princely Grandezza, and had conſidered the merits of the offenders anceſtors, and the youthful ſpirit of the delinquent, againſt whom he had made war more by conſtraint, then free will; but with ſuch moderation as by the manner both of taking up Arms, and of laying them down, it was evidently ſeen, that the King never intended to ſuppreſs this Prince, but only that by making him lay down his fierceneſs he might receive him into his protection, and make him capable of all honours and favours that he could expect from his Majeſty; that therefore the Kings Forces had fought rather to ſubdue the Prince his obſtinacy, then his Towns; and rather to win his good will, then his Dominions; many, on the contrary, detracting from the praiſe of ſo ſingular an action, attributed all that had been done neither to the worth, nor to any good intention in the King, but to meer neceſſity which had forced him to do ſo; for to have reſented himſelf againſt this Prince, to the oppreſſing his Principality, and poſſeſſing himſelf of his Dominions, though perhaps he might eaſily have done it in this preſent conjuncture of times; yet to keep them would be a very hard buſineſs, and apt to cauſe immortal wars; ſo as after having been at much expence in getting them, at-

ter having been troubled with war to keep them, all would end in a neceſſary reſtitution; that herein the States appertaining to the See of *Rome* were concerned, which would never ſit down by ſo great a loſs; that the great Duke of *Tuſcany* was herein concern'd, a Prince ſo well affected to the Crown of *Spain*, and who had merited ſo well thereof; and whoſe friendſhip was now of great concernment thereunto; that the Duke of *Parma*'s wife who was niece to the Emperour was concerned herein, ſo as what reaſon had he to diſtaſte the great Duke in a thing which ſo neerly concern'd him, in his ſiſters behalf, and by alienating him to give occaſion to him who could not ſit down by the ruine of his ſiſter, and brother in law, to fall upon new reſolves by way of reſentment; was the condition of affairs ſuch as this time, as that it made for the Crown of *Spain* to alienate a Prince who was moſt ſincerely inclined to the intereſt thereof? that what was yet of greater importance, the ſatisfaction, and ſafety of all the Princes of *Italy*, was herein concerned; who thinking ſo great an increaſe of the Spaniards power in *Italy* was a decreaſe of their own Empire and Liberty, would have turn'd the whole world upſide down, rather then ſuffer thoſe States to be joyn'd to that of *Millain*; to what purpoſe was it then to deſtroy a Prince, whoſe deſtruction would occaſion war to ſucceed war, hatred to ſucceed hatred, enmity to ſucceed enmity, to the ſo much prejudice of the deſtroyer? that there was freſh example, what wars, troubles and dangers, the taking away of the *Palatinate* from it's natural Prince had occaſioned, and did ſtill occaſion to the Emperour, and to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; that the Examples of the *Valtoline*, and Duke of *Mantua* in *Italy*, were yet more evident; thus they, by theſe arguments, and examples, concluded that neceſſity was turned to vertue in the King of *Spain*.

But the Duke was the ſubject of no leſs various diſcourſe; ſome praiſed, others diſpraiſed the generoſity of his mind, which could not ſubmit to the injuries and oppreſſions of the Spaniards, but had dared to oppoſe their inſolencies; that he had given a ſingular example of a free ſpirit, becoming a Free Prince; and had taught the Spaniards, who had wont to inſult over the Princes of *Italy*, how they ought to eſteem them, how reſpectfully they ought to proceed with them, and what the greater and more powerful Potentates can do, when the leſſer can make ſuch noiſe; that the reaſon why he had not compaſſed the chief end of his high and generous pretences, was not out of any fault of his, but of others; it being apparent, that if they had proceeded effectually before *Valenza*, *Italy* would never have ſeen a more illuſtrious day for her liberty, then that wherein he went out armed from his Dominions, when fighting the Spaniard at *Ponte Carone*, he had the better of them, and ſlew their Captain, who led them on ſo proudly againſt him; that ſucceſs cannot detract from the glory of enterpriſes, eſpecially when their miſcarriage proceeds from caſual accidents; that howſoever, amidſt ſo many adverſities he had made the Spaniards ſee that a great part of their loſſes, and dangers, had proceeded from his alienation; that the *Pavian*, and *Novareſe* Towns, the Cities of *Millain*, and *Pavia*, together with their territories, had doubtleſly ſuffered more prejudice upon his account, then the parts about *Parma*, and *Piacenza*; and that *Millain*, and *Pavia* had

had been as neer being loſt as *Piacenza* and *Parma*; that therefore the Potentates of *Italy* were always to acknowledge the leſſening of the Spaniſh pretenſions, the moderation, and reſpect, which ſhall hereafter be uſed towards them, the eſteem which ſhall be had of them, and their liberty, from this Prince; others, on the contrary, aſcribed the actions of this Prince neither to worth nor generoſity, but to madneſs of youth; for beginning at their beginning, and continuing to the end of the Tragedy, they ſaid, that without any juſt occaſion given, he had ſwerved from the footſteps of his forefathers; who having placed the ſoundeſt foundation of their Principality upon Friendſhip with *Spain*, had never reaſon to repent it; what reaſon then had this Prince to doubt the favour and protection of that Crown, if he had continued to follow his Predeceſſors foot-ſteps? but that from his Infancy he had aſpiring thoughts, and greater pretentions then became his condition; that he ſeemed to undervalue the Friendſhip of *Spain*; and that by inclining more to that of *France* he had begot no little diſtruſt of his intentions, which cauſed the Spaniards to conceive ill of him, and to ſpy into his ways; whereby diſcovering his averſion, he had given them occaſion to complain thereof, and ſometimes to break forth into words of juſt reſentment; which might have ſerved to admoniſh him; but he eſteeming this medicine poyſon had broken out upon ſmall occaſion; nay indeed upon none at all, if he would conſider things juſtly; chiefly when the queſtion was touching a Prince ſo inferiour in force and power to the King of *Spain*, and when greater things had been paſt by, by greater Princes, and wink'd at, to keep them from diſturbing the publike peace; how many diſtaſtes had Duke *Charles Emanuel* ſuffered before he broke with *Spain*; nor did he ever come to any breach till his own Dominions were aſſaulted by the Spaniards; ſo as he may rather be ſaid to have taken up arms in his own defence, then againſt the Crown of *Spain*; how many injuries have the *Venetians* paſt by, nay how many the Popes themſelves, not to mention other Princes? how many diſlikes have been wink'd at between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *France*, and between them and other Princes; that great Princes do ſometimes uſe acts of ſuperiority and Seigniorie towards leſſer Princes, and the leſſer have been known to think it wiſdom to ſuffer them; nor do greater Princes uſe always to look big upon leſſer, but to proceed moderately with them; generouſly pardoning the defects and failing of leſſer Princes committed againſt them, without ſo much as taking any notice thereof otherwiſe the world would be turn'd upſide down, if arms were to be taken up upon every ſmall offence; that this is kept for the laſt refuge of an aſſaulted, or tottering State; not to offend or provoke one that is more powerful; not to vent hatred upon the weaker, or to ſecure ſuſpition; that then there being no occaſion of a breach, it muſt neceſſarily be concluded, that either fear of being oppreſt by the Spaniſh forces, or hopes of getting either the State of *Millain*, or part of it, by adhering to *France*, or a deſire to put *Italy* into her former liberty, by driving out the Spaniards, had thruſt him upon this novelty; as for fear, it was ſaid, that being ſtrengthned by the ſo many merits of his predeceſſours, he could not poſſibly dread thoſe forces which had been ſuch a prop and defence to other Princes of

Italy, that had not deserved so well of the Crown of *Spain*; that *Ferdinand* the Cardinal, and after Duke of *Mantua*, might serve to witness this, who having given more manifest signs of alienation from that Crown, both in *Rome* and elsewhere, then *Parma* had before the breach; yet when he succeeded his Brother in the Principality, contrary to the expectation of all men, nay of himself, he was received into the Protection of the Crown of *Spain*, and effectually defended by the Forces thereof, against the Duke of *Savoy*, who was joyn'd in alliance and interest to that King; and yet this *Ferdinando* was not munited by the merits of his predecessors; nay his Father was sorely suspected to have conspired against the Crown of *Spain*; and as fear appeared not a sufficient occasion to justifie this commotion, so had he less reason to be induced thereunto by hope; for not to say, that the aggrandizing of ones self is no just reason to make war; he who shall balance these hopes justly will find them not to be well placed, but that they were very frail, and unconsiderable. The French pretend that the State of *Millain* doth by ancient right belong unto their Crown; and therefore is unalienable either in part or in whole; and they have spent more blood and moneys to get it then it is worth; and will any one then believe that if the French should get it, they would give it him, or divide it with him: especially since he concur'd to the getting thereof with so small Forces; and if reason did not convince him in this, former examples might have excluded him from all hopes thereof. *Lewis* King of *France* won that State, assisted by the Venetian Forces, and covenanted with them expresly for the City and County of *Cremona*, together with whole *Giaradada*; but as soon as he atchieved his intent, he re-demanded of the Commonwealth all that by the said Covenants was due unto her; and this not under any other pretence, but for that it being a State appertaining to the Crown, it could not be dismembred from it; and as for the so specious pretences of the Liberty of *Italy*, which never moved the greater Princes of *Italy*, how could they rationally fall into the conceit of this Prince; who being none of the chiefest amongst them, neither for Forces, Wisdom nor Experience in wordly Affairs, might learn by their proceedings, that though they were sometimes perhaps incited by greater provocations of more absolute liberty; yet they have always temporized, lest being freed for the present they might be afterwards forc'd to yield to worser conditions; and being content with having brought *Italy* now to a greater equality, studied how to preserve her in it: these were the considerations which were commonly had upon these occurrences, which as we leave undecided, so will we leave them free to be approved or disapproved, as every one shall think fit.

And now to return to our discourse, a little before this very time, when the Duke of *Parma*'s Dominions were by this peace freed from war, *Donna Anna Caraffa*, the only Daughter and Heir to the Prince of *Stigliano*, a chief Lady in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was married to the Duke *de Medina dellas Torres*, a chief Lord of the Family of *Guſman*, and one of the Grandees of *Spain*, and who lately succeeded Count *Monterey* in the Vice-royalty of the Kingdom of *Naples*; from which marriage a Son was soon born, to whom together with the large patrimony

patrimony in that Kingdom belonging to the Mother the Patronage of *Sabioneta* did belong, as being descended from a Sister of *Vespasian Gonzaga*, married to the Grand-father of *Donna Anna*; this place, by reason of its strong situation, is almost impregnable, seated in the State of *Cremona*, towards the Dukedom of *Mantua*; and therefore of great consequence, not only for the City of *Cremona*, but even for the whole State of *Millain*; and whereupon the Spaniards had fix'd their eyes long before, being very desirous to be masters of it. The Princes of *Italy* who did not love that the Spaniards should get this place, were very jealous of this their desire; and the Spaniards never having been able to get footing there, though that Lady, as also her Father, both by birth and marriage, were Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*; yet they obtain'd their ends in these times without any violence, or just occasion of complaint to the Princes of *Italy*; for the aforesaid marriage, and the birth of this Son, Heir, and Successor to that place, made way for them to get that which they valued so much, and so much desired; but this place being for some respects assigned over to the Duke of *Ranuscio*, and that assignment was now descended to the now Duke of *Parma*, who was his Heir and who succeeded him; therefore the Duke of *Medina* and his Wife, in their own names, and in the name of their Son, sent to Don *Francisco di Melo* to recover the deposited place. *Melo* went to *Parma*, where that Duke not being able openly to refuse restitution, he demurred upon the expences of the Garrison which had been kept there during the time of depositure, which he said came to 300000 ducats; and *Melo* being unwilling that the business should be retarded for point of moneys, the sum of 300000 ducats being reduced to 200000, the Duke was contented to assign the place over to him, and the Italian Garrison marching out, a Spanish Garrison was put into it, to the great satisfaction of the Spanish Agents; but this was not done before the Castle of *Rossena* was restored to the Duke of *Parma*, which was taken from him by the Duke of *Modena*, as hath been said, when he first moved against the Duke of *Parma*; with which restitution the differences between those two Princes were adjusted; it was generally thought that the Duke of *Parma* did so easily part with this, to revenge himself of the Venetians, with whom he was much unsatisfied, because they had never lent him any the least assistance in the present war, but had suffer'd him to submit to the Spanish Forces; knowing very well how much the Venetians would be troubled at the Spaniards having of that place; but though the Duke was not assisted by the Venetians, or by his Brother in Law, the great Duke, with Arms; yet could he not deny but that he was favoured by them both, by their powerful endeavours that his Dominions might not be taken from him, which doubtlesly prevailed more with the Spaniards; and it is certain, that these two Potentates were ascertained by the Spaniards, that they made not this war to oppress him, but to extinguish that fire in him which was not pleasing to these two Potentates, nor to the other Princes of *Italy*, in respect of the common concernment: wherefore having, without advising with them, and contrary to their liking and minds, continued his commotion, they had no reason by assisting him, to be drawn into a war which they foresaw would be pernicious, to their particular, and

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to the common intereſt; and which would make *Spain* their enemy, and keep them from uſing their beſt endeavours in that Court for his ſervice.

The Governour being rid of the buſineſs of *Parma*, which as a ſtumbling block had been a great hinderance to the proceedings of the Kings affairs, applied himſelf to regain the *Langhe*; which are little Caſtles held in fee of the Emperour by ſeveral Lords, ſituated in the Mountains of *Liguria*, confining partly upon the State of *Millain*, partly upon the Commonwealth of *Venice*, partly upon *Piedmont*, and *Montferrat*; and at the preſent garriſoned, partly by the French, partly by the Piedmonteſes. The Governours Forces were at this time encreaſed by men come from *Spain*, *Naples* and *Germany*; and he expected others from the Swiſſers, which made him betake himſelf the rather to this buſineſs: it was not long ſince the Duke of *Savoy*, being deſirous to defend himſelf in thoſe parts, had taken the County of *Mileſino*, ſeated on the back of *Savona*, wherein was a Caſtle called *Cengio*, very ſtrongly ſeated, and very convenient for paſſage by Sea; and which ſtanding in the midſt between the Marquiſate of *Finale* and the State of *Millain*, was very proper for the preſervation of that Marquiſate; the poſſeſſion of this place cauſed much jealouſie in the Spaniards, who were deſirous to open a paſſage by *Finale* for the men which for the future they intended to land there; and alſo becauſe, when *Finale* ſhould be aſſaulted, it was not to be ſuccoured by the State of *Millain*, but through that County. The Governour was therefore forced to clear thoſe parts from the enemies Garriſons: to effect the which, he began with the Town and Caſtle of *Ponſone*; whether under the conduct of *Emilio Gliglino*, he ſent a body of men, part Spaniards, part Italians, part Dutch; who coming within ſight of the Town took it without any oppoſition. For the Garriſon which were French, at the firſt appearing of the Enemy abandoned it, and retreated to the Caſtle; to the taking whereof, Artillery, and greater ſtore of forces being required, Don *Martin d' Aragona* was ſent thither with more men, and with Artillery, which being planted againſt the Caſtle, and the Defendants hearing no news of any relief, it was within a few dayes ſurrendred. At the ſame time *Gill de Hays*, boaſting that he could ſurprize *Nizza*, he was ſent thither by the Governour from the City of *Aleſſandria*, with three Regiments of Foot, and two of Horſe; who parting two hours before Sun-ſet was to have been that night at *Nizza*, which was not above twelve miles off: But not coming thither till two hours after the Sun was up, and therefore not able to take it by ſurprize he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Convent of Capuchins, where he fortified himſelf; the Governour thought himſelf ingaged in that enterprize; wherefore he quitted *Cengio* in the *Langhe*, that he might not leave the buſineſs of *Nizza* unperfected; he therefore went thither himſelf in perſon with all his Forces, and having opened Trenches on ſeverall ſides, even almoſt to the ditch, a Parly was heard beaten on that ſide, where Serjeant Major *Ottavino Sauli* was advanced further then the reſt with Marqneſs *Coſmo Richardi* his Brigade; who entring the Town, and Hoſtages being given on all ſides, the Town was ſoon ſurrendred. This buſineſs being over, the Governour ſent preſently ſome Brigades

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to take in *Aiano*, a ſtrong Town in the County of *Aſti*, where it confines upon *Piedmont*, and therefore of great conſequence for getting into *Piedmont*. To which expedition, the Camp-maſter General, *Philippo di Silva*, was deputed; who in his paſſage took a Town called *Coſtigliole*, neer *Aiano*; and finding there great ſtore of Corn and Wine, he ſent *Ottaviano Sauli* to poſſeſs himſelf of *Monteroſſo*, a neighbouring Town alſo, ſeated upon a Hill well peopled, having a ſtrong Mannor-houſe which ſerves for a Caſtle; whoſe Defendants ſtanding upon their defence, and having ſtoutly reſiſted *Sauli*'s aſſaults, were at the third aſſault overcome, and many of them ſlain; and the Caſtle after obſtinate oppoſition was alſo taken. Then they went with all their Forces to *Aiano*, which ſtands upon the riſe of a Hill, and commands all the plain about it: *Silva* not thinking that he needed any Artillery, failed in his ſuppoſal, being forced to keep five dayes before it till the Artillery was brought, wherewith he made two batteries; and having plaid a while upon the Town, he took it upon good conditions; which when he had done, he re-inforced it with new works, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it. The Governour went from *Nizza* to *Annone*; and paſſing over the *Tanaro*, upon a Bridge which was thrown over at *Croce Bianca*, he thought to attempt the taking of *Aſti* by aſſault; but Marqueſs *Villa* being come thither, with about 4000 Foot, he forbore the attempt. But conſidering of what importance the Caſtle of *Arazzo* was for the ſafety of *Aiano* and *Annone*, he ſent ſome to take it, and to fortifie it, and put a good Garriſon into it. From thence he paſt over the *Poe* to *Valenza*, reſolving to quarter in the Canaveſe, that he might vex the Duke on that ſide: And being come thither, he quartered his men in *Peretgno*, *Aſtigliano*, *Riva*, *Coſſanzo*, *Carenzana*, and *Deſana*; and hearing that the Duke and the Marſhal, who had paſt over the *Poe* at *Ponteſtura*, were come with all their Forces to *Morano*, a commodious Town for neighbourhood of the *Poe*, and ſtrong by reaſon of the mooriſh ground about it, he uſed all the art he could to draw them out of thoſe plaſhes; and to this end ſent to take *Balzola*, a Town equally diſtant from either of the Armies: which being taken, the Duke endeavoured to recover it by might; but failing thereof, he began to fortifie the parts about it, that he might beſiege it; but the Town being ſoon relieved, he was forc'd to return to *Morano*, from whence the Governour could never draw him out to battle; and the Governour not being able to keep long there for ſcarcity of Forradge, and finding that the Duke was reſolved not to ſtir out of thoſe miry places, he returned to *Cuſanza*, where he ſtayed ſome dayes without doing or receiving moleſtation; except that having ſent Don *Martino* to diſcover *Bremi* and *Vercelli*, he was met by Marqueſs *Villa*, who was come with ſome Forces from *Vercelli*, with whom he skirmiſhed, and *Villa* worſted him. Many were ſlain on the *Aragon*'s ſide, amongſt which Camp-maſter *Boccapianola*, and *Spadino* a Captain of Horſe, and *Antonio Ulloa*, with ſeven other Horſe Captains, were taken Priſoners and ſorely wounded. The Governour hearing afterwards that *Count Verrua* was gon with a body of men to *Rocca d' Arazzo*, he reſolved to go to the relief thereof with his whole Army: He therefore ſent for recruits from *Aleſſandria*; wherefore *Count Galleazzo Trotti* came from thence;

and

and wading thorough the *Tanaro* entred the Town with 300 Foot, for *Count Verrua* was not yet got thither; in which time, the Governour passing over the *Sesia* and the *Poe*, came to *Annone*, not far from *Arazzo*, where he found Don *Martino*, who being by him sent with 5000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, was come thither the day before, just as the Enemy (who were already intrench'd before the place) began their batteries. The Governour commanded Don *Martino*, Don *John de Garrai*, and *Monpavone*, to discover where they might bring succours; who brought word back that truely the business would be hard, but not impossible; wherefore the Governour gave order to advance. The *Tanaro* runs between *Annone* and the place besieged; and the bank being higher on that side then on this, and well fortified by the Enemy, the others, who must needs come to the hither bank if they would relieve it, when they were come thither were subject to be play'd upon by the Enemies Musketters. Moreover, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marshal, were come to the besiegers Camp, with as many men as they could bring, with firm resolution to keep back all succour, and to take that place in the face of the Enemy. But it being impossible to ford over the River any where without endangering the loss of their men; and it being necessary for them to pass over it, if they would bring succour, the business seemed more desperate; but the industry and valour of the succourers overcame the difficulty, who having prepared many Gabbions for defence, advance to the River side behind those Gabbions, conducted by *Garrai*; and by the shot which being shelter'd by those Gabbions, they made at those of the contrary shore, they forc'd the Enemy to abandon it. In this interim, *Aragon* having thrown the Bridge of boats over which he brought in Carts, Don *Fevanni Romero*, past over with 1000 Foot, to whom many of the Garrisons were added; and going joyntly to assault the Enemies Trenches, they fell upon them in good order, and without much Resolution. But meeting with no less resolute resistance, and being over-powred by the Defendants number, and by the advantage of scituation, they were likely to have been repuls'd; had not the Artillery, which at last was brought unto the Camp, and which were speedily placed in a convenient place, by the Marquess of *Caracena*, made them abandon the defence, and given the assailants full victory, with much prejudice to the Enemies Camp. The combat lasted from noon, the first of *August*, till night, which parted the fray: The next day the Duke and Marshal, though they had seemed to fortifie all night, and to maintain possession, yet they went away by break of day, without any molestation; for the *Tanaro* which was between them, and the deepness of the way, kept them from being pursued, onely some Horse followed them, more to shew their Courage, then out of any thought of damnifying them; especially since the Duke and Marshall being come, the Enemies Camp was so increased, as there were in it above 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse. They left great quantity of Arms and Munition in the Trenches; 500 of the besiegers were slain, and many more wounded; few of the Relievers were slain, but many wounded, which rendred this dayes action more famous.

But this success was soon allay'd with as much misfortune, which not long

long after the Spaniards ſuffered in the *Langhe*, under Don *Martino*, whither the Governour had ſent the ſaid Don, with 4000 Foot, 800 Horſe, and 6 pieces of Artillery, to ſecure *Finale*, which he foreſaw would be endangered by Sea, by the French Fleet, and by Land by the Duke of *Savoy*. The whole body deſtin'd for this ſervice conſiſted of Spaniards, under Don *Antonio Sotelo*, of Dutch, under Prince *Borſo d Eſte*, and led on by *Gil de Hays*, and Colonel *Leimer*: The Horſe was commanded by the Baron of *Liſſa*. Don *Martin* being come to *Carare*, a place appertaining to the juriſdiction of *Finale*, he heard that the Duke being gone from *Alba* with a ſtrong power, was come to *Salicetto*, and haſted to incloſe him in thoſe ſtreights; and that poſſeſſing himſelf of thoſe paſſages whereby he had entered the *Langhe*, he intended to keep him out of the State of *Millain*; he therefore ſent 600 Foot to inforce *Finale*; and by common conſent of the Commanders it was reſolved to retreat, and to prevent the Duke in his deſign, and therefore to return to *Biſtagno*, where being to meet with more Forces, and being neeret the State of *Millain*, they thought they ſhould be ſafe if they could get thither. The difficulty of this conſiſted in that he who will go from *Spigno*, a place by which they were to go, and get into *Biſtagno*, muſt paſs by *Monbaldone*, which is almoſt in the midway, and ſo muſt paſs underneath the Dukes Muſketiers, which being led on by Marqueſs *Villa*, were to their knowledg already got thither, which made this reſolution dangerous; yet their neceſſity of getting into a place of ſafety, and their hopes that by their induſtry, orderly marching, and by their valour, they might overcome all difficulties, they reſolved to advance, the rather, for that being better informed, they knew that the Duke was not yet come thither with all his men, but that the Van was only there under Marqueſs *Villa*; they therefore made their Horſe advance under *Liſſa* their Conductor, and after them *Gil de Hays* with his Dutch, which made the Van; and then *Sotelo*'s Spaniards, with the Artillery and Munition, who was followed by Prince *Borſo* with his Regiment of Dutch; the Rere was brought up by Colonel *Leymer*, with his Regiment of Dutch Horſe, back'd by two Companies of Dragoons: Marching in this order, when they were come neer *Monbaldone* they ſaw ſome armed men in certain Inns, againſt which Don *Martin* made two Files of Muſketiers advance, to poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe Inns, and drive away the Souldiers which were there: Theſe Orders were ſucceſsfully followed; for the Muſketeers drove the others out, and made themſelves Maſters of their habitations: This mean while the Horſe were commanded to halt, and to face the Enemy, who kept ſtill at *Monbaldone*; and the Foot coming up at the ſame time, they made a Squadron, and cauſed the Artillery to advance with a ſufficient Guard: The Squadron, from which Files of Muſketeers continually iſſued forth and skirmiſhed, marched but ſlowly, giving the Artillery time to advance, and get to a place of more ſafety, where they were afterwards to halt, and entertain the Enemy till the Artillery were come to *Biſtagno*. Thoſe who had formerly taken the Inns ſeeing that the Artillery and the Foot were well paſs'd on, and got into a place of ſafety, they likewiſe would retreat, and went to joyn with the Horſe who ſtood upon the plain and back'd the Foot, who when they ſhould have marched were alſo to retreat;

but on a ſudden they might ſee Marqueſs *Villa* fall down with the Horſe from *Menbaldone*, and charge the Foot, which being in plain open field were abandon'd by the Horſe, which not making any reſiſtance began to fly ſo shamefully, as the enemy leaving the Foot began to purſue them and cut them with their ſwords; and afterwards falling upon the Foot, did ſo diſorder the Squadron, as ſome flew one way, ſome another, in great confuſion; and the Artillery and Munition being abandoned fell into the enemies hands. The Duke of *Savoy* coming with the reſt of the Forces to *Menbaldone* made much for the happy iſſue of this action; for coming when the fight was begun, he aſſiſted in getting the Victory; many Spaniards were ſlain in this conflict, and many taken priſoners, amongſt which ſome Commanders: it was thought that if *Liſao*, who commanded the Horſe, and was the firſt that began to run, had made head and charged the enemy, the Foot would have had time to have charged their Muskets again, and to have rallied, ſo as all might have ſucceeded happily; and that this march might have equal'd the ſuccour which but a little before was given to the *Rocca d'Arazzo*. *Liſao* who was juſtly blamed for this default, alledged for himſelf, that he had told Don *Martino* it was impoſſible for him where had placed him, if the enemy ſhould aſſault him; and Don *Martino* complain'd of the Governour, who when he ſent him into thoſe parts, promiſed he would fall upon the Territories of *Vercelli*, ſo to divert the Duke from the *Langhe*, which promiſe he had not made good; with this Victory Duke *Victorio* ended his life juſt a moneth after he had gotten it, he died in *Vercelli*, where the Marſhal alſo was; and it was commonly enough ſaid, that he was poyſoned, though the Phyſitians, who cut him up, ſaid that there appeared no ſigns thereof in his bowels. This ſuſpition was occaſioned by an invitation which was made by the Marſhal, ſome few days before the Duke died, to the Duke, Marqueſs *Villa* and Count *Verrua*, where after having been ſumptuouſly feaſted, they fell all three immediately ſick; the Marqueſs mended within four days, but the Duke and Count died within 8 or 10 days: it was notoriouſly known that great hatreds, diffidencies, detractions and imputations, paſs'd reciprocally between the Duke and Marſhal, which made that to be ſuſpected which befell the Duke, and the Count, who was moſt inwardly acquainted with the Dukes ends and intentions. The Duke was of an accurate underſtanding, he foreſaw the manifeſt ruine of his Principality by this war; if the French ſhould beat him they would be his Maſters; if they ſhould be beaten, they would be his enemies: it behoved him therefore to carry the buſineſs ſo as that he might not be oppreſs'd by Victory, nor ruined by the loſs of it; and chiefly, ſo as the Spaniſh Empire, which was his only ſupport in *Italy* againſt the French, might not be weakned; ſo as though he did many things to the Spaniſh prejudice, yet he never endeavoured their ruine and deſtruction; by which artifices he made the world ſuſpect, that not being able to do leſs, he ſhun'd the danger which he ſaw did threaten him; ſo as his not being able to manage the common arms freely, as it rendred his actions doubtful of double dealing, ſo did it make them excuſable: but theſe were divulged opinions, without any proof or certainty, only that the Marſhal publiſhed them; he embraced many enterpriſes, and had

many

many designs: a little before his death, he treated with Don *Andrea Fossa*, Abbot of St. *Theodoro di Genoa*, who was after chosen General of the Cannons of *Laterane*, to joyn in League with the Commonwealth of *Genoa*, seeming to value her very much, and professing himself to be as well affected to her, as his Father was the contrary; he therefore gave him Order to lay some foundation for this; but his death, which ensued soon after, put an end to this and to all his other negotiations; he died on the 7th of *October*, the year 1637, in the 50th year of his age; besides Daughters, he left two Sons behind him, *Francisco Giacinto*, the eldest, who died a year after his Father, in the sixth year of his age, and *Charles Emanuel*, who succeeded him, and was not above four years old. This Prince his death was believed to be very prejudicial to the Crown of *Spain*; for as, whilst he lived, the King of *Spain* might assure himself he would never be absolutely against him; so being dead, and the Government of the State falling upon the Dowager Dutchess, who was Sister to the King of *France*, all men thought she would be absolutely guided by him; and people were generally much troubled to think, that if the young Duke should die, who seemed not then to be over healthful, the States of *Piedmont* and *Savoy* would fall unto the Crown of *France*; and it was forthwith seen that the French did greedily aspire after them; for the Duke being dead, the Marshal, who was in *Vercelli*, endeavoured to bring a French Garrison in thither; and had done it, had not Marques *Villa*, who was not perfectly recovered of his sickness, been aware thereof, and brought many of the Dukes Militia into the Town, by which he seasonably prevented the Marshals designs. This Dukes death was the occasion of great wars to *Piedmont*, which we will leave to speak of till the next Book; for we must now give over the affairs of *Lombardy* in the condition we have spoken of, and looking a little backwards, re-assume the proceedings at Sea; which, not to interrupt the Land affairs, are of purpose treated of here.

About the time that the things which have been spoken of, hapned on Land; the Fleet at Sea, which having put twice forth from the Haven at *Naples* could never light upon *Provence*, fell at last upon the two Islands of St. *Honorato*, anciently called *Lerino*, and St. *Margherita*: the latter being divided from the former by a narrow channel; small Islands, and almost uninhabited; Count *Monterei* was the occasioner of this enterprise; who having laboured the sending out of this Fleet twice, and spent vast sums of money therein, was loth that this enterprise which he esteemed as his own, and from whence he hoped to reap great things, should vanish away in smoak; and seeing that the defence which was prepared in *Provence*, and the lessening of the Fleet which was shatter'd by tempest, made the enterprise unpossible to be effected as it was first designed, he turned his force upon these two Islands. The Marques of *Ferrendina* did also co-operate herein, who appearing in the Seas of *Genoa*, with a Squadron of Spanish Gallies whereof he was Captain; being well furnish'd with Souldiers, he found the Marques of *San' Croce* with the Neapolitan Fleet in the Haven at *Vai*, who had but few men aboard, he having sent them, as you have heard, to before *Valenza*. *Ferrendina* incited *San' Croce* to joyn with him in taking of

theſe Iſlands; which when they ſhould have taken, they thought they might at leaſt be able to hinder thoſe of *Provence* from Trafficking by Sea, and be ready for ſome greater enterprize as occaſion ſhould be offer'd. About the midſt of *September*, *San' Croce*, *Ferrandina* and Don *Carlo Doria*, Duke of *Turſis*, went with 22 Gallies, 5 Ships and ſome Shallops, towards thoſe Iſlands; whither when they were come they landed their men the ſame day in the Iſland *San' Margherita*, as being the greateſt and neereſt the Continent, and therefore apter to be relieved; they without any withſtanding became maſters of it, taking a ſmall Fort which was all they found in it, wherein were 50 Souldiers in Garriſon, who after having made ſome ſhot, ſurrendred the Fort: they went afterwards with their Gallies to batter a certain Tower called *le Crocette*, which was newly built upon a point of the Continent, ſo neer the Iſland as they plaid upon them with their Artillery from the ſhore over againſt them, whereof they thought they might eaſily make themſelves maſters; but the Tower reſiſting, and many men coming to defend it, they gave it over; they then went to the Iſland St. *Honorato*; where though they met with more reſiſtance, becauſe there was there a greater Garriſon and better Fortifications, yet it was ſurrendred though it held out ſomewhat longer then St. *Margherita*; there marched out of both theſe Iſlands about 400 Foot; and the Viceroy of *Naples* receiving advertiſement of all that was done, abundance of victuals, Munition, Arms and Artillery, and all things neceſſary to munite them, and maintain them were ſent from that Kingdom; there was great ſame at this time of Maritime preparations made by the King of *France*, both in the Seas of *Britanny* and *Provence*, to furniſh out a powerful Fleet, and to keep it in the Mediteranean, not only to ſecure *Provence* from the Spaniſh Fleet, but to reſent himſelf upon the Kingdom of *Naples* for his offences intended againſt *Provence*: it was therefore given out that the King of *France*, holding intelligende with many Lords and others of that Kingdom, (who were held to be diſ-ſatisfied with the Spaniſh Empire) would ſend that Fleet to prejudice that Kingdom; which when the Vice-roy *Monterei* heard, it made him not only provide for offending *Provence*, and for ſecuring the State of *Millain*, but for defending that Kingdome, incaſe effects ſhould be anſwerable to what was ſaid: No appearance was ever found of the intelligence or diſſatisfaction which was ſpoken of, though ſtrict inquiry was made thereinto; and yet without omitting to provide for the war of *Lombardy*, which the Viceroy minded as much as that of *Naples*, he made all places where the Fleet could Land be munited with ſtrong Garriſons; he gave order for levying a Dutch Brigade, he armed at leaſt 40 men of war, he re-inforced the Gallies, made great proviſion of Arms, Ammunition and Artillery; he made many Brigades be raiſed throughout the Kingdom, he gave order that the Mediterranean Militia ſhould be in readineſs to come, if occaſion ſhould ſerve, to the ſea ſide; he choſe 15000 of the beſt experienced Neapolitans, to defend the Walls; and he did apply himſelf with ſuch diligence and indefatigableneſs to have a care of all places, as he might be truly ſaid to be the ſoul which did at that time maintain and inanimate the vaſt body of the Spaniſh Monarchy, which was aſſaulted on ſo many ſides; all theſe proviſions were ſo aſcertained

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and ſo fitted, as the French Fleet, which was numerous for Veſſels and Souldiers, hearing thereof, forbare not only aſſaulting, but approaching the Coaſts of that Kingdom; and keeping long in the Liguſtick Sea did not any thing worth ſo great a preparation; nor could it ever hinder the paſſage and landing of Souldiers which were ſent from *Spain*, and from *Naples*, to the State of *Millain*, for the requiſite re-inforcement of the Army in *Lombardy*; for at the ſame time that the French Fleet lay in the Liguſtick Sea, the Spaniſh Gallies came to ſhore at *Finale* whilſt they looked on, and landed as many men as they pleaſed, without any hindrance. The French Fleet conſiſted of 60 ſhips, which were come from *Britanny*, into the Mediterranean, commanded by *Henry* of *Lorreyne*, *Count Harcourt*, and by Monſieur *De Sordi*, Arch-biſhop of *Bordeaux*; to which were added 13 Gallies of *Provence*, amongſt which was the great Galleoun *Guiſe*, commanded by *Count Poncurletto*, all very well rigg'd, and provided of Artillery, and all other Navall neceſſaries; they ſailed all of them by the Iſlands, which were taken by the Spaniards but a little before, not making any one ſhot at them, though they were provoked by many made from thoſe Iſlands; and tarrying a while at *Villa Franca*, they appeared in the Liguſtick Sea, about the end of *September*, 1636. The Spaniards Forces at Sea were far inferiour to this Fleet; wherefore it became the Spaniſh Gallies to give way to the French Fleet, and to keep out of the reach of Cannon, wherein the French exceeded them. And yet the Duke of *Ferrendina*, who was in the Seas of *Genoa* with his own ſquadron and other Spaniſh Gallies, underſtanding that the Enemies Fleet was come to anchor at *Mentone*, a place not far off, belonging to the juriſdiction of *Monaco*, made towards them; and appearing before them about break of day, began to ſhoot at them; and after having hit them with many Cannon ſhot, returned to the Haven of *Vai* from whence he was come. Theſe Spaniſh Gallies kept ſtill in ſome of the Havens in the Sea of *Genoa*, to the number, for the moſt part, of 40: and though both the Fleets profeſs'd to bear all reſpect to the Common-wealth, and not to do any act of Hoſtility againſt either other, whilſt they kept within the Havens of the Common-wealth, and did effectually make good their profeſſions; yet not ſatisfied with the exact cautiouſneſs of the Militia, they attentively obſerved the wayes of one another, leſt they might be taken unawares, where they could not evade danger in ſo neer neighbourhood; and more particularly the Spaniſh, as being weaker both for number and quality of veſſels, and conſequently more ſubject to misfortunes. They therefore were extraordinarily diligent in learning the firſt motions of the Enemy; and to this purpoſe, to boot with much diligence on land, they kept Feluccaes, and other veſſels at high ſea, by which by fires at night and by ſmoak in day time, they were continually advertiſed which way the Enemy went: And yet the Spaniſh Fleet was one day in very great danger of being ſunk or taken. This Fleet ſtay'd one whole night in the Haven at *Vai*, knowing that the other lay in the Haven at *Alaſſio*, not above thirty miles off; from whence the French Fleet put to ſea, and favour'd by the darkneſs of the night, undiſcovered by the Sentinels, they upon break of day appeared ſo neer *Vai*, as had not the Spa-

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nish Gallies cut their Cables, and speedily put to Sea, the French Fleet could never have got a more famous victory: They got away in so good time, as they past all safe away, and escaped the Enemies hands. These two Fleets kept long neer one another, in the bosom of the State of *Genoa*, without coming to a dispute; but the French finding at last that they got but little good, and less honour, by staying here, that they might not return to *France* without having done any thing worthy so great a preparation, and such threats, they resolved to assault *Sardignia*, whither they hoped to come unexpected and unlooked for by the Inhabitants, so as they might do some good there. And coming to land in the desolate Haven of *Orestane*, a City no less desolate in *Sardignia*, then was her Haven, and little inhabited by reason of the malignity of the air, they entred thereinto on the Saturday, in the time of Carnivale, when the Inhabitants dreaming of nothing less then of being assaulted by so many ships, were more busie in feasting and revelling after the manner of the Carnivale, then in defending themselves: Wherefore being terrified, they fled most of them to within lands those who stay'd behind sent some to the ships to know what they did intend; Answer was made, that they intended to take the City, and to keep it till such time as the King of *Spain* should restore the Islands which he had taken in *Provence*; so they landed their men, and entred the City the next day, which was almost abandoned by those few Inhabitants which there remained, where they refreshed themselves with those good things which they found ready there to make a good Carnivale. But two dayes after, armed men began to appear upon the neighbouring hills, who skirmish'd with them; and the French being therein worsted, they fearing that the numbers of the Enemy might increase, they retrea'ted the second day of Lent, not without some loss both of men and reputation, to winter in *Provence*. When the Commanders of the Spanish Fleet heard this, they finding that Winter was already begun, did also disband their Fleet, sending some squadrons to winter in *Spain*, some in *Genoa*, some in *Naples* and *Sicily*, till they might put to sea with more safety the next spring. But the French Fleet, about the beginning of *March*, 1637. went, together with many of the Nobility and Souldiery, to recover the Islands; and having possess'd themselves of the conveniencest passes, to keep off any succour that might be brought, they might see a great ship which passing thorough with a fore-wind by the Fleet, entred into the little neck of water which divides the two Islands; and thinking to be safe there amongst Friends, was the next night wholly burnt. *Count Monterel* had sent it from *Naples*, loaded with Victuals, Munition, and all things necessary for the maintenance of the Islands; it brought also 40 peeces of Artillery; for the Vice-roy being glad that the Kings Forces had at last got good footing there, and hoping that the crown would be much advantaged, and *Provence* much prejudiced thereby, had a special care to keep them. But *Count Harcourt*, Generall of the Fleet, fearing what was true, & despairing to recover the Islands if that ship should land her provisions, sent one of the fire-ships full of powder, and artificial fire-works which was in the Fleet; which entring by night where the ship was, fasten'd her self with grapling-irons to the ship; and giving fire to the train, the Mari-

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ners got out of the fire-boat into a skiff, which was behind her, and retreated without any harm to the Fleet. The fire took soon hold, and quickly devoured the ship and all that was in it; some few escaping, who threw themselves into the Sea: So as the Garrisons in the Island, missing of those supplies, could continue defence the lesser while; the which they notwithstanding drew out a long while, by reason of the many Forts, Trenches, and other works, which were well munited, so as the French were to win them by inch-meal. They assaured Ste *Margherita* first, which resisted stoutly a long while: The ships accosted it, and with their Cannon beat down the first rampiers, which were erected to keep them from landing; they then landed their men, but not without much effusion of blood; and having taken some small works, they came before Fort *Monterei*, which was munited with four bastions, together with their ditches and two half moons; the French thought they should meet with stout resistance there, and therefore wondred very much when they saw it abandoned ere assaulted; for the Defendants were retired to a neighbouring Fort which was greater then all the rest, and was called a Fort Royal, and flanked with five Bulwarks; in the midst whereof was a Tower, which in that Island served for a Fortification. The French being Masters of Fort Monterei began to draw a trench cross the Island, wherein they might the more safely lodge; then coming before the Fort Royal, and other smaller Forts, they endeavoured to take them; many were the assaults, and many the Sallies which were made; the oppugners behaved themselves like good Warriours, and the Defendants like good Souldiers, and that Island served for a Stecca'd of Valiant Champions. Don *Michaele Peres* defended the Fort Royal, a valiant *Sardinian*, who upon this occasion played the part of a good Souldier, and of a wise and bold commander, who kept this place against a powerful Fleet by Sea, and a flourishing Army by Land, wherein was all the Nobility of *Provence*, besides many other Nobles who were come from the more inward parts of *France*; he kept it from the 24 of *March*, till the 12 of *May* following, without being relieved; for Don *Melchiore di Borgia*, who was sent with the Neapolitan Gallies to relieve it, seeing a powerful Fleet ready to resist him, had no mind to have to do with so many Cannons, against which he thought it was impossible for him to live at Sea. *Peres* got leave from *Harcourt* to send to *Milan* for succour; but none appearing within the prefixed time, he surrendered the Fort Royal, and the other forts, upon very Honourable conditions; even with leave to carry away two pieces of Artillery with all his train and tacklings, and with permission that he might have vessels allowed him, to carry himself, and Souldiers, and all their goods to *Finale*. 986 persons came out of the Island, honoured and praised by the Enemy for that valiant behaviour, and the Captain was highly esteemed and favoured by *Harcourt*; the Island *Honorato* was not defended like this; wherein was another Fort which surrounded our Ladies Church, and was a *Pentagon*, consisting of five Bulwarks, begirt with ditches, cover'd ways, half Moons, and other works; there were six other Chappels of devotion in the Island, dedicated to several Saints; which being reduced into little Fortifications defended the Island, having two Cannons

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nons apiece in each of them, with sufficient Garrisons; the Fleet after having made 300 Cannon shot, landed their Souldiers in the cloud of smoak; which ere they were come within Musket shot of the Fort, beat a Call, and quickly agreed to surrender up that place, and all the other Fortifications, upon such conditions as the General should be pleased to give them; about some 500 March'd out on the 14 of *May* with their Arms and baggage, but without Colours: they had Boats allowed them to carry them to Port *Hercules*; this was the end of this enterprize, which without any good done, occasioned vast expence to each of the Crowns, and much loss of blood to that of *France*.

The Spanish Empire at Sea suffered not a little by the coming of this Fleet, for it never had any competitor before in the Mediterranean, but bare absolute sway there; but the coming of this Fleet did not onely trouble the Crown in the possession, and command there of, but made the name of *France* of more authority to other Princes who had any possession on her shore; Moreover, many armed vessels come from *Provence* under her protection, which by Letters of Mart from the King of *France* committed piracy upon the vessels of the King of *France* his Enemies; in which letters of Mart, the Spanish, Neapolitan, Sicilian, and Sardinian vessels were directly named, and indirectly all those of any other nations, though friends to *France*, were included, in case any the least goods appertaining to any subject of *Spain* should be found therein, for then all the other Merchandise, as well of Friends, as enemies, became lawful prey, by the ancient Laws and constitutions of the Crown of *France*; and neither did the smaller vessels onely, but even the Fleet it self seized on Merchants Ships in the Mediterranean, of which no discourse of restoral was to be had, if there were any the least thing in them belonging to any of the Kings enemies; and this rigour was so abused, as the French Mariners would by force, and by threats, make the owners or masters of such ships as were taken, confess before the Judges that the goods therein contained belonged to the Crown of *Spain*, and did without all remedy appropriate them unto themselves; this was the condition of the affairs of *Italy* both by Sea, and land; yet *Germany* was in a worse condition; which being a Province full of Noble Principalities, and oppulent Cities, which enjoying almost absolute liberty under the Emperour, constituted so many Potentates, and Commonwealths; so as by reason of the abundance of Inhabitants, it had always been a fruitful mine of Souldiers, and Armies, was now so desolated and wasted by intestine dissentions, which were openly fomented by the King of Swede, and underhand by the King of *France*, as some of the Provinces thereof had almost no inhabitants left in them; nor did *Flanders* nor *France* fail in feeling their share of the mischiefs which the influences of the Stars, or rather the hand of God irritated by our sins, drew down upon all Christendom; and therefore all Christendom being plunged in War and Ruine, which instead of being extinguished did daily increase, the Pope, the Common Father of Christians, thought good to interpose his authority, in composing so many Wars, and in reducing so many discords to peace and union; this holy endeavour

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was not onely praised by all men, but in appearance willingly listned unto; those seeming most desirous thereof who in their hearts were furthest from it: the City of *Cullen* was chosen for the place of Negotiation, where the Princes were to meet by their Embassadours with full Authority as Plenipotentiaries; the Pope chose Cardinal *Cesarini*, who was sent thither with the title of Apostolick Legate, the King of *Spain*, who shewed a great readiness to peace, sent thither the Duke of *Alcala*, Don *Francisco di Mello*, and Don *Rambaldo*, Chancellour of *Milain*, the Emperour committed the Bishop of *Wirtsburg*, Count *Fuccare*, and the Count Counsellour *Ferdinando Maximilliano Kurtz*, and the King of *France* Marshal *Ferte*, and Monsieur *Dave*; but the Emperour, and King of *France*, were slow in sending them thither: the occasion of this delay was, for that the Emperour *Ferdinando* the second being dead a little before this negotiation, who was succeeded in the Empire by his son *Ferdinando* the third, who before his Fathers death, was chosen, as hath been said, King of the Romanes, those who were not pleased that the Empire should continue in the house of *Austria* took occasion to pretend that the Election of the King of the Romans, and consequently the present succession to the Empire, was not Legitimate, as being done without the intervening of the Elector of *Triers*, who was still Prisoner in *Flanders*; of these, the King of *France*, professing himself head of all the rest, would never not onely acknowledge, but not so much as call the present *Ferdinando* the third, Emperour, nor King of the Romans, before he was chosen Emperour; and the Emperour being desirous to get the King to acknowledge this his title, desired him that he would grant a Pasport to the Embassadours which he was to send to *Cullen*; thinking that the King being to make some decree for safe conduct could not chuse but name him Emperor; which to evade, he did not onely refuse to grant such a pasport, as being superfluous in the Emperours owa Dominions, but desired that the Emperour would give Pasports, and safe conducts, to all the Princes and Hans Towns of *Germany*, his Confederates, as he professed, that they might pass safely to the Convention at *Cullen*, and there safely Negotiate their several interests, he required also that safe conduct might be given to the United Provinces of the Low-Countrys, and to the Queen, and Crown of *Sweden*, who were so deeply concerned in that peace; he alleadged for this his pretention, the bond of League which he had with all these Princes, States, and Cities, which would not suffer him to conclude any peace without their agreement; he added, that if he should enter into this Negotiation without them, he should give them just cause of jealousie, and complaint, as if he had abandoned them, contrary to the Articles of Confederacy; the Emperour not permitting that the Princes, and Hans Towns of *Germany*, under the Command of the Emperours, and who had rebelled, should be admitted to treat of peace in company with him who was their Sovereign Lord, denied absolutely to grant them safe conduct; the rather for that onely the Plenipotentiaries of Sovereign Princes were admitted into the convention at *Cullen*, but the King who had taken up arms in this cause, not upon any account of his own, but in defence of the *Germane* liberty, said, that he having no interest in that cause save only the

patronage of thoſe Princes, he was but acceſſory, and the Princes Principals; ſo as there was no reaſon that the Principals ſhould be excluded, and the acceſſory admitted; and that it was no new thing, but an ancient cuſtom, and now in practice, that in diſorders which ſometimes happen between Sovereigns and ſubjects, agreement be made by covenanted Articles; and as for the Queen and Crown of *Sweden*, the Emperour did not refuſe to grant ſafe conduct, if it ſhould be demanded by her, and by the Deputies of that Kingdom, and not by the King of *France*; but the *Swedes* were ſo far from deſiring it, as they were entred into private treaty with the Emperour, abſolutely denying to come with the other Princes to the Convention at *Cullen*; becauſe they knew that the Cardinal Legate, who had the firſt place in this convention, would treat them as Hereticks, and conſequently would not ſuffer them to intervene in any treaty of peace; nor would uſe ſuch reſpect to their Agents, as he did to thoſe of other Princes; the Emperour, on the contrary, complained of the difficulties interpoſed by the king of *France*; as if they were apparent Arguments, that he did not onely not wiſh well to peace, but that he was more intent then ever upon War: and upon fomenting the Inſurrections of *Germany*; and that therefore out of theſe pretenſions proceeding ſlowly in the Treaty of Peace, he intended to give occaſion to other Princes, (who though they deſired peace, would not for their own honours ſake ſeem to deſire it more then others) to proceed with the like ſlackneſs in this affair, which was ſo neceſſary for the peace of Chriſtendom; and therefore the Emperours Plenipotentiaries, nor thoſe of the king of *France*, not appearing in *Cullen*; thoſe of the king of *Spain* who were come to *Cullen* after the Legate, leſt by being come before the reſt to the Diet, they might ſeem more greedy of peace then others, they never appeared in that capacity before the Legate, nor did they ſeem to be come to treat of Peace; and the king of *France*, finding not long after that his pretences, being contrary to the Negotiation ſo much deſired by all, were generally ill reſented, and that they were imputed rather to his no inclination to peace then to any thing that he alleadged, he recalled his Plenipotentiary power confer'd on *Berze*, and *Dawo*, and gave it to the Cardinal of *Lyons*, brother to Cardinal *Richelieu*, which occaſioned other difficulties, which troubled the Treaty no leſs then did the former; for the *Caſarean* Agents, thinking that this was done on purpoſe that the French Embaſſadour might by his Cardinal dignity precede all others; (whereunto the Emperour nor King of *Spain* would by no means conſent) they refuſed to ſend theirs thither. Theſe, and other pretentions, occaſioned ſuch difficulties, as not onely no concluſion was come unto, but no commencement was given to the Treaty which was propounded by the Pope, and in appearance ſo much deſired by all; ſo as the Negotiation proved abortive, and ended before it began.

Let us now return to the Affairs of *Italy*. A Treaty began by chance, and almoſt unthought of, in the beginning of the year 1637. which being afterwards continued and concluded, put a period to the buſineſs of the *Valtoline*, between the two Crowns, and the Griſons League, in the ſubjection of the *Valtoline*, which by the Articles of this Confederacy

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was remitted upon ſome conditions to the three Leagues: And that the foundation of this buſineſs may be the better known, it will be neceſſary that we re-aſſume the whole buſineſs from the beginning, and repeat ſome things which have been looſely related.

The ancient Confederacy between the Crown of *France* and the Griſons, appearing to thoſe people to be turned almoſt into ſubjection, was not willingly ſuffer'd by them, who thought themſelves daily more ſtreightned and more invaded in their Liberties by the Agents of that Crown; it began to be very bitter, when by reaſon of the Griſons joyning in League with the Venetians, the French pretended that their ancient League was thereby prejudiced; and their reſenting it made the Griſons ſuſpect that they had gone along with the Spaniards in that inſurrection which hapned afterwards in the *Valteline*: theſe bitterneſſes encreaſed by the peace of *Monſone*, by which the liberty of the Valtolinians was approved of, ſo much to their prejudice, by the ſame King who was the Griſons Protector, contrary to what the King had always promiſed, and which was profeſs'd publickly to all the world by Arms; but they grew greater and more inſufferable, when thinking by this laſt endeavour of the Duke of *Rohan* to be reſtored unto the ancient and free poſſeſſion of the *Valteline*, they ſaw they were kept from it by the French Forces; and when any endeavour of reſtitution was had in the Court at *Paris*, the King, as Protector of the Valtolinians, did not reſtitution, upon condition (notwithſtanding) that the Catholick Religion ſhould be ſecured there without any mixture of Hereſie, and that the Civil and Criminal Juſtice ſhould remain to the Valtolinians, anſwerable to the Capitulations of *Monſone*. This was cauſed, for that the King of *France* finding that he could not maintain his authority in that Valley, which he greatly deſired to do, without much diſturbance to his own affairs, without much war and expence; and that aſſigning it to the Griſons, it would be immediately taken away by the Auſtrian Forces; and that he ſhould be obliged to recover it again; ſo as the loſs ſucceeding the recovery, and the recovery the loſs, a perpetual circumvolution would enſue, which would make him ſubject to perpetual wars and much expence; being deſirous to get quit of this trouble, he had a deſign to win the hearts of the Valtolinians; and by granting them all that they had from the Crown of *Spain*, to alienate them from that Crown, and make them wholly depend upon his Crown; and by this means to ſpare the continual expence he was at in maintaining that Valley at his devotion; embracing therefore the cauſe of their Liberty, he offer'd the Valtolinians more advantagious conditions then they could get from the Auſtrians, whilſt they ſhould depend upon his protection: this courſe did totally alienate the Griſons from the Crown of *France*; nor did it gain the Valtolinians, who could never be brought to confide in the Kings promiſes; which if they ſhould have done, they were ſure they ſhould be more proſecuted by the Arms of *Auſtria*, which confined upon them, then by the French which were ſo far from them; and the Griſons did believe that the unexpected conditions, ſo contrary to that abſolute Dominion which they pretended to under the Valtolinians, and which they expected to obtain from the King of *France*, were but cunningly propounded to cauſe delay, which

would at last end in a manifest exclusion of the promised restitution; so as they were highly offended; and, moreover, the Fort which *Rohan* did still keep well munited with French Garrisons in *Rhetia*, seemed to them to be but formal fetters of the publick liberty, which they saw was reduced to greater subjection, whilst the *Valteline* was possess'd by the French: they likewise observed *Rohans* residence in *Coira*, the Metropolitan City of *Rhetia*, where he carried himself imperiously with them, rather like a Princely Governour then like a Guest or Embassadour, seeming as if he labour'd to overthrow the publick Liberty. To these publick distastes other private grievances were added, by reason of detaining the Pensions which the King was used to pay to the principal men of that Nation, to the end, that by their authority they might keep the people well affected to him; so as failing of those advantages, they did by contrary endeavours strive to divert those that did depend upon their authority, from the French: these people being therefore much incensed, and weary of this usage, they hatched ill will; and persevering but untowardly in the ancient League with that Crown, they consulted with themselves how they might throw off their present condition, which they thought was reduced to slavery, and shun the worser which they feared they should shortly be brought unto; but having well debated these things, and finding that they could not compass their ends, without being upheld by some great Potentate, they quietly dissembled the iniquity of their present condition, the best they could, expecting some opportunity whereby they might free themselves from this imminent subjection. On the other side, the Court of *Spain* and her Agents in *Italy*, knew as well the necessity, as the difficulty of recovering the *Valteline*; especially in times of such insufferable troubles; and considering the jealousies and suspicions, and afterwards the hatred and enmities that the recovery thereof, if they should get it, would bring upon them from the Venetians, and from all the Princes of *Italy*, who for their own safety sake did not well endure the Spaniards superiority in that Valley; they considered also the continual wars which they must have upon this account, the expence of moneys, the shedding of blood, the great disturbance which that Valley occasioned to the Kings Affairs, which like a Bone out of Joynt did discompose the whole Body of the Austrian Monarchy.

Things being in this posture, Don *Frederick de Henriques*, the Spanish Embassadour, happened to be in the Court at *Isprunch*, and a Deputy of the Grisons, who was named *Granazza*, one of great credit and Authority in that Common-wealth, between whom occasion being accidentally offered of discoursing of the *Valteline*, something arose between them touching the composure of those affairs, which like seed sown in well prepared ground, took root, and produced the fruits of those Agreements which did afterwards insue; for the business being well discuss'd and digested between them, they agreed that the French should be driven out of the *Valteline*, by the joynt Forces of the King of *Spain* and of the Grisons; and that the Catholique Religion, and the profession thereof, being allowed to the Valtolinians, without any mixture of Heresie, the King of *Spain* should adjust businesses between them

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and the Grisons; which if the Valtolinians should not agree unto, they should be no longer assisted by the King of *Spain*'s Forces. They likewise agreed upon a perpetual Confederacy between the Crown of *Spain* and that Republick, with free leave for the King of *Spain*'s people to pass thorow the Rhetian State, and upon obligation of serving the Crown of *Spain* in the Wars of *Millain* with a certain number of men, to be paid by the King of *Spain*; together with many pensions promised to the prime men of that Nation.

Things being thus rather rough-cast then perfected, the Grisons, who were impatient of the Company of the French, took heart, and causing some Forces to come from the State of *Millain*, they made themselves masters of the *Valtoline*, and drave the French from thence; and being assisted from *Germany*, they recovered the Forts of *Reno* and *Steine*, which were yet held by the French; and afterwards coming to a general insurrection, *Rohan* himself was taken prisoner, from whom, when they had got him into their power, they got by Agreement stipulated the restitution of as many Forts as were yet in his hands, and the withdrawing of all the French out of *Rhetia*, upon tie that he should remain Prisoner till all that he had promised were performed. This news being heard in *Millain*, the Spaniards were not so much delighted therewith, as they were afraid that the Agreement made at *Ispruch* would vanish to nothing, if during six weeks time the King of *France* should get power or authority in that Diet; nor did they fear in vain; for that King leaving the way of War, as too tedious and costly, fell to Treaty, to keep those people in their loyalty; and to this purpose, besides moneys given about, he offered to give them the *Valtoline* freely, without any condition belonging to Religion or Justice; but nothing would do any good; for the Governour of *Millain* having sent Agents into those parts, with monies, and power to offer much more then the French did, he prevailed, so as the *Grisons* stood firm to what was agreed on at *Ispruch*; for being weary of their ancient friendship with *France*, they desired to try new Fortune; which they assured themselves they should find more prosperous in the Confederacy with *Spain*. The Grisons knew that the possession of the *Valtoline*, which was the principal point of this Negotiation, was to be held more safely by the friendship from *Spain*, then from *France*; for their Confederacy with *Spain* secured them from any disturbance they should have in the *Valtoline* from *Germany*, or from the State of *Millain*, with the confining Principalities; whereas they could not keep from being offended, nor secure themselves of protection and assistance from *France*, by reason of the far distance thereof, in case they should be molested in that Valley by the neighbouring Austrian Forces, by reason of the difficulties and excessive charge which the recovery of that Valley did continually cost that Crown; and howsoever it was much better for them to be sure not to be molested by the neighbouring Forces of *Austria*, then after being molested to be protected by the far-off the French. The prefix'd time being past, *Rohan*, who had several times indeavoured to escape, but still in vain, was forced to surrender the places held by him, and to free them from the French, with which he was set at liberty, and was forced to resign up to the Grisons all that he had got in those parts, and so to

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be gone elsewhere with little honour. The Grisons being thus fully restored to Liberty, sent their Deputies to *Millain* to conclude this so important Treaty: The Valtolinians sent their Deputies thither also; but the business growing excessive difficult, and the Governour not knowing how to decide it, they were all turn'd over to the Court of *Spain*; whither the Deputies being come, and being very well received by the King of *Spain*, and having their expences discharged all the time they were there, the business was almost two years in hand. The Valtolinians pleaded the ancient Rights of their Liberty, the Grisons tyrannical oppression, their zeal to Religion, their constant loyalty to the Crown, and towards the Austrian name, their protection of Liberty, given by his Majesties particular decree, and promised them by his royal word, the Pontifical Decrees, and the Sacred Canons, which forbid that Catholicks should be under the subjection of Hereticks, the Popes own Authority, who would not permit that the Empire of the Grisons should extend to that Valley, the Articles of *Monsone*, the offers made unto them by the King of *France*, if they would accept of his protection, their constant refusal thereof, and finally, the sufferings which they had undergone for doing so. They also desired that the condition of the Grisons, with whom his Majesty treated of joyning in League, to the prejudice of their Liberty, might be considered: they being Hereticks, Enemies to the Catholick Religion, falsifyers of their words, who term not standing to their Covenants, liberty, and the being obliged thereunto, Slavery; and that they would bear with any thing, so they might get the *Valtoline* again, which when they should have gotten, they would renew their confederacy with *France*, with the Venetians, and with any other Potentate that they should please to renue it, or to continue it with, and would carry themselves without any respect to any conventions; so as the present agreements would neither gain their affections to the Crown, nor would it secure the covenanted passages, but would be the loss of the constant Faith and Loyalty of the Valtolinians, and of the safe passage thorough that Valley, which his Majesty had till now constantly enjoyed. All which reasons being alleadged and reiterated over and over, and amplified, were not sufficient to hinder the things agreed upon at *Isprucb*. For the Court of *Spain* were confident that the Grisons would continue constant in the observancy thereof, for the same reason which had brought them to make this new confederacy; which was, what was said, before their being sure, during the confederacy, not to be disturbed in their possession of the *Valtoline* by the Austrian Forces, from whence they could onely expect molestation. So as the King might be sure, that whilst no novelty should happen, on his account, in the *Valtoline*, the Grisons would not violate the new confederacy; and so that, to shun any occasion of trouble in the *Valtoline*, they would forbear any of the least alteration of what was agreed upon. And the King thought that he had fully satisfied the Valtolinians, both in their spiritual and temporal interests, by the two conditions which were annexed to the Confederacy. The first whereof was, that the Catholick Religion should be sincerely observed there, without any mixture of Heresie. The other, that a Tribunal should be erected in that Valley of two grave men, and men

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of authority; the one to be chosen by the Governour of *Millain*, the other by the Grisons; to which Tribunal the Valtolinians were to have recourse, in point of any civil or criminal grievances which they should receive from the Grisons Agents or Officers.

Thus the Valtolinians obtained entirely the chief point concerning Religion, for the preservation whereof, according to their own profession, they had first taken up Arms; and they did in a great part receive satisfaction in the other point, touching their politick Liberty; they not being to be oppress'd for the future by the Grisons in these two points. And yet this settlement, for what concern'd the cause of the Valtolinians, was variously discoursed upon: Some blamed it, as being unworthy the Religion and Majesty of the King, for the reasons alleadged by the Valtolinians; and for that it seemed, drawn thereunto by the great advantages which he got by this new convention, he had abandoned, nay suffer'd his Clients the Valtolinians, who had deserved so well of him, and of the Catholick Religion, for which they had undergone so great and so many troubles, to be trampled upon in their Liberty and Religion by the tyranny of the Grisons. Others, though they wondred at the Kings determination, did notwithstanding execute it, out of the necessity whereunto the Kings Affairs were at the present reduced. But those that discoursed hereof more freely did not only approve of the Kings Resolution, but without any regard almost had to the vain name of the Liberty and protection of the Valtolinians, did commend it as being done justly and wisely: Considering that the Liberty of the *Valtoline*, as it leaned upon the King of *Spain*, was of its own nature odious to all the world; and impossible to be maintained by humane force. They therefore concluded, that the King neither could, nor ought to permit, that his Royal Authority, and therewithall the Catholick Religion, for want of his assistance should be endangered in other more important places, by his upholding the Catholick Religion, and the politick liberty of that little Canton. The Affairs of the *Valtoline* being then adjusted, the Deputies were sent to *Millain*, that the conditions of the confederacy might be there stipulated, as they were afterwards: But whilst this so hard, and so important business, was discussed there, the Governour by his Forces, but much more by his Industry, ended the important enterprize of *Bremi*. This place (as hath been formerly said) was of a large circuit, and very commodiously seated, environed with ditches, flank'd with Bulwarks, abundantly provided with Victuals and Ammunition, munited with a numerous Garrison, and briefly, reduced into a Fort Royal; and therefore held by the French to be a strong defence, and Rendezvous for Arms, capable to receive an indifferent Army; and holding it, for these respects, impregnable, they called it a new Rochel. The Governour before he would betake himself to this place of so great concernment openly, would have all his preparations ready, and that so secretly as the Enemy should not be aware of it: To this end, he distributed many Souldiers in the parts thereabouts, under the pretence of quartering, and under the colour that those places might be better garrison'd by reason of the neighbourhood of *Bremi*; he therefore sent some to *Valenza*, some to *Alessandria*, others to *Monturo*, and into *Lomello*, into which places he

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also sent Victuals, Munition, Straw, and other provisions, fit for the intended enterprize. And to make the Enemy the less apprehend this siege, he sent men to *Filizano*, giving out that from thence he would make himself master of *Mount Calvo*; He also considered the custom of the *Po*; which swelling in *May*, when the snow falls down from the *Alps*, would be a great hinderance for the Armies abode in those places, which at that time are subject to great inundations; being therefore to anticipate the enterprise, he provided much Hay and Straw; which though it were very hard to get in any quantity then, Winter being well high ended, yet diligence overcame all difficulties. These things being thus ordered, he commanded that they should fall to execution, which was carried so silently, and so unexpectedly, as the Souldiers were before the Walls, even almost before they were discovered; their secrecy made them so confident of good success, as they prepared Scaling-ladders to attempt taking the Town by surprize, and so to make themselves masters of that Fort by stealth, before which it was thought that whole armies would be consumed before it could be taken. The Governour therefore ordered that four Bodies of Souldiers, commanded by the best experienced Camp-masters, should, by night, about the midst of *March* 1628, at one and the same time fall upon the Town in four several sides; the first that were to give the two first assaults, were Don *Antonio Settele* and Count *Ferrante Bolognio*, the first coming from *Mortara* about the coming on of night, with 3000 Foot, and the other with as many from *Valenza*, and bringing with them all necessary instruments, they were each of them to possess themselves in the several places appointed them, of the banks of *Po* joyning upon the Town, and there to fortifie themselves, and so by barring the enemy of any benefit of communicating by the River, exclude all succour by that way, which was thought would assuredly be sent from *Casale*: the business proved lucky, and better then was supposed; for *Settele* advancing to a certain place called *Benebo*, lying between the River and the Town, which was seated very high, and fit for the business, made himself master of it without any opposition. *Bolognino* did yet more fortunately discharge his part, he went at the same time out of *Valenza*, and having assaulted the lower station called *Corno*, and which was fortified and garrison'd by the enemy, he at the very first drove out the enemy, took the place, and began straightway to fortifie against the enemy; and then raising Trenches along the bank, went to joyn with *Settele*, who advanced with his Trenches likewise from *Benebo*; and joyning together, they at very first block'd up the Town from the River; and having each of them brought many sacks with them, which they filled with earth, and made sudden Trenches with them, and many Barques being come to them from *Valenza* with Faggots, and other Instruments for perfecting their Fortifications, they raised that work higher; on the same night Don *Fovan Vasques Coronado*, and Don *Carlo della Gusta*, were ordered to accost the Town from two other parts, further from the River; the former coming with *Settele* from *Mortara* was to assault the Town on that part which is called *Forbice vecchia*; and the other coming from *Lomello*, was ordered to approach it by the Covent of the Capuchins; and when both of them

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were got thither they were to fall a ſcaling; wherein if they ſucceeded well, they were to give notice to *Sottello* and *Bolognino*, that they might do the like with the Ladders which they brought with them; and if the firſt Scaladoes ſhould not ſucceed well, they were either by real or ſeeming aſſaults, to endeavour to divert the defendants from that part of the River where *Sottello* and *Bolognino* were; that ſo they might leave them the Fortification on the bank unmoleſted by the enemies Garriſon, on which Fortification the ground-work of the buſineſs lay; nor were they to forbear fortifying their ſtations, and to fence themſelves from the Musket-ſhot of the enemy, before day-light, if they ſhould miſcarry in their Scalado; but both of them finding the defendants readier and more intent upon the defenſive part, they failed in the chief intent of the Scalado; for as ſoon as they approached, a hail of Musket-ſhot was let fly at them, together with thunder of Artillery, and lightning of artificial fires, which though they kept the oppugners from making Scaladoes, or giving aſſault, yet could they not keep them from fortifying the ſtations wherein they were. Don *Martin d' Aragona* was the Head and Superintendent of all this Enterprize, to whom only the Governour had communicated the whole deſign from the beginning; ſo as he ordered all things as his Lieutenant; and diligently applying himſelf to all parts, ordered all things requiſite for carrying on the work: *Tiberio Brancacchio* Camp-maſter was alſo ordered to go with his Brigade from *Aleſſandria*, with many Carriages, many Sumpture-Horſes, and ſtore of Artillery, to *Valenza*, and from thence to *Sartiranna*, to drive the Enemy from thence; who moving early, and being come to the intended place, after having made forty ſhot of Battery, took the Town, which the Captain of the Garriſon yielded upon Articles: And *Brancacchio* going from thence, went by Orders from the Governour to joyn with *Gaſta*; nor were the horſe idle, but were diſtributed into ſuch parts by which ſuccour might be brought. Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* was to guard the Paſſage over the *Poe* with 1500 Horſe, at *Villata*, where it falls into the *Seſia*: the cuſtody of *Fraßinetto* fell to *Ferdinando de li Monti* Captain of the Dutch Cavalry, with as many Horſe: the guard of *Lomella* to Don *Alvaro di Quignones*, that he might be ready there, as occaſion ſhould ſerve; but Marqueſs *Cricky* as ſoon as he heard of this ſo ſudden, and ſo unexpected aſſault, ſent nine Barques from *Caſſale*, where he then was, and in them 1200 Foot tumultuouſly and on the ſudden put together, together with much proviſion and munition; not ſo much to ſupply the Town, as to defend the bank of the River, to the end, that the enemy, who he thought was poſſeſs'd thereof, might not keep it, nor block up the way from ſuccour; but the deſign being foreſeen and prevented, they did not onely not poſſeſſe themſelves of the banks, but neither did they bring in ſuccour; for the Barques coming to ſhore at *Sotelo*'s quarters, were encounter'd, and after a long fight departed, being hardly dealt with; and paſſing afterwards to where *Bolognino* was, three of them landed their Souldiers; and the others fiercely fighting would have done the like; but meeting with ſtout reſiſtance, after a long fight, ſell together with the munition wherewith they were fraughted into the enemies hands; two of the

three Barques which landed Souldiers were sunk, and 70 prisoners were taken, whereof two French Captains; and hardly 200 of those that were landed, being favoured by the night, got wounded into *Bremi*, the rest being slain or drown'd; the defendants afterwards sallied out to recover the Sconce *Cerro*, which was taken at the first by *Bolognino*; who finding the defendants negligent, drove them out; but *Bolognino*, with some 200 of his men, got it again within two houts: then the Governour came to the Camp; who viewing the stations, Works and Fortifications made by his men, commended them, to the great satisfaction of the Commanders and Souldiers; and having given several other Orders touching the fortifying of quarters, and the environing the Camp with a Trench, he retired to *Surtiranna*, from whence, as from the neerest place, he might give out Orders, visit the Camp, as he often did, and provide things necessary; but Fortune would have her share in this enterprise; for an accident which hapned help'd much not only to the taking of this Town, but to the total of all affairs. The Marshal seeing the unfortunate success of those that were sent from *Cassale*, thought to place a battery upon the shore opposite to the enemies Trenches, to the end, that the shore being cleansed, the way might be open to bring in succour by water; and whilst, accompanied by three or four Horse-men only, he stood behind a Tree on the opposite shore, looking with a Prospective-glass, where the battery might best be raised, he was hit by a Sakers-bullet, which was shot from the enemies Trench; and falling dead from off his horse, his body was carried into *Cassale*, and after solemn obsequies, was carried into *France*; whither it was accompanied by almost all the flower of those few French who were yet in *Italy*; so the French being without a head in *Italy*, became like a body without a soul: on the contrary, this chance added force and courage to the enemy, who began to make their approaches, whereby to come to battery, and then to assault; the batteries were raised in five places; the one of six Cannon in *Sotrello*'s quarter, another of four in that of *Vasquez*; the third, of four Cannon more in *Bolognino*'s quarter, the other of three Guns apiece, the one in that of *Carlo dalla Gatta*, and the other in that of Prince *Torso*: all which playing continually upon the Town, and falling with their approaches into the ditch, the defendants at last beat a Parley, and not long after concluded that they would surrender the Town, upon Articles, that all the French should march out safe and free, and might have a safe conduct to convoy them to *Cassale*; that they should go out with Drums beating, match lighted, Colours flying, Bullet in mouth, their Flasks full of Powder, and that they might carry with them what Baggage they would: There marched out about 1800, whereof 1400 bore Arms, the rest were sick or wounded; and they were attended by 3000 Horse to *Cassale*, under Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga*.

Upon these terms was *Bremi* surrendred, after thirteen days Siege; a place of so great concernment for the preservation of the State of *Millain*; well provided of instruments and munition for its defence, and of victuals for the defenders; and since it seemed strange, that such a place, so well provided, should be surrendred in so short a time; the French, who were not able to endure it, impleaded the Commander thereof, a man of low birth, and perfer'd by *Crisky* (whose Groom of

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the Stable he had been) to that charge; he was accuſed of cowardize and of treachery; and not long after by Order from the King he was beheaded publickly in *Caſſale*; but more for cowardlineſs then treachery. Many will have it, that having gotten much money by dead pay, as not having kept ſo many Souldiers as the King allowed for, he ſurrendred the Town for fear of loſing the moneys he had got, in caſe the Town ſhould be taken by aſſault; and that this was the treachery which he was accuſed of: This Town continued in the hands of the French from the end of *November* 35, till the end of *March* 38, wherein it was re-gained; when it was taken, it was better fortified; and the French having kept it ſo little a while, it was ſaid that they had built, furniſh'd, fortified and munited, it for the Crown of *Spain*: being taken it ſeemed alſo to be a curb to *Caſſalle*, which was but 15 miles off, and that it kept all that part of the State of *Millain* from the inroads of the enemy; and that from thence the Spaniards might now make inroads into *Montferrat* and *Piedmont*; and what was of more importance, the French could not boaſt that they had any receptacle for their Armies in the State of *Millain*, to the conqueſt whereof they had aſpired; great rejoycing and Bon-fires were made for this in *Millain*; but afterwards, upon conſideration that all the aforeſaid advantages were not to be parallel'd with the coſt and care of keeping it; and that the prejudice would be much greater which would reſult to the State of *Millain*, if it ſhould be re-gained by the French, then the advantage which was had by keeping it, it was not many years after diſmantled and demoliſhed.

The End of the Fifteenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XVI.

The Contents.

THe Duke of Savoy *being dead, differences arise between the Dutcheſs Dowager, and the Princes her Husbands Brothers, touching the Guardianſhip of the young Children, and the Regency of the State. The Dutcheſs in the Princes abſence is ſworn Governeſs and Regent; being compel'd by the King of* France, *ſhe renews League with him. The Governour of* Millain *goes to before* Vercelli, *and after a long Siege takes it upon Articles. The Princes of* Savoy *aſſiſted by the Spaniards and Piedmonteſe take many Towns, and make much progreſs; they go to before* Turin, *and having tarried before it ſome days, retire without doing any thing; falling, as before, to over-run* Piedmont, *they are received every where; till Forces being ſent to the Dutcheſs from* France, *under the Duke of* Longueville, *ſhe recovers* Chiavaſco, *and other Towns which the Princes had taken. The Prince Cardinal, fearing* Corneo, *goes to defend it; and Prince* Thomaſo, *going once more with the Spaniſh Forces to before* Turin, *ſurprizeth the Town; and the Governour of* Millain *coming in unto him, they with all their Forces, attempt the taking of the Citadel, whither the Dutcheſs was retired. The Siege is ſuſpended by a Truce, which being ended, the French under their new General Count* Harcourt, *take* Cheri; *but being preſently beſieged by the Governour of* Millain, *they are forc'd through Famine to quit it, and retreat in face of the enemy to* Carnignoula.

But

But for all this, though the State of *Millan* was free from Wars at home, yet could it not long continue the quiet which it enjoyed by the recovery of *Bremi*; and as if it had been by fatal misfortune subject to a Series of troubles, being freed from defensive Wars, must be ingaged in Wars offensive, not long after, for the Interest of others; The Duke of *Savoys* death, the minority of his Children, their Guardianship, together with the Regency of the State, which was disputed between the Mother and the Uncles of the Infants, caused Civil Wars in *Piedmont*; wherein *France* being zealously interressed for the Mother, and *Spain* for the Uncles, civil War was mixt with Forreign War; which being not long after the Dukes death brought by Spanish Forces into *Piedmont*, was there exercised with much fervour between the two Crowns; the which *Piedmont* being to afford field room, and the State of *Millain* Arms and fomentation, the Millinaeses suffered no small prejudice upon the same account wherein the Piedmontese suffered much more; for the better knowledge whereof it will be necessary to take our rise a little higher.

There hath always been a competition for the guardianship of the Pupil Princes who are to succeed in the States, between the Mother, and the neerest kindred of the Fathers-side; which competition, though by the Roman Laws it be generally decided on the Mothers behalf, yet being in substance variously practised by the Princes of the blood, is not as yet decided, but depending; for it hath sometime been given absolutely to the Mother, sometime to the kindred on the Fathers-side, and sometimes joyntly to both; nor hath *Piedmont* been exempt from the like Competition; where though sometimes the kindred on the Fathers-side have been allowed the Guardianship of the Pupil Princes, yet this hath hapned either by force of Arms, or by the Mothers death, or because the Fathers kindred have been chosen to be Guardians; but this case not having hapned in this our age, it was not evident in what condition the kindred was under the Supream Regency of the Mother; and every one interpreted this obscurity to the Mothers advantage; yet the condition of times, and accidental Circumstance, have always had a great stroke herein; in these present ruptures, the Princes could not be more crossed, not onely in their pretending to Guardianship and administration of State, but even in their returning to their own Country, from whence they were excluded; for to boot that they were far off when the Duke their brother died, whereby the Duchess met not with those oppositions which she might have had, had they been present; their being in much disgrace with the King of *France* made much against their pretentions at the present; for whereas they had formerly profest to adhere constantly to the King of *France* and his party, they had with little respect quitted him a little before their brothers death; and with much scandal to his Majesty, were gone over to the King of Spains side; Prince *Thomaso* was the first, who being distasted by the Duke his brother was gone from *Savoy*, where he was Governour, and past privately with his wife and Children into *Flanders*, to the Infanta his Cousin-germans where taking up Arms, he stuck not to come into the open field as Captain and Conductor of the Spanish

Forces

Forces, and to march with open Colours, as hath been elsewhere said, against the Ensigns of *France*; and the Prince Cardinal, going not long after his brothers departure, upon the same occasion, from the Court at *Turin*, went to *Rome*, where he openly disclaimed the protection of *France*, and turned over to the Emperour, and to the House of Austria; For which actions, the first being hostile, and the other so high an affront to the King of *France*, his Majesty was much offended, holding the one for an open enemy, and the other as totally alienated from him and therefore desiring that the affairs of *Piedmont* might totally depend upon him, he would not suffer that either of those Princes who were become followers of the Austrian and Spanish party should have any thing to do in the Guardianship of their Nephew, or in the Government of the State; which he would, as in justice it did belong, should totally and integrally depend upon his Sister. He therefore informed her, and his Agents did publickly protest, that if she should receive the Princes into *Piedmont*, much less admit them to share in the Regency, or administration of State, she would contervene the league which was made between him and the late Duke, and which was yet in force; and he desired that the Chief Towns should be assigned over to him, for the safety of the young Duke, lest the Uncles assisted by the Spanish forces might make themselves masters of the State, to the perpetual exclusion of their Nephew; Thus by reason of the Princes being absent from Court, and through the King of *France* his anger conceived against them, it was easier for the Lady *Christiana*, sister to the King of *France*, and Dutchess of *Savoy*, to take absolute possession of the guardianship of her Children, and of the Regency of the State; to the which she was called by the Laws, and by the ancient customs of the House of *Savoy*, and not without some testimony of her Husbands Will. She therefore obtained that title by succession, and reduced the Forts, Arms, Revenues, and treasure of the State, into her power; which she did the more easily, for that to boot with her right to the regency, she was then fortified with both domestick and Forreign Forces which were then great and powerful in *Piedmont* for the Duke, a little before his death, and also the Marshal, knowing how great an advantage the Fort of *Bremi* was to them, had an intention to take *Vigevano*, a City in the County of *Pavia*, and to fortifie it; and aspired to greater things: There were therefore about 18000 fighting men in *Piedmont*, part French, and part Piedmontese, who were in a readiness for such an Enterprize.

The supream command of the French did, by the death of their General, the Duke, undoubtedly fall upon his Lieutenant-General the Marshal; and none would think but that he would adhere unto his Kings Sister. The Piedmontese were commanded by Marquess *Villa*, General of the Dukes Horse; one in whom the Dutchess might safely confide, he being a well experienced Commander, and of approved valour, and one whom she upon all occasions had favoured very much. The place of General of the Foot, being vacant by Count *Verrua*'s death, was soon conferred by the Dutchess upon *John Facinto di Simiana* Marquess of *Pianezza*, who was then Lieutenant-General of the Horse, a man both very wise and valiant. Her brothers favour being added

added to all this, ſhe was immediately after her Husbands death ſworn Guardianeſs of her Children, and Sovereign Regent in *Vercelli*, by all the Gentlemen and Officers of the Court, and by the military men that were there preſent, and afterwards was ſworn the ſame in *Turin* by the ſupream Senate of *Piedmont*, and by the particular decree of the ſame Senate, and by all Magiſtrates, Feudatories, Subjects, and Vaſſals of the Ducal houſe; and in all this, no mention was made of the Princes, nor durſt any ſeem thereat diſtaſted; and yet the ſequel proved, that though the former carriage, and preſent conditions of Dowager Dutcheſs, naturally born to Govern, were ſatisfactory to all, and Univerſally acceptable, yet many of the *Piedmonteſes*, out of an inward affection, and devotion to their natural Princes, were not well pleaſed that they ſhould be excluded; but the evident knowledge that their excluſion proceeded not from the Dowager, and that ſhe had no hand therein, did not only acquit her from ſo much rigour in the opinion of the world, but was a powerful lenitive to mollifie the minds of thoſe *Piedmonteſes*, who were well inclined to the Princes; and many of them conſidering, more wiſely, how many inconveniences the plurality of Gaurdians had occaſioned in other States, ſetting all other reſpects aſide, were better pleaſed that the Regency ſhould be reſtrayn'd to one alone, then diffuſed into many; and it being agreed upon by all that the Mothers right was to be preferred before any other Competitour, they were not onely not diſpleaſed that it ſhould be in the Dowager, but did willingly give way unto it, as juſteſt and ſafeſt for the State, and for the publick quiet; One of the firſt things the new Regent did, was to ſend meſſengers to both theſe Princes, to acquaint them with the Duke their Brothers death, and how ſhe had taken upon her the Guardianſhip of her Children, and the Regency of the State; and withal how diſpleaſed the King of *France* was with them both; and acquainting them how ſtrong the French Forces were in *Piedmont*, ſhe admoniſhed them, and did earneſtly exhort them, that they would keep where they were at the preſent, leſt if they ſhould come into *Piedmont*, they might fall into ſome great inconvenience, by ſome orders that the King of *France* might give to his Commanders, which it would not be in her power afterwards to divert; and telling them how that all this was done, againſt her will, ſhe exhorted them that they would endeavour to appeaſe the Kings anger, and by joyning with him again get into his former good opinion, to the end that they might all of them joyntly co-operate to the young Dukes quiet, and ſafety; and as a token of her good will towards them, ſhe promiſed to make ſpeedy payment of the Arrears, and for the future of their annual allowances, called in French *Appenage*, which were ſequeſtred from Prince *Thomaſo*, by the late Duke, after the battel of *Avein*, becauſe he had carried Arms there againſt his confederate the King; and as for the Prince Cardinal, though they were not abſolutely ſequeſtred, they were detained, or but ſlowly pay'd, for his having paſt over from one protection to another, nothing could diſturb the calm commencement of the Dowagers Regency, as it was thought, but fear of the Spaniſh forces, if they ſhould take upon them to maintain the Princes pretences; and ſhould ſtrive to bring the Princes into *Piedmont*, and into the Regency of the

State

State by meer force; which was not very unlikely, by reason of the requisite jealousie, which *Piedmont* being to be governed by the Dowager, who was so straitly united to the Crown of *France*, might with good reason bring to the State of *Millain*; and she was much troubled that she could no further befriend them, by reason of the League which continued yet for some Moneths with the Crown of *France*; Fortune, which would also have her share in these Ruptures, did miraculously assist her herein; for the Spanish Agents who governed the affairs of that Crown in *Italy*, reflecting upon the condition of *Piedmont* as it was now altered by the Dukes death, and foreseeing the tempests which were likely to fall upon that State, considered also what might redound to the State of *Millain*, and to the Kings affairs in *Italy*, by those alterations; Wherefore weighing the business well, and conferring together by Letters and Messengers, when they had discuss'd all thing considerately, they were all of one mind, that to avoid all inconveniencies, they must not distaste the Dowager in her regency, nor cause any jealousies in her. And the Court of *Spain* being acquainted with this their resolution, did approve of it, out of the great desire they had to see the Affairs of *Italy* quieted; the said Agents, doubting that the Dowager would be compelled by the King of *France* to renew the league, which he had contracted with the late Duke, and desiring to be assured of her, and to assure her, they propounded unto her, that the King would be obliged not to molest her in her Regency, but would assist her strongly, if she would joyn in League with him, and help to drive the French out *Piedmont*; and not allow passage, for the future, to the Forces of that Crown thorough her Dominions. And lastly, that he would endeavour to make the Princes her Brothers in law observant to her, so as she would give each of them what did of right belong unto them. It appeared clearly, that the Spaniards by their offers labour'd more to accommodate their own Affairs, then to favour those of the Dowager; which, if she should accept of these offers, would run apparent ruine; since she could not but draw her Brothers enmity upon her, by adhering to his Enemies, without manifest danger. Wherefore being desired by Abbot *Vasques*, an Agent for the Governour of *Millain*, that she would send some trusty person to *Genoa*, with whom he might, by Order from the King, negotiate some Affairs, to the common good and satisfaction; when she heard by Cavalier *Olgiato*, whom she sent to *Genoa*, what *Vasques* proposals were, she answer'd freely. That she had alwayes nourish'd thoughts of Peace, and that she would be alwayes ready to quench any fire which might be kindled; wherein she would engage her self to the utmost of her power therein. But that she could by no means, nor did it any wayes suit with her to enter into Warr against *France* upon the account of *Spain*, nor to separate her self from her Brother in the present conjuncture of times. And that since she had restored their Appenages to the Princes her Brothers in law, which was sequestred from them by the late Duke; and treated with them as civilly, and with as much affection as the present condition of Affairs would permit her to do, she knew not what they could pretend unto more, nor wherein else the King, upon this account, would interpose himself.

himself. And she was so steadfast to this, as she would not consent to stand neuter between the two Crowns, though she was much pres'd thereunto by the Abbot; alledging that, during the League, it was not lawful for her to make such a promise: So as the Spanish Agents seeing they could get no more from her, who they saw could not effectually promise more, they were for the present satisfied with her good will and intention, which they knew must, for her own interest sake, keep her from desiring any alteration; nor did they think to alter their good inclinations towards her. This was the substance of the negotiation in *Genoa*, between Abbot *Vasques*, and the Cavalier *Olgiato*; before which meeting things being past contrary to all mens expectation, between the Dowage, and the Spanish Agents, with reciprocal satisfaction; it was publickly argued throughout *Italy*, that secret intelligence was held between them, and that a secret neutrality was agreed upon by the Dowager, between the Arms of both the Crowns. For the Governour of *Millain*, according to common resolution, did openly profess to be far from thinking of molesting her, no not upon the least occasion. It was also observed, that the Dowager did not in any manner disturb the Government in the business of *Bremi*, and that which past in the Court at *Rome*, about these times, did corroborate this indulg'd opinion. As soon as the Cardinal heard of the Dukes death, and that the Dowager had taken upon her the Regency, to his exclusion, he thought himself much affronted, to be made subject to her Authority; and resolving not to submit to such exclusion, he went privately, accompanied with a few, out of *Rome* towards *Piedmont*: This so sudden departure caused great commotion in that Court; and every one thinking that it was not done without knowledge of the Spanish Agents, it was much talked of both in publick and in private; and it was held to be the beginning of the troubles of *Piedmont*. Wherefore the Marques of *Castell Roderigo*, who was then Embassadour from *Spain* at *Rome*, seeing all mens eyes turn'd upon him, upon this occasion, did publickly declaim against it; and with many asseverations protested to the Pope, that it was done, not onely without his counsel or participation, but without his imagination; and that he and all the Spanish Forces were far from dreaming of any novelty in *Piedmont*; and that the Dowager should not be disturbed in her Regency by them, nor by the King of *Spain*. These things being known in the Court of *France*, and consequently well weighed by the Cardinal *Richelieu*, an attentive looker into the ends and counsels of other men, and especially into those of the Dowager, he thought it impossible that the Spaniards setting their own interests aside, and those of the Princes, so neer alli'd in blood to their King, and who had lately declared themselves to adhere to that Crown, should be, without any compensation, so free of their favours to the Dowager in her Regency. Wherefore he could not believe but that she not being content with the King her Brothers protection, had also anchor'd the ship of her Regency upon the protection of that Crown. And therefore, though that Crown was very well satisfied upon the account of *Bremi*, (knowing that it was long ere she had been desired to assist in that defence; and that as soon as she was requested she made preparations, which should have appeared

before *Bremi*, had not the too hasty surrender thereof prevented their march,) yet were they not altogether free from being jealous of her sagacity, and of so many favourable Demonstrations made to her by the Spaniards. When the Cardinal was therefore come to *Savona*, he sent the Abbot *Soldati* to the Dowager, to acquaint her with his coming thither; whereat she being very much moved, she presently dispatch'd away to him by three several ways the Count *di Camiana*, the President *Morozzi*, and Monsieur *di Druen*, with Orders to represent unto him, in her Name, the impossibility of her receiving him, or his Brother, whilst they adhered to the House of *Austria*; and that the Officers and Commanders of the King of *France* his Forces, which were very strong in *Piedmont*, did freely profess they would proceed with them in hostile manner, if they should come neer *Piedment*; and that if she should receive them she should go against the League, which would make them pretend that she should assign over the Towns unto them; and to pacifie him the more, she gave order to those that she sent, to promise him in her name, that she would pay him his allowance or Appenages, whereof she sent him by these her Messengers some ready moneys in hand: The Prince was pacified, or at least seemed to be so, with these Proposals; and intending to winter in *Genoa*, staid some days in *Savona*, and afterwards altering his minde, he returned to *Rome*; whither when he was come, he was disquieted with what had happened in *Piedmont* after his Brothers death; he began to sollicite his interest with the Pope by word of mouth, and by Letters and Messengers with those Princes from whom he thought he might receive any advice or assistance; he made his complaints to them all of the injuries which he had received, and strove to justifie his pretences; he alledged the ancient Institutions and Customs of *Piedmont*, by which he pretended the Guardianship of the Infant Princes of *Piedmont*, and the Regency of the State, during their minority, did belong to the next akin by the Fathers side; That *Thomaso*, Uncle to *Bonifacio*, had thus exercised the Guardianship, joyned therein with *Cecily*, Mother to *Bonifacio*; That thus *Amadeo*, *Guietta* of *Burgondy* being excluded, was Guardian to *Philip*, and the younger Sons of *Thomaso di Conte Moriana*; That *Lodowick* of *Savoy*, and *Amadeo Conte di Genoa*, had thus been Guardians to *Amadeo* who was afterwards called *il Verde*; wherefore he ought not to be now debarred the same privileg, being so neer allied in blood and interest to the Duke his Nephew; That he and his Brother could not justly be banished their Country, not having done any thing that might deserve such a punishment; That contrary to all reason, they were declared to be Enemies to those States, the safety and preservation whereof, especially in such dangerous times, did only belong unto them; That the Mother was governed by the advice, and (to the horrour of all men) begirt by the Forces of those who having great designs upon those Dominions, were known to be more desirous to get them for themselves, then to defend them for the Orphans; which the possession of *Pinarvolo* and *Cassalle* did sufficiently witness; That the Marshal had given proof of this in *Vercelli*, by the jealousies which he caused there at the instant of the Dukes death; after which Books declaring the pretention of that Crown to the States of *Savoy* and *Piedment*,

ment, were publickly sold in *Paris*: How could those Forces be therefore confided in, which pretend to the owning of those States to the which at the present they professe protection? that the exclusion of the Uncles did expresly tend to this, that the Mother might be govern'd as they pleased who had procured the Uncles to be excluded; with these and the like examples which were subject to many exceptions, and might be replied unto by many other examples, did the Prince Cardinal goe about to justifie his and his Brothers cause; and both of them thinking that they might ground their pretensions best in the Court of *Spain*, they laboured there, and with the Spanish Agents in *Italy*, to get their cause to be embraced by them, and powerfully assisted by their Forces; wishing them also to consider, how much danger would redound not only to their Kings Reputation, but to his Affairs and Dominions, that the supream arbitrement of *Piedmont* should depend upon the pleasure of the King of *France*, by his Sisters means; which King making himself master afterwards of the chief Towns confining upon the State of *Millain*, the Crown of *Spain* might get a new and a powerful neighbour; that it became not his Majesty to suffer that he and his Brother should be so persecuted, for the same sake only of having adhered to him; then he strove to perswade them that the business would be easie, by reason of the peoples inclination, who desired, beyond comparison, rather to be govern'd by their natural Princes, then by a forreign Lady, who was suspected, by reason of her greatly enforced and necessary dependancy upon the King her Brother, upon whom being of necessity to relie; a blind man might easily see the ruine of the house of *Savoy*, and the danger of having the people recommended to their protection, subjected to a forreign yoke; and that therefore it was most certain, that when the people of *Piedmont* should see their Princes accompanied by any considerable strength, they would unanimously abandon the Dowager, and adhere to them: but these reasons could not prevail with other Princes who were concern'd at a further distance with the concernments of *Piedmont*; and much less with the Spanish Court and Agents, whom it concerned more neerly; were it either that they were weary of seeing the war renewed in *Lombardy*, or that fearing, according to the ancient Spanish maximes, that to wrastle in *Piedmont* would undoubtedly draw on war from *France* in the State of *Millain*, they desired rather to enjoy the present advantage, then lightly to provoke trouble; they therefore held it better not to disquiet the present peace, though it were doubtful, then to enter into new wars, which might be long, and costly, and of uncertain event: thus thinking it suited better with the common interest, not to innovate, then to maintain the Princes pretentions by Forces, they proceeded coolly and reflectedly with them; and seemed more inclined to dissuade them from pursuing so dangerous a business, then to adhere unto them therein, whereby to make the Dowager jealous; they found yet the Princes of *Italy* lesser inclined to them, who being desired by the Cardinal that together with their so just cause, they would embrace the common concernment of *Italy*, which did so much depend upon the good or bad success of *Piedmont*; none of them would so much as appear to favour their pretences. The

Dowagers affairs seemed therefore to proceed successfully on this side; if fortune had not pleased to put a spoke into her wheel here, the Dowager could have desired no greater safety to her self, nor to her Sons Principality; and the Princes, though exiled, might have shared in the happiness, as was thought by those who saw best into busines; but the heavens had destined it otherwise; for the King of *France*, who was more obliged then the Mother her self, by reason of the protection he profess'd to take of the young Duke, to preserve the peace of *Piedmont*, which was so necessary for the present affairs of his Sister and Nephew, became the chief instrument of disturbing it, to the great admiration of all those who considering the inconstancy and vicissitude of humane affairs, wonder'd that the Spaniards who had great reason to oppose the Dowager, should willingly offer her peace; and that the King of *France* should purposely disturb it. This King was with miraculous fortune and valour got rid of the wars and troubles wherein to the Austrian Forces had brought his Kingdom, as hath been said before; wherefore he prepared to revenge himself by falling upon the Emperour and King of *Spains* Territories with as much fervour as they had done upon his; to this end, he had disburs'd monys to the Hollanders, and to Duke *Wymar*, to the end, that the forsaking back over the *Rhein*, might enter *Germany* with the men which he had furnish'd them withall; and re-enforcing the Swedish wearied party, might renew war with the Emperour; and these having at last recovered *Schinchi* Schonce, and making ready a powerful Army which they joyned with another Army that he had raised in his Kingdom, and entring *Flanders* might assault those Provinces, which were under the King of *Spain*, and embroil them as formerly they had done; but the Swedes and Hollanders covenanted with the King, that he should assault the State of *Millain* with a powerful Army, at the same time that they should fall upon *Germany* and *Flanders*; to the end, that the Austrian power being assaulted on several parts might be the more easily subdued; and that the King of *Spain* being molested in *Italy*, might not assist the Austrians in those parts: he therefore substituted the Cardinal of *la Valletta*, in lieu of deceased *Crichy*, in the command of his Forces in *Piedmont*, and assigned him men and moneys, wherewith to remove the war in the State of *Millain*, which could not be done without the consent of the Dowager of *Savoy*, the French Armies being to pass through her State, before they could enter the State of *Millain*; she was therefore desired by the King not only to renew the League which was made with her husband, and which was then expiring, but that she would joyn her Forces in *Piedmont*, with his, and resolve to make war upon the State of *Millain*. The Dowager being no less affrighted then surprized with this demand, by which all her designs were overthrown, said, and did all she could to evade it. First she presented unto his Majesty, how much better peace would be for her and her Son, in those his tender years, then war; how much the present times did differ from those when her Husband lived, wherefore she was to govern her self by other Counsels; that for the present the safety of her Sons States consisted chiefly in peace, and the ruine thereof in war; she therefore desired him not to put her upon so dangerous a point; that

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it better became the protection which his Majesty profess'd, to preserve peace in *Piedmont*, and to keep it from the revolutions and combustions of war, then to put it to the hazard of dangerous events by fomenting war made by his Majesty elsewhere; that the intreaties of his Widow Sister, and the innocence of his little Nephew, ought to prevail more with his Majesty, then the fierce cruelty of the Swedes and Hollanders, or the ambitious and unquiet advice of his Counsellors, who pretend to vent their rage against the house of *Austria*, at the cost of *Piedmont*; that his Majesty ought not to subscribe to the revengeful spirits of other men, in prejudice to an Orphan Prince, who had put himself under his protection; she therefore desired that his Majesty would be contented to consent to a Truce with the Austrians for what concern'd the affairs of *Italy*, or at least to a suspension of Arms touching those of *Piedmont*; to the end, that his Nephew and Client might enjoy quiet, and might avoid those dangers which the wars that his Majesty would interest him in would draw upon him; that he would therefore suffer him to encrease in peace, and be well setled in his Principality, that so he might be better able to serve his Majesty in weightier affairs.

These so just intreaties, accompanied by so strong reasons, might have prevailed with the King; but they could not move the solid resolutions of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who like the *Primum mobile*, would turn about the lesser Planets, and make their interests absolutely submit to those of the King. Being therefore resolved to revenge himself upon the Spaniards for their attempts made upon *France*; and being also moved by the ancient competitions and emulation which he had long batched against the house of *Savoy*, he cared for nothing less then the peace and safety thereof, so as it might make way for his refreshments; wherefore confiding upon the continual good success of his Counsels, and upon the prosperous conduct of the Arms of *France*, he was ashamed that the Dowager should so much distrust them, and professing that both she and her Son would be freer from mischief, whilst they were within the King of *France* his quarters, then in the peaceful quietness which the Spaniards offer'd her, he would compel her, not only to depend upon the Kings party, but to joyn with the King in carrying on the war against the Kings enemies, as the King would with her, against her enemies: but the Dowager persisting in being very averse from entring into any offensive war, the Cardinal told her freely, that she ought not to complain, if the first thunder of war, which was intended for elsewhere, should fall upon her Sons Dominions; so being much oppress'd by the Kings demands, and by the Cardinals authority, she tried whether she could avoid offending either of the Crowns, by going a middle way; she therefore offer'd the King free passage for his men through *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, and very earnestly desired him that that might content him, and that he would suffer her Son to enjoy his Territories in peace; but the Cardinal not being herewith satisfied, she condescended (since she could not chuse) to the desired League, but only as far as concern'd defending of their common Dominions, not the offending of others in their's. The Cardinal would go no less, but grew more severe in his demands, for thinking (as he said) that she had agreed upon some

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secret intelligence with the Spaniards, he would force her to declare her self openly to be their enemy; he therefore required that she would declare her self absolutely for an offensive League against any whosoever; whereupon the Dowager called all her Counsellors and chief Officers of her Court together, and acquainted them with this so important business; and though they all saw the great danger which the renewing of the League would bring upon the Dukes State, and upon the Dowagers Regency; yet following the late Dukes example, they thought they had better break with *Spain*, then provoke the Forces of *France*.

Thus the Dowager being forced to take poyson for a medicine, consented to the renewing of the League, in the same manner as it had been agreed upon by the Duke her Husband. This resolution, though it were violently extorted from her, was notwithstanding the best the Dowager could put on in these times of ruptures, not so much for her own interests, as for those of *Piedmont*. For finding that the King of *France* was resoved to make the State of *Millain* the seat of War, to joyn with him therein, was nothing else but to suffer the calamities of War to fall upon the State of *Millain*, and to free *Piedmont* from them: Whereas by doing otherwise, she must have made *Piedmont* the seat of War; the two last Dukes afforded clear examples in both these cases. *Charles Emanuel*, joyning with the Spaniards, would oppose the succour which the French intended to bring to *Casalle*; whereby he did not only lose *Pinarolo*, and other Towns in *Piedmont*; but did keep the War a long time in his own Dominion, to the great prejudice of his people: and *Victorio Amadeo*, by joyning with the French, carried the War into the State of *Millain*, and brought all the mischiefs that accompany War thither, freeing his own people from them. And yet because, in the conclusion of the League, *Piedmont* was assaulted by the Spaniards (as shall hereafter be said) the people, who began to make trial of the trouble and mischiefs of War, blamed the Dowager, attributing the cause thereof to the renuing of the League. Wherefore those Piedmontese who wish'd well to the Princes inwardly, strove to make her and her Government odious, which had till now been acceptable to all, and whispered amongst the common people, that she had renewed the League to maintain her power of Regency the better, and to keep the Princes the more securely far off. These whispers prevailed with those who knew not what violence she had undergone; nor what Wars and mischiefs would have resulted from the contrary resolution: For doubtlesly, if she had been assaulted by the French for refusing to renew the League, she had been forced to call in the Spaniards to her defence; who were very ready in such a case to maintain her against her Brother. So as they might then have more justly reproved her for calling in the Spanish Forces, which they so much desired. Moreover, the falling foul upon *Piedmont* was resolved upon in the Court of *Spain*, long before the League was renewed. For they no sooner heard of the League made between the King of *France*, and the Swedes and Hollanders, to the prejudice of the Spanish Crown, and particularly to the State of *Millain*; but the King of *Spain* thought it became him to provide for the necessary defence of those parts; and as for the

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Affairs of *Italy*, he gave order to the Governour of *Millain*, that he ſhould immediately march with his Army againſt *Piedmont*, and ſhould prevent the Forces of *France* and *Piedmont*; by which he was likely to be immediately aſſaulted in the State of *Millain*. To this effect, he ſent him monies and men; and promiſed him that he ſhould be provided with all things abundantly from *Germany*, and from the Kingdom of *Naples*: So as the neceſſity which the Civilians call *Caſuativa*, by which the Dowager was compelled by the Cardinal to joyn with her Brother againſt the Spaniards, was turn'd to a neceſſity, which the ſame Civilians call *Praciſa*; & therefore ſhe who was very unwillingly drawn to renew the League, and who by many ſubterfuges delay'd the ſubſcribing it, when ſhe ſaw her ſelf aſſaulted in *Piedmont* by the Spaniards, thought it no longer fit to defer it. The Governour of *Millain* had ſcarcely done with the troubles before *Bremi*, nor were the Souldiers well cured of the wounds which they there received, when theſe commands came to the Governour of *Millain* from the King; he thought that the State of *Millain* being now free from the French by the recovery of *Bremi*, his Government ſhould hereafter be peaceful; but being ſurprized by new and unexpected orders, he was forced to turn his ſayles according to the unlooked for wind, which was contrary to his calculation. He therefore by means of moneys newly received, gave order for the raiſing of 4000 Swiſſers; and propounded *Vercelli* to himſelf for his firſt enterprize; to the end, that when he ſhould be maſter thereof, his way might be open for further progreſs in *Piedmont*. This new War made by *Spain* againſt *Piedmont* was made in the Kings Name, without any mention of the Princes or their Intereſts, which the King did not then think good to have to do with: were it either that he thought his Forces ſufficient to invade *Piedmont*, without thoſe of the Princes, or that he thought the making uſe of their name would do him but little good, and be of great expence to him; or that he thought it misbecame his Forces to embrue their hands in civil Wars, and to foment diſcord between the Nephew and Uncles, equally allied in blood to him: However it was, the Governour, in obedience to the Kings commands, ſent ſpeedily and ſecretly to all the Souldiers that were quartered in the *Lomellina*, that they ſhould march towards *Paleſtre*; where having immediately thrown a Bridge over the *Seſia*, he made his Horſe paſs over it, that the paſſes about *Vercelli* might be taken, and ſo all ſupply kept out; and the Foot being come the ſame day, towards night, they were ſuddenly quarter'd in ſeveral places about the Town. The Spaniards and Burgondians were quarter'd between the River *Sero* and St. *Bartolomeo*, the Italians were quarter'd between St. *Bartolomeo* and the *Zocolanti*, or Franciſcan Fryars. The Dutch and Griſons, which were newly confederated, and which Griſons were never before known to fight in the Spaniſh Camp, were quarter'd between the *Zocolanti* and the *Seſia*: the Iſland which is made by the *Seſia* and the *Sero*, being the moſt dangerous place of all the reſt, as moſt expoſed to be aſſaulted by the Enemy, was allotted for quarter to the Marqueſs *Jovan Franciſco Serra*, a Genoeſe; to whom the Governour gave a Brigade of old Neapolitans, that he might ſerve with them as Camp-maſter in the preſent war: and becauſe the place required a better Garriſon to defend it,

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there were added some Companies of Spaniards, and Grisons, and some Millaineses; and that so sudden and unexpected a moving might not appeare strange and unjustifiable; the Governour leaving Cardinal *Trivultio*, at the Helm of the State when he marched into the State, published a Manifesto in form of an Edict, wherein repeating what hath been formerly said, he told; that the King of *France*, contrary to the Articles of *Ratisbone* & *Cheraſco*, had through threats gotten *Pinarvolo* from the late Duke; and had afterwards constrained him to joyn in league against the State of *Millain*; which notwithstanding the King of *Spain*, bearing with that Dukes Childrens minority, and considering that those States were governed by a Dowager Princess, had pardoned the hostility committed against him by the Father, and the Grand-father, and not using any resentment against the Orphans, or the Widow, or State of *Piedmont*, had continued his love and Protection to that Ducal House; so as he had not onely forborn all hostility, but had acquainted the Dowager, that if she desired peace and friendship with him she should not assist the French Armies with men, Victuals, or any other thing, nor continue the league with the King of *France*, but should continue a real Neutrality between the two Crowns; offering her, moreover, to assist her with all the Forces of his Crown, in case she should be troubled by her brother, for her Neutrality; that the Dowager not being permitted by her brother to embrace so justifiable, and so convenient a contract, was forced to enter into a league against the State of *Millain*, to the end that the King of *France* might afterwards possess himself of the Orphans State; that therefore his Majesty being desirous to continue his Protection to the State, and knowing that there was no other humane means to free it from oppression; but to make himself master of the Towns of *Piedmont*, he was compelled to assault them, not out of any intent of keeping them, but to drive out the French, and to compel them to a good peace; by which when they should restore *Pinarvolo*, and all other the Dukes Towns, his Majesty would also restore whatsoever he should have gotten by his Arms in *Piedmont*; and that so the House of *Savoy* being put into peaceful and quiet possession of the States which it inherited from it's predecessors, might enjoy them in peace and security; he profest therefore that he intended not to make War upon the Natural Subjects of the Country, nor to enter *Piedmont* as an Enemy; wherefore he exhorted the natural Piedmonteses, that as he would not suffer his Souldiers to injure them, they should also forbear wronging his Souldiers; & that keeping correspondency with his Majesties Forces they would not oppose their so justifiable intentions, which aimed only at the well-fare of their natural Prince, and of *Piedmont*: and he lastly declared, that if they should do otherwise, and assist the French Forces, he should be forced to alter his manner of making War, and make them partake of the miseries which war brings with it usually. This pretence of Protection, clad with gracious and affectionate appearance, was not generally thought real, and, in process of time, was known to be feigned by the Governour, to make his taking up arms appear less odious; for the King of *Spain*, his Court, and whole Nation, provoked by Wars made against him,

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sometimes by Duke *Charles Emanuel*, sometimes by Duke *Victorio*, who joyned in league with *France*, to his prejudice, and now lastly by the present Dowager; who having renewed the league with her brother, was ready to make War upon him, not being able to suffer any longer so many hostile Acts, resolved at last to cast aside all his Royal respects which inclined him to the good of *Savoy*; and though he knew that the Dowager was compelled to that War, and that neither she nor her young son were guilty of their predecessors attempt, and much less of this whereunto they were forced; yet seeing that the King of *France*, who was more neerly concern'd in his Sister and Nephews interest, cared little for what of prejudice might redound to them thereby, so as he might make War offensive upon the State of *Milain*, neither did he the King of *Spain*, who was the party assaulted, think himself bound to suffer himself to be wrought upon by those respects of love and compassion which prevailed nothing with the King of *France*: The Edict being published, the Governour, in execution of the Kings Commands, went to encamp before *Vercelli*, which was a City begirt with walls, strengthned by Bulwarks, and environed by a large Ditch, beyond the which were many fortifications, ordered and made with incomparable industry by Duke *Charles Emanuel*, when it was restored to him by Articles of peace, in the year 1617. after it had been taken from him by Don *Pedro di Toledo*: by which excellent fortifications which rendred it almost impregnable, it was in a manner new built. The Marquess *Doglioni* son in law to General *Villa*, a great confident of the Dowagers, was Governour of the Town, who together with his Father in Law, opposed the Marshal, when after the Dukes death he would have taken it two days before the arrival of the enemies Army, there were two Troops of Horse entred into the Town, which were sent from *Turin*, which came in a very seasonable time: for the more secure the Town was by reason of the fortifications, the more need it had of Souldiers, for there were in it only three Troops of Horse, the two Troops that came last being therein numbred, and the Foot of the Garrison, together with the Citizens which were fit to bear Arms, were far short of that number, which was requisite to defend all the works, but the Defendants, though they were but few, trusting in the relief which they shortly expected, betook themselves courageously to the business; they knew that the French Army was fallen down from the *Alpes*, and was come into *Piedmont*, more in number by what was given out then indeed they were; but in effect, being joyned to the Dowagers men they made neer about 7000 Foot, and 900 Horse. The French Army was commanded by the Cardinal *Duke Richelieu*, and by his elder brother the Duke of *Candale*; who though they Commanded the Kings Forces in *Piedmont* with equal Authority, and with the like title of General, yet the Cardinal had the principall Authority, both by reason of his being Cardinal, and because the Cardinal *Richelieu* did more confide in him, but as the news of these Forces, which were presently to come to relieve the Town, did much encourage the Defendants, so did it make the Governour of *Milain* the more careful to fence himself against such a force, which he foresaw would fall upon him, when his Siege

was at the fairest, and therefore having allotted their quarters to each nation he betook himself with all diligence to draw the line, which was about ten miles in compass; a work not only strong for the large compass thereof, for the greatness and height, but more for the deepness of the ditch which it was environed with, for the Artillery which was set in several convenient places, and for being very well tackled: the line was soon finished through the diligence which the Governour caused to be used therein: but though the work nor workmen were not disturb'd from without, for the great store of rain which fell, kept the enemy from advancing fast; yet were they often assaulted from within by the Garrison of the Town; who whilest the Army being busied about their Fortifications, did not much minde the Siege, made out four Sallies at one and the same time, which being given in four several places, they were at last repulsed, though they fought valiantly; and in one of them, which was made on the Governours own Quarters, they left many behind them, whereof four Captains, and one Serjeant Major. The line being finished, they fell to make their approaches, and order was given to make batteries; the Spaniards and Burgonians wrought over against a great Tenaglia which was before them; the Dutch and Grisons wrought over against another Tenaglia which stood on the Front of their Quarters; and the Italians wrought also hard against a great Bulwark which was without the City, all of them striving who should be the first that should finish their task. And whilst these were thus busied, they ceased not to molest the City in several manners, particularly with Granadoes, which flying on high, and then falling into the City, brake down houses, and slew many. They betook themselves also at the same time to the taking of certain little houses, which though they were without the Enemies Fortifications, were not abandoned by the Defendants. The Dutch went against these on one side, and the Italians on another, and at last they took them, though not without much loss of blood on the assailants amongst the rest *Bartholomeo Fulvio* who there slain a Captain of Horse, whilst he was backing the Foot who fought against the little Bouses; Count *Filippo Cesare Bentivoglio*, Camp master, was also slain there. The Defendants were not discouraged at the loss of these two Bouses, but sallying out the next day, they recovered that which the Dutch had taken, and slew almost all that had it, and took the Captain Prisoner, who was notwithstanding rescued by his owne before the fight was over, and the same Bouse was again regained by them, but without much loss of blood. But as the Camp within was thus weakned by the sallies from within, so did not the enemies lessen the Horrible Country which was without, by sending out Herds upon Herds, and Troops upon Troops of Horse and others into the Plain, to gather Stores of succour which was coming, and that in exchange, and the Dowager being much concerned in the preservation of this Town, resolved to go her self in person to *Chieri*, where the whole body of the relieving Army was to meet: Here she alighted at the general Musters, encouraging the Souldiers with her presence, and by her fair demeanour, and by her speech, wherewith she was richly endowed by nature, she incouraged the Captains, and chief Officers, giving them rich presents

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and omitted not any thing which might incite them to expedition, and to behave themselves bravely in this business, which, the more to inanimate them, she called hers; but the Army was retarded by the abundance of rain, which kept them from marching; at last, after long delay, they marched on with ten piece of great Cannon. The Cardinal, and the Duke his Brother, who were naturally given to be extraordinary circumspect, slow and irresolute, in all their Military actions, did also much delay this succour, insomuch as they appeared not in sight of the besieging Army till 20 days after they had begun the Siege. The Governour had therefore the longer time to perfect his Fortifications, and to bring on his approaches, and to throw a Bridge over the *Sesia*, by which he might send to encounter the enemy, in case they should attempt to relieve the Town on that side; at last the first ranks of the French appeared on this side the River, and all the rest appeared soon after; but the Commanders stood some days idle, contemplating the strength of the Trenches, which finding to be almost unvanquishable, they also threw a Bridge over the *Sesia*, over against the Abbey of St. *Lazare*, by which they sent men to possess themselves of that Abby, which being defended but by 60 Souldiers, after the making of some shot, surrendred; here the French made their head-quarter, and began diligently to fortifie it, viewing attentively on which side, and where they might best bring their reliefs; and the Governour, though at the first appearance of the enemy he seemed very desirous to fall to an assault, lest in case of delay his Army might be assaulted by the enemy on the back, yet he was kept from doing so, for that all things were not ready for an assault.

For though the Spaniards were already come to the brink of the ditch of the *Tenaglia*, on the front whereof there stood a Half-moon, which was made undefensible by their Cannon-shot; and though the Dutch were also gotten to the ditch of the other *Tenaglia*, yet the Italians, who were in the middle between them, were not come within 45 paces of the Bulwark which they were to assault; and yet the Governour fearing to be disturb'd if he made any longer delay, setting all considerations of whatsoever difficulties aside, gave Order that every one should be ready in their quarters, about two a clock at night. Thus the sign being given at the hour appointed, they fell on couragiously; and finding the defendants awake and vigilant, the conflict was great, and hard, the defendants assisting themselves with Granadoes, Fireworks and Stones; and the assailants as valiantly overcoming all difficulties, continued constant in the enterprise. The Spaniards having first of all bereft the Half-moon which stood before them, of all defence by their Artillery, got upon the *Tenaglia*, and killing some, and taking other some of the defendants prisoners, they became masters of it, and fortified themselves therein; the like befell the Dutch, who likewise took the other *Tenaglia*: The Italians met with more difficulty, as not being yet fully prepared; the Bulwark which fell to their share yet overcoming all difficulties, they advanced unto the ditch, and driving away the defendants betook themselves to the Bulwark, which not having been plaid upon appeared impregnable; yet being masters of the ditch they would not quit the enterprise; but digged a Mine, the

fear whereof made the Bulwark be abandoned the next day; and the assailants took it, and fortified themselves there: the defendants were astonished at the loss of these three chief places, the rather for that they saw it was done whilst the French Army looked on; who without moving suffer'd these three so important Works to be lost; and yet when those within the Town were offer'd fair conditions by the Governour, they shewed much courage and confidence in their answer: but, on the other side, they acquainted the French Army with what they had suffer'd, and in how great danger they were of being lost, if not soon relieved, not only in defending themselves against assaults, and in sallying out, but for want of bullet, to supply the which all the Pewter of the City had already been made use of; upon which news the French Army advanced to within Musket-shot of the City on *Sambroat* side, and intending to break down the enemies Bridge they sent a Fire-boat down the River, which being detained fell on fire to no purpose; yet resolving to bring relief, they cast their eye upon the Island made by *Servo* and *Besso*; and thinking that, as indeed it was, to be the weakest part, they resolved to pass by there; and to keep the Spanish Camp from re-enforcing the Island, upon the coming on of night they made several seeming assaults upon sundry parts of the Line: nor did the Stratagem prove vain; for the enemy fearing that the succour would be attempted on a part which was guarded only by the common people, they sent for some men from the Island thither; though the Marquess *Serra*, whose charge it was to defend the Island, did sufficiently oppose it; so about the fourth hour of the night a Body of 1500 Foot advanced, part French, led on by Colonel St. *Andrea*; and partly Savoyards and Piedmontese, led on by Colonel *Senantes*. The Cardinal deputed Monsieur *di Castellano*, a Marshal of the French Camp, and the Marquess of *Pianezza*, General of the Dowagers Foot, to order the whole action; who had leave to call out the best commanded men both of the French and Piedmontese, to order the business, to discover the foords, and to pass their men thorough them, whilst the rest of the Army stood ready to keep off any diversion: the relievers waded over the foord, which came up to their middle; and the Marquess *Serra* prepared for defence industriously, notwithstanding his Forces were dismembred, they were stoutly resisted every where; and the attempt would doubtlesly have failed, if a guard of Grisons, who were placed between the Spaniards and Italians, had fought as stoutly as the rest did; but no resistance being there made (for they basely abandoned the station at the very first brunt) the relievers began to pass over the Line. *Serra* who was imploy'd elsewhere when the business began, came to that place; and finding that the defendants had basely thrown away their Arms, and were directly run away, he encouraged those few that followed him, and gave in amongst the thickest of the enemy; where fighting with much danger to himself, and encouraging others by his example, he stopt the current of the relievers; and though he was shot through the Arm by a Musket, he continued fighting, till *Francisco Tattavilla*, Lieutenant to the Camp-master General, came in to his relief with a squadron of those who were under *Bolognino*; and who having no certain place allotted them to defend, were appointed to go where there

ſhould be moſt need: And *Bolognino* coming in with the reſt after *Tuttavilla*, thoſe relievers who had not yet paſt the line were repuls'd. Moreover, the Horſe which being diſtributed into ſeveral ſquadrons ſtood in guard between the City and the line, were faulty alſo upon this occaſion; ſome whereof ran down-right away, and part being deceived by the ſuccourers, who in the dark night cried *Viva la Spagna*, paſt by thoſe Horſe, and ſtole into the City; and about 1200 of them entred with the ſuccour, which did prolong the life of the Town for a few days, but was not ſufficient to do ſo long: For the Enemy having poſſeſs'd themſelves of the chiefeſt out-works, thoſe of the Town were not able to recover them, though they endeavoured it. For they ſallied to recover the Bulwark, which was taken by the Italians; here the conflict was greater then in other parts; and it had been recovered, had not *Bolognino* advanced with the moſt of his men; and, after a bloody conteſt, forc'd them to retreat; and the aſſaults given for the two *Tenaglia's* had the like fortune; from both which, after a fierce fight, the Aſſailants were beaten back. The Governour being angry to ſee the Town relieved, made ſome Officers be proceded againſt, and put to death; who thorough their careleſneſs were the occaſion thereof: And when he ſaw the Defendants beaten back from the recovery of thoſe places which his men had taken, he made that part of the Iſland be better fortified and put more men into it, by which the Enemy had got in, and made all the batteries be doubled, the approaches advanced, and all things neceſſary prepared to give another general aſſault. And becauſe a ſquadron of Horſe appeared beyond the River, which turned towards the foot of the Bridge that was thrown over on the other ſide, he ordered ſome Horſe to go out againſt them, who forc'd the Enemies Horſe to retreat, and ſlew many of them. The French Army finding by theſe proceedings, the impoſſibility of advancing with ſuccour, they fell to battery, and placed 16 peece of Cannon on the ſide juſt oppoſite againſt the City; which commanding the Iſland, play'd furiouſly upon the fortifications wherewith it was munited. The like was done from the City, not ſo much by Cannon, as by Muſket-ſhot; which being given fire unto n erer hand, hurt many of the Garriſons of the neighbouring works and Trenches. Thoſe who defended the Iſland did not onely ſhelter themſelves againſt theſe batteries, but raiſed a counter-battery, whereby they did much prejudice to ſome Regiments that were come to quarter neerer. In this interim, thoſe of the City made out a good and gallant ſally with 600 Muſketeirs, againſt a little Fort which was raiſed in the Iſland, by which (if it had been taken), great relief might have been brought into the City. And to this purpoſe Marqueſs *Villa*, who held intelligence with thoſe within the Town, was come to the River ſide, and was ready to introduce it; but neither did this attempt ſucceed, for thoſe that defended the little Fort ſtood firm, and with-ſtood the firſt aſſault, till freſh Horſe came in to their aſſiſtance, who playing upon the Enemy on the flank, forc'd them after a long and obſtinate skirmiſh to retreat, having ſlain above 50 of them, and taken eight of their Captains, whereof four dyed, and four remained Priſoners; by reaſon of this misfortune, and for becauſe the Spaniſh Horſe ſcouring the Country, kept

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back victuals, and keept the Enemies Camp from forraging, the Cardinal, and Duke of *Vallette*, who had made the battery onely to ſatisfie the preſſing deſires of the Dowagers Commanders, began to think upon giving over; they were hereunto incited by the reinforcement of 4000 *Swiſſers* which were by the Governours orders newly come unto the Camp; but they were compelled much more to abandon the enterprize ſpeedily, hearing that Cardinal *Trivultio* was come from *Millain*, with 8000 good Foot, and that he was upon his march to aſſault them in their works; ſo as growing cautious, and circumſpect, according to their cuſtom, they were reſolved not to be entrapped between the Cardinal and the Governour, who was now re-inforced with new men; they therefore removed their Artillery, and paſt back over the *Seſia*, and going round the line by long marches, they intended to fall upon the enemy on the oppoſite part of the line which was over againſt the *Pralvolo*; which reſolution, as it occaſioned great conſternation amongſt the beſieged, who thought themſelves abandoned; ſo did it much comfort the beſiegers, who were not long able to continue in that condition, by reaſon of the prejudice they received by battery, from which they could not well ſhelter themſelves by reaſon of the ſtony & gravelly earth, and more by reaſon of the thunder of Cannon, and hail of Muſket-ſhot, which abſolutely impeded their works by day, and beat down thoſe which they could make in the nights, which were now grown ſhort; and it was thought by the *Piedmonteſe*, and by the Spaniſh Commanders, that if that battery had been continued a little longer, the Town would undoubtedly have been freed, and the Victory gotten. The Lords of *Vallette*, being freed from *Trivultio*'s imminent danger, by paſſing over the *Seſia*, ſent ſome of their Horſe a little lower, to the end that being paſt over the *Seſia* at *Paleſtre*, by which way victuals were brought to the Spaniſh Camp, they might block up that Avenue. *Paleſtre* was not onely taken, but ſack'd, and great booty was gotten there; theſe Horſe quarter'd in the neighbouring Towns, thinking that by their yet further keeping the Spaniſh Camp from Victuals, it would the ſooner be forced to raiſe the Seige: they failed in this deſign, as well becauſe the Camp was already provided with as much as might ſerve them for a fortnight, (in which time the enemies horſe would have been forced to ſeek new quarters) as alſo that though the paſſage by *Paleſtre* was blocked up, that of *Novara* was open, by the enemies departure from the Abby, which was more commodious for the conveying of Victuals. There hapned many Skirmiſhes between theſe Horſes and thoſe who guarded the line on that part; and it being known that the French Army, though it was paſt over the *Seſia*, would not give over the buſineſs; but rather that being recruited by new Forces come from *France*, they would quickly return, and joyning with the Horſe at *Paleſtre*, would reſume it with more vigour; therefore the quarter by the Abby was better fortified, whither that recruit of men were ſent, who did defend the Iſland when it was in greateſt danger; nor did their proviſions ceaſe here; the Governour did greatly deſire to make uſe of this advantage of the enemies being gone, that he might the more ſafely give a general aſſault, without danger of being fallen upon by the enemy

my on the back: he therefore ordered all things with the greatest diligence that might be, to this effect, he sollicited all his men to throw galleries over the Ditch, he made the battery by Cannon be redoubled, to make breaches; and provided for all other things necessary. So as all their endeavours were to get to the walls by the shortest way, though it were not very safe doing so; and whilest they were intent hereupon they heard that the enemy would quarter the next day at *Prarold*, a Town on the right hand of the river under *Vercelli*, not above a mile distant from the line; wherefore though things were not very well in order, the Governour gave directions for a general assault to be given the next day; the Italians battery had not as yet made a sufficient breach in the Wall; and the Spaniards though they had sprung a Mine between the Bulwark *de Nobili* and that of S. *Andrea*, yet it proved ineffectual, by a strange accident; for twenty yards of the Wall which was blown up by the violence of the fire, fell down entire and whole into the same place where it stood before, and did so joyn, as there appeared not any the least gap whereby they might enter; the Dutch were onely in somewhat a better condition; for they had made themselves masters not onely of the platform, but also of a half Moon which was in the *Tenaglia* which they had gotten a little before; these three Nations going, by the Governours orders to the assault, they fought with more courage then fortune: for the Italians, who under Count *Giovanni Boromeo* coming with much courage to the breach which was made by the Cannon, and which was not yet perfected, were sorely gauled both on the Front and Flack, by four pieces of Cannon, by Musket-shot, and by stones; So as not being able so much as to get over the Ditch, which was partly full of water, and partly full of stiff Clay, they were forced to go about by the Gallery, at the Foot of the Wall, and to go round about above fifty paces, to find the breach, to which not being able to get without much prejudice) for they were every where exposed to the enemies Muskets; Don *Carlo Della Gatta* resolved to fall with his Brigade upon the Bulwark from whence the assaulters were played upon; this Bulwark was made of earth and Fagots, and was environ'd with a dry ditch; so as *Gatta* thought he might easily gain it, which if he had done, he held for certain that the impediment ceasing, the breach might be easily entred; but he was deceived: for being shot in the leg by a Musket, he was forced to retreat; and though his Serjeant Major *Fausto Battista Brancacale* got with some of the hardiest of that Brigade, beyond the middle of the Bulwark, yet they were stoutly resisted, and at last repulsed: as were they also who were gotten to the breach through so many dangers, under *Boromeo*; not did the Spaniards do what they intended; for having in vain attempted that place where the Mine had played to no purpose, and failing of their hopes by reason of the green bulwark, by which they were play'd upon on the Flank, they sent 500 Foot to take it; who having fought a long while, they sometimes thought to gain it, as they had done, notwithstanding that it was stoutly defended, had not the Governour *Dogliani*, who saw the danger, sent a body of French seasonably thither under Colonel S. *Andrea*, a stout and understanding Commander of the same nation; who though

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he fell being shot by a Musket; yet having together with the rest discharged the part of a gallant man, the Assailants were forced to retreat; nor did the assault given by the Dutch prove more effectual, who when they had gotten the plat-form and the half moon, (as hath been said) went to assault the breach which they had made: For though it was noysed that the Spaniards had scaled the walls, which made them desirous to appear no less forward then they, yet finding the Defendants very ready and resolute, it was not possible for them to advance. So as the Governour of *Millain* finding by the many disadvantages of the unseasonable assault, and by the good order and resolution of the Defendants, that it would be but loss of time to persevere in the enterprize, and that it was impossible to do more; after four hours fierce and obstinate fight, he ordered a retreat to be beaten, and that the assault should be given over, by which there was nothing got but the plat-form and half moon which the Dutch had taken, and the death of Colonel Sr. *Andrea*, which was reputed a great loss by them within the Town. But neither did the Dutch keep that long which they had gotten, for they were driven from thence within a few hours, being assaulted before they were fully fortified. And notwithstanding that they resisted stoutly, yet so furious was the assault, as (none coming to assist them) they were but hardly dealt with, and many of the chief of them were slain; amongst which, the Lieutenant of Prince *Berse*, who commanded them: The reason why no succour was sent, was, for that the Enemies Horse hearing that the assault was given came from *Purvolo*, and by falling upon the Line endeavoured to assist the assaulted City, at least by diversion, by drawing the Enemy from assaulting the City, to defend their own Camp, as they necessarily must do. The Assailants and Defendants having vied who should shew most Valour and Resolution, the Marquels of *Caracena*, with his Brigade of Spaniards, began to sink a Mine under that wall which played, and the Italians sunk another under the wall that was batter'd; and the Dutch, not being able to sit down by the affront which they had received, endeavour'd the next day to regain the works which they had lost; and going in a great body to assault them, after a long contest, they lodged in the half moons parapet, advanced to the foot of the plat-form, under which they sunk another great Mine: And when fire was ready to be given, and that they were prepared for a general assault, the Marquels of *Caracena*, as he was ready to give fire unto his Mine, and to fall to an assault, might hear a parly beaten from within the Town, wherewith he presently acquainted the Governour, who commanding that all offence should be forborne, willed him to know of the Enemie what Articles they demanded? they demanded that Hostages might be given, and then that the treaty might begin; which being granted, the Treaty lasted long; at last the difficulty was reduced to the time of surrender. The Town demanded eight dayes, and the Governour would give but two hours, and both parties being firm in their propolals and answers, it was at last agreed, that the Assailants should enter the works that were yet in the Defendants hands, beyond the ditch, at two hours before sunset next day, and that the Defendants should march out of the City at

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two of the clock the next day, and deliver up the City to the Govern our; with leave to carry away the bones of Duke *Victorio*, who wa there ſlain and buried: In performance of which agreement, the work were preſently quitted, and afterwards the City was delivered up unt Marquels of *Caracenſa*, who took poſſeſſion of it, at the end of 40 daye after the ſiege was begun. The Souldiers marched out with their Arm and Baggage, Drums beating, Bullet in mouth, Match lighted, and Co lours flying, and carried with them three peeces of Cannon, with a ſafe conduct, to convoy them (and neceſſary carriages) to St. *Ia*, as was agree upon by Articles. And they marched out, if not glorious for their gallan defence and keeping of the City, at leſt with much honour both t the Commanders and Souldiers, for the ſingular Valour which they ha ſhewed in defending the City. The Dowager was much troubled a the loſs of *Vercelli*, ſhe being thereby deprived, at the beginning of he Regency, of ſo noble and important a place, the very Bulwark an Frontier of *Piedmont*; and ſhe was not well ſatisfied with the Car dinal of *Valletta*, who being at the time of the ſurrender in *Parvolo* but two miles from *Vercelli*, if he had behaved himſelf otherwiſe thet he did, it was thought the City might have beeh preſerved; for he wa taxed commonly with coolneſs and irreſolution, in the whole carriag of this buſineſs. *Vercelli* being ſurrendred, the Spaniſh Army kept there buſying themſelves in demoliſhing the line, and in repairing the wall which were beaten down by battery. And at the ſame time the French and Piedmonteſe retreated not far off to *Coſſanza* and *Petegno*, where they tarried till the Spaniſh Army returned to the State of *Millain*; which they did not till they had furniſh'd *Vercelli* ſufficiently with Victuals and Munition, and with a very good Garriſon; At whoſe departure, the French and Piedmonteſe Army went to the parts about *Caſſalle*, where they lay loytering all that Summer. For the Governour fell ſick of a Fever which he had contracted thorough his pains-taking during the ſiege, and which made him keep his bed two moneths; ſo as he forbore troubling the Enemy, & was not troubled by them. But Don *Franciſco di Melo*, who was gone long before into *Spain*, being returned into *Italy* about the end of Summer, with the command alſo of Governour of the Forces in the State of *Millain*, went not long after the beginning of *September* into the Field with an Army; and paſſing over the *Seſia* at *La Motta*, made as if he would go to *Trino*, that he might draw the Enemy into thoſe parts; but turning ſuddenly upon *Bremi*, he paſt over the *Poe*; and ſending *Carlo della Gatta* to take *Pomaro*, he kept in *Giroli* till the buſineſs of *Pomaro* was ended: which whilſt it was prolonged by the difficulty of battery, and by the neceſſity of reiterating Mines, the Cardinal went out of *Caſſalle*, together with the General of the Horſe, to ſpy what the Enemy did; and finding that they came to meet him, he retreated to *Caſſalle*, leaving the Gene al of the Horſe in the Field, that he might ſeem to make ſome reſiſtance, between whom, and the General of the Spaniards Horſe, ſome little skirmiſhes of very ſmall moment paſt; and the Spaniards being on their way towards *Aleſſandria*, the French and Savoyards paſt over the *Poe*, and having taken *Moniemango* and *Riſtancore*, they went to *Filizzano*; where throwing a Bridge over the *Tanaro*, they tarried till to-

wards the end of *October*, daily skirmishing with the Enemy, till both of them, forced by the cold weather, and for want of Forrage, returned to their winter quarters; the Castle of *Pomaro* being first taken, which was immediately demolished: whilest affairs proceeded thus slowly in *Lombardy*, there hapned a Sea conflict, and that no small one, above *Genoa*, between fifteen French, and fifteen Spanish Gallies: those of *Spain* were conducted by Don *Roderigo di Velasco*, Captain of the Admiral of *Sicily*, whom all the rest were under; and they were full of Foot, who were to land at *Finale*, and so to go for the State of *Millain*; which being known by the French Gallies, which were come from *Provence* in equal number under their General, Count *Poncurletto*, well provided of rowers, and fighting men, and who keeping upon the Seas of *Provence* went in pursuit of the Spaniards, but with intention not to fight them till they had landed their men; it hapned that the Spaniards, for some occasion of their own, came to Anchor upon the shore of *Finale*; which when the French knew, they thought that they had landed their men there, and that therefore they might safely fight them, and take them whilst they returned empty to *Genoa*: the Spanish Admiral, who was more couragious then considerate, being aware thereof, refused not battel which he thought was presented by the Enemy, not considering how much the Kings interests were concern'd in that conflict: the French made towards the Spaniards, full of fervour, and hope; but when they were come neer, and found them well provided of men, they were somewhat astonished; yet being so near as they could not retreat, they must be content and fall to work; but one of them which shut up the left wing, for meer fear, hoysed sail before the fight began, and escaped the danger: they encountred some miles above *Genoa*, on the first of *September*, the day being fair and calm; they fought a long while with equal fortune valiantly on both sides: The Spaniards were more in number of fighting men then the French, but came short of them in number and quality of Mariners, who were all Voluntiers, and well furnished with pebble-stones, which (abandoning their Oars in the conflict) they threw in such abundance, as the Spaniards not being able to hold their Muskets in their hands, and much less govern them, they were for a while much impeded, and of no use: The French exceeded the Spaniards also in Targets, and in certain little Castles which stood on their Prows, lined some with course Canvas, some with Matresses, whereof they provided themselves well, as being come with an intention to fight; whereas the Spaniards, who came casually to fight, were unprovided of any such defences; but the French had much more the better of the Spaniards, by the shameful running away of four of the Spanish Gallies, who, the first Volley of Shot being given, withdrew themselves, and in the heat of the conflict abandoned their companions; and yet the eleven Spanish Gallies which remained fought so valiantly, though upon such disadvantage, as when the hail of stones ceased, they slew many of the French, and began to have the better of the business, had not a stratagem used by the French gotten them the victory; who began to cry out liberty, liberty; at the hearing whereof, the Spanish Gally slaves, who were partly Turks, partly people that were condemned to the Oar, or sold for a prize, mutined and began

gan to turn upon their Masters, who not being able to resist their enemies at home, and abroad, after an obstinate and fierce Fight were rather Conquered then Conquerours; and the French being but hardly dealt with, the Fight was rather parted, then given over; where in an hours space, there were slain 4000, between Souldiers, Mariners, and Gally-slaves; the French took five of the Spanish Gallies; and the Spaniards took three of the French Gallies; the French returned towards *Provence*, but with so few men of any condition whatsoever, as they could hardly rid any way, not sailing above 12 or miles a day; and set aside the greater number of Gallies that were taken by the French, and the Spanish Admiral's being taken Prisoner, who being sorely wounded died within two days, and that the French were Masters of the Field; they got nothing of advantage by the Fight; and they return'd so slowly, as they left the Admiral of *Spain* by the way, not being able to carry her along.

Not long after this conflict the young Duke of *Savoy* died, in the seventh year of his Age, on the third of *October*, 1638, within one year after his Father; whose death was the last thing that hapned that year, and made more way for what hapned afterwards. *Charles Emanuel* succeeded him, the only remaining male-issue of Duke *Victorio Amadeo*, being but four years old; wherefore the Princes succession growing the neerer (for the women, according to the Law Salick, do not succeed in *Savoy*) their pretentions increased the more; and it seemed more justifiable that they should be admitted into the Regency with their Sister in Law; that in case this their Nephew should die, there might be no occasion of contending with her for succession; but that changing the title of Guardian into that of absolute Prince, he of the two Princes who was to succeed might remain Duke without any interruption of right. These ends and intentions were corroborated by speeches that were quickly given out both in *Italy* and elsewhere, that the Child, who was of perfect health, was melancholy, and of a weak complexion, and like his Brother, not likely to live long, and that he was subject to great sicknesses; that the Dowager joyned closer with the French; and did not only willingly keep them in *Piedmont*, but brought them in; that she treated of putting Towns and Forts into their hands; and that which irritated the people more against the Dowager, and took them off from the good inclination they bare her before, was, that the King of *France* his first Son being born a little before the Duke of *Savoys* death, the Dowager was in treaty of a marriage between the young Dolphine and her eldest Daughter, with the States of *Piedmont* and *Savoy* for her portion; as if the succession did belong to her after the death of the two last Dukes, excluding her two Uncles; and for the better confirmation of this rumour, it was also said, that the Court of *France* had fallen upon the same consideration, as might be known by certain printed Papers which were publickly sold in *Paris* touching this business; and that the Dowager had put this case to her favorites, the Civilians of *Piedmont*, which was very unlikely, not to say, a fiction; for, not to say any thing of the disparity of ten years in age, which was between these two young Princes, and of the various contingencies which might disturb this match; it was more then certain, that the Dow-

ager could have no such thoughts during her Sons life; and in case he should die, her authority would be at an end, whereby it would be impossible to effect it; and yet these rumours had some impression upon the common people, who look not inwardly into things, and upon such as though they consider them and know them to be very vain, are notwithstanding born away with passion, and desire of novelty. The Princes pretences being favoured by these rumours and new accidents, began to be embraced and protected by the King of *Spains* Forces, whose Agents had been hitherto deaf to all entreaties, and far from embracing them; and the people having been found to be averse to those ends and intentions in the business of *Vercelli*, wherewith they adorned the war already made against that State, they began to believe, that if war should be made in *Piedmont* upon the score of putting the Government into the Princes hand, the business would proceed the better; and that if the Princes would appear therein themselves in person, it would excite the people to be more fervent in driving out the French, and in suppressing the Dowagers party; they therefore applied themselves to maintain the Princes pretences with their Forces, and to listen the more willingly thereunto. The Prince Cardinal, hearing of his Nephews death, was once more privately stollen from *Rome*, and was unexpectedly come to *Piedmont*; and because at that very instant the Town of *Carmagnuola* was found to favour him, and soon after the very Citadel of *Turin*, it was thought that he was come with a firm belief to be admitted into them both; in which case, taking it for granted that he should undoubtedly be favoured by the people, and back'd by the Spaniards, he was sure that the Dowager would be able to do little, and that his pretentions would be brought to a happy end; but such designs, being usually fallacious, proved to be so very much in this case; for being come within a few miles of *Carmagnuola*, he found the Treaty was discovered and prevented; so as being kept out from thence he turned towards *Cheri*, as a fitting place whereby to get into the Citadel of *Turin*: being come to *Cheri* he found there, that the Treaty of the Citadel was also discovered and prevented. The Dowager was not a little moved, when at the unexpected coming of the Prince she found so important Treaties discovered; and much more when she saw the Spanish Forces were advanced to the Confines of *Alba* and *Asti*; yet not at all dismaid, she failed neither in Courage nor Counsel; but drawing the Piedmontese Garrison presently out of the Garrison of the Citadel, she put thereinto a Regiment of Lorreiners, commanded by the Signeior *di San' Martino*, a Gentleman well vers'd in Arms, and an ancient servant of the Court of *Turin*, who had been often imploy'd by Duke *Victorio* in the Government of *Vercelli*, and of other chief Towns; and she secured the former Governour, and the other complices of the treaty; she got the Cardinal *della Valetta*, to convey them to *Sommarina del Bosco*; she doubled the Guards of the City, and those of the Dukes Palace, and put all the Souldiers in Arms; which being done, she dispatched away Count *Gabaleone*, who was Commissary General of her Foot, to the Cardinal with Letters, and with a Company of her Guard; who coming into *Cheri*, and making himself master of one Gate, went to the Prince Cardinal; and giving him the Dowagers Letter,

Letter, he told him how much her royal Highneſs wondered at his Highneſs coming in that manner to *Piedmont*; he acquainted him with her jealouſie, by reaſon of the circumſtances which preceded, and accompanied his coming, and with what had been then diſcovered; and finally, he let him know how unſafe it would be for him to tarry there, in reſpect of the French Forces threatning him with ſo imminent danger; he told him that, notwithſtanding, he was very loth that any thing of bad ſhould befal him; to witneſs the which, he offer'd him her Royal Highneſs Guard to wait upon him to ſome place of ſafety. To all this the Inhabitants of *Cheri*'s intreaties were added; who fearing to be proceeded with ſeverely, if they ſhould be thought to receive the Prince, deſired him that he would not be cauſe of ſo much miſchief to them by his tarrying there; wherefore the Prince finding that his intelligences did no good, that the Dowager was fortified and well provided upon all occaſions, himſelf unarmed, being accompanied onely by two Gentlemen, a Secretary, and three Foot-men, he thought fit to give way unto the times, and to wait a better occaſion; wherefore ſtaying but one night in *Cheri*, he departed thence the next morning, and went towards *Annone*; being ſtill followed at a diſtance by the Dowagers Guard, conducted by *Gabaleone*; but with ſuch reſpect, as he ſeemed rather to be honourably attended by them to the confines of the State, then compel'd to go out; he tarried in the State of *Millain*, expecting the Prince his Brother, who was to come thither ſhortly from *Flanders*; and being diſpleaſed he writ back to the Dowager, that under vain pretences, and contrary to all Laws both Divine and Humane, he was baniſh'd from his Paternal Country which God and Nature had given him; and complaining of the imputations wherewith he was charged, that he held intelligence in the Towns of *Piedmont*, and of his being threatned with the French Army, he added, that as the ſmall company which he brought with him into *Piedmont* did fully demonſtrate the vanity of the imputations which were laid unto him; ſo it ſhewed how little he feared the French Forces, building upon the peoples love and favour, againſt any attempt of the French; he, finally, deſired her not to credit ſuch imputations, and not to ſhew any reſentment upon thoſe who were maliciouſly blamed to have held treaties with him; but this his interceſſion prevailed not; for being found guilty, they were by the Senate condemn'd to be put to death; proceſs was made againſt the Governour, who was kept priſoner in *Turin*, till ſuch time as he was ſet at liberty by the Princes when they took *Turin*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter; and he died afterwards of a natural death, whilſt he took up Arms in the Princes behalf, whoſe quarrel he embraced as ſoon as he was at liberty. The Princes forbore not, for all this, to purſue their pretences; and being deſirous that their juſtification might precede their taking up Arms, they made uſe of the anger which the houſe of *Auſtria* had conceived againſt the Dowager, for her having renewed the League, and for her having joyn'd in Arms with the King of *France*; and by the favour of the Court of *Spain*, which had embraced their cauſe, they obtained a Monitory Decree, directed to the Dowager from the Emperour, as from the Sovereign Lord of *Savoy*; wherein ſhe was fairly exhorted, to forego the League which ſhe had renewed with *France*, and

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to appear before the Cesarean Tribunal, to justifie the Guardianship of her Son, and the Regency of the State which she had taken upon her. The Senate, and Nobility and people of *Piedmont*, were also ordered by the same Decree, to perswade the Dowager that *Cesars* Orders might be duly executed; but all this would not do, the Dowager would not admit of such Decrees or Citations; pretending them to be novelties, and attempts upon the Sovereignty of the Piedmontese Principality; no Emperour having ever formerly interessed himself in Guardianships.

This mean while Prince *Thomaso*, about the end of *February*, in the year 1639, came from *Flanders* to the State of *Millain*, to prosecute his and his Brothers pretentions; whither as soon as he was come, they agreed upon the manner and way of making war upon *Piedmont*. The whole business was by the Emperour refer'd to Don *Francisco di Melo*, the King of *Spains* Plenipotentiary to the Princes of *Italy*, with whom, after many discourses, it was concluded; that war should be made, to possess the Princes of *Savoy* in the Guardianship of their Nephew, and in the Regency of the State; and amongst other things it was agreed, that the King of *Spain* should assist them herein, and should work with the Emperour, to declare them to be their Nephews Guardians and Regents of the State, to the exclusion of the Dowager; that the Towns wherein the Princes should be received by the peoples free will should have Garrisons put into them by the Princes; and that those which should be taken by Force of Arms should have Garrisons put into them by the Governour of *Millain*: he being bound to restore them to whom they should be decreed by the general Peace; and that howsoever the Politick Government of Justice, and the Revenues, should belong unto the Princes, as Governours of the State: but the Governour, who was to make the war, refused to subscribe these Capitulations; for he said, he was ordered by the King of *Spain*, to make the War of *Piedmont* upon his Majesties account; wherefore he could not alter the title without new Orders: but he assured the Princes, that he would connive at, and underhand allow them whatsoever was contained in the Capitulation. The Princes might clearly see by this, that the Spanish Agents were not to fight upon their interests, but upon those of the King of *Spain*, and that they were to make use of the favour and assistance which the Princes had with the people, for the more happy progress of the Kings Forces in *Piedmont*; and they might have known it better by the very substance of the Agreement, though the Governour should have subscribed it: but the necessity which the Princes were brought into made them care the less for future danger, so they might escape the present; or were it that they did assuredly hope, that all the Towns, even those wherein the strongest Garrisons were, the Garrisons and Governours being Piedmontese, would willingly receive them, when they should appear with convenient Forces; for they were so confident of the peoples favour, as they thought it would be always in their power to dispose of them as they listed; wherefore being desirous to forward the business, they thought good to give way to what the Spaniards desired. The Governour making use of the pretence of putting the Princes into the Government of the State, did not

not only think to drive the French out of *Piedmont*, but to make himself master of the chief Towns of that Principality; and so to make the Princes, and all *Piedmont*, depend upon the King. Things being thus established, the Princes plainly let the Dowager know their intention; which was, to come to *Turin*, to keep there, to serve her, to take order for their own and for the common affairs, to defend the Vassals, to free the State from the imminent danger of Forreign Forces, and to preserve it for the Duke; to whose Guardianship, as also to the Government of the State, they were chosen and deputed by the Emperour, even to the exclusion of her the Dowager; and yet they added, that they would be contented to take her in, for a third, in the Guardianship and Regency; declaring finally, that nothing less would content them, and that they were resolved to do their utmost, and to lose their lives, rather then not compass this that was so justly due unto them. The Dowager, who neither in respect of the King of *France* his authority, nor for her tie of confederacy, could not only not receive the Princes who adhered to the Spaniards, in part, nor in whole, into the Guardianship or Regency, but neither suffer them to tarry in *Piedmont*, thought this answer to be an intimation of War; but was not thereat any whit abash'd, but gave order that Proclamations should presently be made throughout the State, that the people should take up Arms for the defence of their Lord the Duke, whose preservation was concern'd in this War; and for the defence of their Country, which was shortly to be assaulted by Spanish Forces, led on by the Princes; she hoped by this means to prevent their intentions; but she failed therein; for the people (as the sequel will demonstrate) were much devoted to their natural Princes; and more inclined to be govern'd by them then by the Dowager, who was not now so well beloved by the people as she was before this innovation, by reason of her so great dependency upon the King of *France*, by her entring the League, and by her removing of the Garrisons and Governours of the Citadels. On the contrary, the people did much compassionate the Princes, by reason of the hard condition wherein they were, being banish'd their Country, deprived of their Revenues, and kept, as if they were publick enemies, from the administration of those State Affairs wherein they were so much concern'd. The Dukes unhealthfulness (as it was given out) and the small hopes of his life, did much work upon the peoples affection, on their behalfs; as on those whom they expected should quickly succeed in the Principality; and the rising Sun having already found many worshippers, the generality of the people thought they had but small reason to place any hopes in the Dowager, and were more inclined to the Government of the rising Princes, then to that of hers, which for the aforesaid reasons they thought would be quickly at an end: they also doubted that very much which the Princes themselves gave out, that in case the young Duke should fail, the Dowager had resolved to make her Daughter Queen of *France*, giving her the States of *Piedmont* and *Savoy* for her Dowry, to the irreparable prejudice not only of the succession of the Princes, but also to the peoples liberty, wherein when the Ducal house should be debar'd succession, they ran manifest danger to be subjected to the French yoke, and be made slaves thereunto;

unto; wherefore thinking themselves more concern'd to adhere unto the Princes then to the Dowager, they forsook her interest, and past violently over to the Princes party; and yet many others confiding in the Dukes health, and in the Dowagers authority, adhered constantly to her: the people of *Piedmont* were therefore no less confused, and differ'd no less in opinion, then were the Dowager and the Princes; between whom no composition being to be made, War must necessarily ensue. The Governour of *Millain* did, of all other things, chiefly design to end a petty business; which though it was but a small one, was of no small consequence; which was, to take *Cengio*, a little Castle in the *Langhe*, seated on the back of *Savona*, but strong, & fitly situated, not only for the predomination of the *Langhe*, but for the passage of Souldiers, who landing at *Finale* go into the State of *Millain*; and of those who upon occasion were to be sent from the State of *Millain* to *Finale*, in relief of that Marquisate, if it should be assaulted by the French Fleet, as it was then doubted it would be: the Governour thought also that the Princes would be much helped by this to enter *Piedmont*, assisted by the King of Spains Forces: for this Castle was very necessary to *Piedmont*, for the keeping of the *Langhe*, which the Duke of *Savoy* did formerly affect; wherefore both the Governour and the Princes thought assuredly, that the Dowager, who would be forced to succour this place with all her forces, would be necessitated to draw out the Garrisons from out the more inward parts of the State, and would leave them undefended, and open, to be assaulted by the Princes; Don *Antonio Sotelo*, was therefore sent with some Brigades to clear the ways which led to that Castle, and to keep it from having new Garrisons put into it; and after him went Don *Martino d'Aragona*, who was intended to be the chief Governour of this enterprise, with a good body of men; who at his first coming there, as he was spying out the fittest places to plant his Artillery, was shot in the head by a Musket, whereof he immediately died; in whose place *Sotelo* was chosen by the rest of the Captains, who fell all of them very busily to effect this business; but the Dowager, and Cardinal *Ballotta* hearing thereof, were not slow in providing to prevent it: The Cardinal marched with his French from *Cassalle*, and Marquess *Villa* from *Turin* with almost all the Dowagers Forces, and joyning together, they came within sight of the Trenches which the Enemy had made; who kept themselves patiently therein, suffering the Bravadoes which were often made by the others; but when the Enemy seemed to be weary, and tyred, they came unexpectedly with much fury, out of their Trenches, and after a long Fight routed the assailers, killing about 600 of them; and having pursued them a while, they retreated; and those of the Castle seeing no more succour appear, and finding the batteries already all in order, and that the Enemy were prepared to give an assault, they surrendred the Castle, at the same time that the Governour sent to take *Cengio*. Prince *Thomas* went from *Vercelli* with 2000 Dragoons, about Sun-set, and having marched all night, appeared about break of day before *Chivasso*, a great Town upon the left side of the *Po*, twelve miles from *Turin*, he sent Count *Serravalle* before with eight Horse, under pretence of carrying Letters to the Governour of that place, kept there,

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till the Prince, who came after him with the Dragoons, became easily Master thereof; there was then no Garrison in this Town; the gates were guarded onely by some few Towns men: for though it was a place of great consequence, yet being far from the confines of the State, and almost within the bosom of *Piedmont*, it was not judged to need a Garrison, the rather for that some squadrons of Horse were placed to guard the banks of the *Dora Baltea*, which were thought sufficient to guard all the places seated within that river: but the Prince past a little below them, so they were no hindrance to him; but passing successfully on, he made himself Master of the Town; at which unexpected accident the Inhabitants were much troubled; but when they heard [live Prince *Thomaso*, cried,] they past from a great fear wherewith they were posses'd to great joy and gladness: and flock'd unto him with much applause; and were the first of the *Piedmontese* who rendred him ready obedience as Guardian of the young Duke: the Inhabitants of *Chivazzo* were not they alone who seemed to rejoyce at this happy success, but even those of *Turin* did the like: wherefore it was the common opinion, that if the Prince had presently marched thither, he might likely enough have been received there with the same acclamation and applause, and acknowledged for Gardian of the Duke, and Governour of the State; the rather for that that City was wholly unprovided of Souldiers, they being all gone to succour *Cengio*; the Dowager therefore apprehending danger sent in great haste for the Cardinal, and Count *Villa*, from the *Langhe*, to provide for the hazardous condition of *Turin*, which was much the occasion of the loss of *Cengio*; for the relievers hearing of the Dowagers from *Turin*, went with all speed thither, and quitted the relieving of that Castle; the Dowager when she heard of what had happned at *Chivazzo*, sent the young Duke, and his sisters, from *Piedmont* into *Savoy*, as into a place of safety; whereat the *Piedmontese* were much distasted. Marquess *Villa*'s wife, who had formerly been the Dukes Governess, went along with his person: and her children went along with her, as play fellows to the young Duke, and his sisters, or as others would have it, as hostages for their fathers Loyalty: *Chieri* being taken, the Prince, no occasion being known why, went not to *Turin*, but towards the City of *Ivrea*, which presently yielded; and the Prince Cardinal joyning with him, they went together to *Biela*, where they were likewise very readily received, then turning towards the Valley of *Aosta*, they found the people there also very ready to render them obedience, wherein the Baron of *Castiglione* had a great hand; though the Marquess *di Broz*, who was Governour of that Valley, and very faithful to the Dowager, endeavoured the Contrary; for which he was imprisoned by the Princes; thus were they possest of that Valley, and in a very short time reduced likewise the whole Countrey of *Biela*, and of *Canevese*, to their devotion; the Prince Cardinal tarried to carry on the acquisition of *Piedmont*, whilest Prince *Thomaso* went to joyn with the Governour of *Millain*, who marching with his Army out of *Vercelli*, was also entred *Piedmont*; and leaving *Santia* and *Fortezuola* behind him, he marched towards *Crescentino*, and by the way met the Prince, who was come from *Chavezzo* to meet him: they a-

greed joyntly to fall at one & the same time upon *Crescentine* & *Verrua*; wherefore Don *John di Garral* being returned victorious from *Cengio*, was ordered by the Governour, not to pass the *Poe*, but to assault *Verrua*, at the same time that they should sit down before *Crescentino*. *Verrua* was assaulted by *Garral*, and taken; and soon after the Castle was surrendred by the Governour thereof, who presently past over from the Dowagers party, and sided with the Princes: and the business of *Crescentino* succeeded as happily on the other side of *Poe*, where there was not above 800 Foot in Garison: some assaults were given, & the best resistance was made that could be: but when they saw the Artillery ready to play upon the Walls, they surrendred: the Walls were immediately thrown down by order from the Governour, to avoid the lessening of their forces, which must needs have been occasioned by frequent Garisons: they resolved afterwards to go to before *Turin*; and therefore the Governour being past the *Poe*, and joyned with the body of the Army, they marched towards it, verily believing that the Dowager would not stay to be shut up in the City, and that they should be the more easily received by the Citizens, she being gone; and that the Cardinal of *Vallette*, and the Dowagers Generalls, *Villa* and *Pianezza*, would not continue to defend the City which was ready to mutiny, against so gallant an Army: but they found the contrary; for the Dowager, not at all dismaid at what had happned; and knowing how necessary her presence would be to the preservation of that City, which was the Metropolis of the State; and that it was onely her presence that kept the City from revolting, resolved to tarry there; the Cardinal of *Vallette*, and Marquess *Villa*, were already come thither with their Forces from *Cengio*; and though they heard that *Verrua* and *Crescentino* were besieged, yet they went not to relieve them; thinking it necessary for them to preserve their men to defend the Capital City, which they thought would ere long be assaulted by the Enemy; but hearing that the Princes advanced with the Spanish Army towards the City, they sent some French companies out against them; between whom and the Spanish Army there passed some fleght Skirmishes: the Army marched towards *Rivoli*, *Collegno*, *Grassino*, *Rivalta*, and other neighbouring Towns; partly, to know the situation of the City; partly, to give time for the ripening of some intelligence which the Princes held in the City: & also to observe whether the Citizens were better inclined to the Princes, or the Dowager: perswading themselves that the abode of the Army wherein the Princes were, there alone, would move the people to insurrection: to move them whereunto the Princes writ to the Chief Gentlemen, Ministers, and Magistrates of the City, declaring that they would receive the Guardianship of the Duke, and Regency of the State, from their hands, acquainting them with their pretentions, and objecting many things, whereby to make the Dowagers power and authority invalid. But nothing could perswade the City to favour them: for the Dowager had made extraordinary provision to curb such Citizens as were likelier to mutiny; she placed *Corps de Guard* in many parts, set forth severe Proclamations against any one who should but offer to stir, she sent many of those who were most suspected out of the

Town, and impriſoned ſome: The Artillery of the Citadel was alſo turn'd upon the City; and ſhe her ſelf coming out amongſt the people, with an undaunted and manlike Courage, did in her own perſon animate ſome with the ſuavity of her ſpeeches, and terrifie others with her bitter threats. So as the Prince, contrary to his expectation, finding ſuch quiet in the City, reſolved to draw neerer the walls, and to ſtreighten the Town; hoping that want of things neceſſary would ſooner make it yield then force: He did draw neer the City, though he was ſhot at from the walls, and though many Companies both of Horſe and Foot ſallyed out of the City, which he eaſily drove back, and made himſelf maſter of the Bridge, and Covent of the Capuchins. So as the Horſe paſſing over the *Poe*, by meaps of the bridge, came to the new Gate, from whence ſome Troops of French Horſe came out againſt them, who were alſo forced to retreat into the City; where the Citizens ſeeming very unwilling to take up Arms againſt the Princes, there was no confuſion wanting. And the Dowager being to provide againſt inconveniences both within and without, would not have been void of thoughts, if Affairs had continued long in that condition; eſpecially ſince Prince *Thomaſo* was already drawn neer the walls, and was maſter of the field, and endeavour'd to ſuccour himſelf by Trenches, and by his approaches to come to grapling; having environed the Suburbs with Trenches, he ſent a Troop of Horſe toward *la Porte della Dora*, to drive away ſome ſquadrons of French Horſe which were there to guard it, but they could not do it, for they were kept back and forc'd to retreat by the Artillery of the *Porta Palazzo*. The Prince Cardinall came at this time to the Camp, who went to quarter with his Brother and the Governour in the *Vallentino*, a Palace of pleaſure, within 400 paces of the City, upon the left ſide of the *Poe*, a little above the Capuchins bridge, part of the Army quarter'd about this Palace, and part quarter'd in the Suburbs between the *Poe* and the City. They then planted two batteries; one at the *Caſtra Varde*, againſt the *Porta Nova*, and the other at *Albergo*, from whence they they began to play upon the City. But this was of more terrour then prejudice to the people, whom the Aſſailants did not deſire to harm very much, but to keep them well inclined to the Princes party. Whilſt things were carried on thus, before and about the City, the Princes and Governour found that the Defendents minded only the ſafety of the City, for the preſervation whereof they had abandoned all our places, and being neither willing, nor able to lie long idle there, waſting time more in expectation of popular commotions, then in being intent upon taking the City by force; they reſolved to ſend Count *Gabrio Serbelloni* with 600 Horſe, and 600 Foot to take *Pontestura*, who having eaſily maſtered the Town, ſat down before the Caſtle, whither the French Garriſon, who at the firſt appearance of the Enemy had abandoned the Town, had retreated. And when the Governour of *Millain* found that a great body of men were ſent from *Caſſalle* to relieve it, he ſent Don *Luigi Ponce* after *Trotti*, with a good number of Souldiers, who coming to *Pontestura*, juſt when *Trotti* being gone to encounter the ſuccour which came from *Caſſalle*, had repuls'd them, began to purſue them, which he did to underneath the Walls of *Caſſalle*; and in that interim,

the Caſtle ſeeing the relief repuls'd, yielded; from whence ſix hundred French march'd out in good order, and went to *Caſſalle*: Some Treaties of agreement were had, whilſt the Camp lay before *Turin*; for though the Dowager were aſſured by her Captains and Officers that ſhe could run no danger, there being a competent number of Souldiers in the City able to defend it, and by reaſon of the ſecure and ready refuge which they had to the Citadel; as alſo of the ſuccours which they might confidently preſume would ſpeedily be ſent from *France*; yet, were it either that ſhe might divide the Princes from the Governour of *Millain*, or that ſhe might allay the fervour of Arms by Treaty; ſhe liſtned to the propoſitions of agreement which were propounded by *Monſignore Caffarelli*, the Popes Nuncio then Reſident with her, in the Popes name, and they were theſe. That the Princes ſhould acknowledge her to be Guardianeſs and Regent; So as they might have ſome Towns allowed them for ſecurity of their perſons, and that each of them ſhould Governour of ſome Province; into which Towns or Provinces no Forreigners might be introduced, as neither into any other part of the State. And that there ſhould no account be made of the League made with *France*; nor that any of the parties ſhould hereafter enter into League with any Forreign Prince or Potentate, without reciprocall agreement.

Theſe Propoſals tended, as all men might clearly ſee, to take off the Dowager from adhering to the French, to the end that being deprived of ſo great a ſtay, the Princes Authority by the favour of the people might be greater then the Dowager did now allow it to be. The Dowager was aware of this, who anſwered, that they ſhould have Towns, and Governments, and all reaſonable advantages allowed them, if being reconciled to the King of *France*, who ſhe aſſured them ſhould very willingly receive them into favour, they would order things ſo as ſhe might have no occaſion to fear the Spaniſh Forces. Theſe Propoſals being diametrically oppoſite came to no concluſion; for the Princes perceived, that as they had endeavoured to ſeparate the Dowager from the King of *France*, that ſhe might be ſubject to their authority; ſo ſhe, by her anſwer, ſhewing that ſhe underſtood their ends, did endeavour to ſeparate them from the Crown of *Spain*, ſo to reduce them under her Authority, which was maintain'd by the French Forces; ſo as not being able to agree, and the Princes and Governour of *Millain* finding at laſt, that by reaſon of the good order taken by the Dowager the City made no commotion, and that they were there without will, or wherewithal to force it, they after having ſtayed there eight days, reſolved to be gone, and to go againſt ſuch Towns of the State as were neither well provided, nor could eaſily be ſuccour'd: The Prince Cardinal departed firſt, and went down the *Poe* to *Chivaſſo*, and from thence to *Ivorea*; and the Governour of *Millain* leaving eight Brigades of Foot, the Neapolitan Horſe, the Dutch Curaſſiers, and Dragoons, and four pieces of Artillery with Prince *Thomaſo* under *Carlo della Gatta*, paſs'd with the reſt of his Army over the *Poe* at the *Capuchins* bridge, and went to *Pontestura*; and Prince *Thomaſo* with the men that were left him went by the bridge of *Montcalleri*, ſtrait towards *Villa nova*; whither being come about break of day with a thouſand Horſe *en croupe*,

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he at the very first took a half Moon; and seeing the Sun was gotten well up, wherefore he could not purtue his intended surprisal, he pas'd that day in articling with Count *Carlo Cacherano* Governour of the Town, wherein he strove to perswade the Count that he intended only to keep the State for the Duke unprejudiced by the French Forces: But the Governour being firm, and not consenting to any thing he could say, the Prince ordered an assault to be given the next day two hours before day-break; which was done unexpectedly, but with such rigour, as though the Garrison, which were Piedmontese, and some French, made stout resistance, yet the Prince took the Town, and made the Governour and Garrison Prisoners: The Town was sack'd; only the Churches and what was carried thither was preserved: The booty was great; for the Town was great, rich, and well provided of all things; and the Towns-men, not thinking to be so used, did not much minde carrying their Goods into the Churches. The Prince leaving a Garrison there of 1500 Foot and 3 Troops of Horse, under Don *Michele Pignarello*, who was Camp master, went with the rest of his men to joyn with the Governour, who was gone to *Montcalvo*; whither being come both at the same time, and *John di Garray* coming thither the next day, the Town was taken upon surrender, the Captain retiring to the Castle, where he intended to make what resistance was possible to be made; the which he valiantly did; insomuch as the Governour of *Millain* seeing how obstinate defence was made, and being sollicited by the Prince to greater Enterprizes, he left Don *Luigi Ponse* with 2000 Foot, and Marques *Caracena* with 500 Horse, to continue the Siege; and taking the rest of his men along with him, he went, together with the Prince, to before *Asti*. The Commendator *Balbiano* was Governour of the Town, who being placed there by the Dowager appeared to endeavour her service very much, but was so careless therein, as he was suspected to hold secret intelligence either with the Spaniards, whom he had served in the Wars of *Flanders*, or with the Prince, whom when the Town was surrendred he served; for a Regiment of Piedmontese, which was of the Garrison of the City, being revolted over to the Prince, and the Citizens being either terrified with the sacking of *Villanova*, or by the revolting of the Garrison, or being given to favour the Princes, they declared openly that they would not bear Arms against them; so as the Governour not resisting so great a commotion retreated with the other Garrisons into the Citadel, and left the City to do what it listed; and the Citizens sent the Keys immediately to the Prince, who was not well entred the City when the Castle was also surrendred. It fared otherwise with the Siege of *Montcalvo*, which held out against Batteries, Mines, and Assaults, before it yielded; but when the Captain, who was a Frenchman, was slain, the Souldiers yielded up the Town after eleven days stout Siege.

This fortunate success encouraged the Prince and the Governour of *Millain* to undertake the Enterprise of *Trino*; but the Captains of the Army were against it, fearing the success, by reason that it was so strongly munited as it was thought impregnable: It was seated in a soil wherein was great store of water, and little less then Marish; it was extraordinarily well munited

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and fortified by Duke *Charles Emanuel* (who understood Fortification very well) when he took it in the second War against *Casale*; it was walled about double, and doubly ditch'd; the first and most inward wall was very high, and strengthned by twenty great Towers, upon which 20 pieces of Artillery were placed; the second circuit was a very large and high Platform, whereupon were eleven half moons; and this did not only keep the inward Wall unprejudiced by battery, but kept it from being seen by the Enemy: Between these two circuits there was a large deep ditch, and beyond the outermost another ditch as large and deep; Count *Rovero* was Governour thereof; but Monsieur *Merolet* was Captain of the Garrison, one of the most ancientest French Colonels which had served the Dukes of *Savoy*, and therefore of great esteem amongst the Piedmontese. All the Council of War, hoping for little good by this, did dissuade from it; but the Prince and Governour of *Millain*, who were much encouraged by their late fortunes, feared not being forsaken thereby in this enterprise. The Dowager doubted that, *Asti* being taken, the Enemies Army would come either upon St. *Ia*, or *Trino*, both which were unfurnished of Garrisons; she therefore committed the charge of them to Marquess *Villa*, who went immediately away from *Turin* with 800 Foot, and 1000 select Horse, intending to distribute the Foot in those two Towns: As he came neer St. *Ia* he understood that Don *Ferrante della Monti* waited for him upon the way, who was sent into those parts by the Governour of *Millain* with about 500 Dragoons, to keep out any relief that might be brought into *Trino*. The Marquess hasted his march, desiring to encounter Don *Ferrante*; but he failed of his desire; for he was retreated towards *le Vertole*, neer to *Crescentino*; so as the Marquess coming without any opposition to St. *Ia*, he left the 800 Foot there, and two Troops of Horse, leaving order with the Governour of the Town that he should keep half the Foot for his own defence, and should send the other half of the Foot, and the two Troops of Horse that very night to *Trino*; and he himself went presently towards *Livorno*, and *Bianca*, that he might finde out Don *Ferrante*; but missing him, he pass'd over the *Dora*, and came back to *Turin*. The Foot and Horse were kept two days in St. *Ia*, before they went to *Trino*; wherefore Don *Ferrante*, who had heard that *Villa* with his Horse was pass'd over the *Dora*, made towards the Foot and Horse that were going to *Trino*, and meeting with them in the Forest of *Lucidio*, assaulted them, slew many of them, took many prisoners, and wounded many; and those Horse which could escape got into thick Woods; and those few that escaped death got into *Trino*.

This happy success being heard in the Camp just as they were consulting upon going to *Trino*, made them resolve upon the Enterprise; for the haste of sending these supplies did clearly shew, that the Town wanted Defendants, as indeed it did; for the danger of *Turin* had drawn the flower of all the Garrisons of those parts to defend that Capital City: And the Prince and Governour of *Millain*, taking this present victory as an earnest penny of happy success in this so great Enterprise, thought themselves the more obliged not to refuse the invitation which fortune made them; going therefore from *Asti*, and passing

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the *Po* at *Fontestura*, they marched to *Trino*, which they resolved to assault on four sides; they took up four chief quarters; two of Spaniards, in one whereof lodged Don *Antonio Saitelo*, Don *Luigi di Lincastro*, and the Marquess of *Tavera*; in the other the Marquess of *Caracena* and Don *Luigi Ponce*; in the third, which was the Italians, were quartered Marquess *Serra*, and the Counts of *Bolognini* and *Borromeo*; in the fourth were the Dutch quartered, under Prince *Borgo* and Colonel *Lener*; and 14 pieces of Cannon being disposed in convenient places for battery, they began to play hotly upon the Town, and at the same time to make their approaches, and by the diligence of the Pyoneers the approaches were already brought to the brink of the ditch, over the which they threw two Bridges; and the Neapolitans, under Marquess *Serra*, had already taken a Mill that was very convenient for the assault, which was much desired to be given both by the Commanders and Souldiers; at this time Colonel *Fortunstre* came to the Camp with 1000 Foot; and Don *Michele Pignatelli* with a Neapolitan Brigade; so as being encouraged by these retruits, though all things were not yet ready to give assault, yet as if good fortune had govern'd all things, contrary to all Military reason, assault was ordered to be given, which they thought it was the more necessary to do, for that they heard that Marquess *Villa*, and the Cardinal of *Vallette*, muster'd men every where, wherewith they intended to relieve the Town: all the Camp-masters and Colonels, which were twelve, had places appointed them, where they were to fall on. The Prince, the Governour of *Milan*, Don *Fabio di Garret*, and *Carlo della Gatta*, assisted in the ordering of Affairs; and the defendants apprehended by these preparations that assault would quickly be given; and therefore endeavoured to fire the Bridges which were thrown over the ditches, and the other Works which did facilitate the assault; they persisted in a resolution to defend themselves, grounding their resolutions not so much upon the largeness and deepness of their ditches, and the marishness of the ground by which the enemy must pass to give the assault, as in the number of their Artillery: and yet all the assailants, as if they had been assured of Victory, not considering these difficulties, went all of them to assault the several places allotted them; and this they did with such brave courage, as having overcome the Ditches and other Fortifications of the first circuit, it was not hard for them to enter the City by the second; for all the people being imploy'd in defending the outward Fortifications, where the chief resistance was intended to be made, the inward Walls wanted defendants; so as the former being gotten where the most defence was made, it was easie to enter by the other, where there were but few defendants; and therefore whilst Marquess *Serra* and Don *Michele di Pignatelli*, who were to fall upon two Half-moons which fenced the Circuit, and which were better fortified, and harder to be taken then the other Works, whilst I say, they were intent upon what they had to do, the Marquess of *Caracena*, first, and Don *Antonio Saitelo*, Don *Lewis di Lincastro*, and Count *Borromeo*, who had on the opposite part overcome the outward circuit, entred the City, and being entred assaulted those on the back, who constantly and manfully opposing *Serra* and *Pignatelli*, manfully persever'd in

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defence of the place; the defendants nor aſſailants in theſe parts, not knowing yet that the Town was taken, and that the buſineſs was done; the City was ſack'd and the booty was great, for many had brought the beſt things they had thither, as to a place of ſafety, from the Towns of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, and many were taken priſoners; amongſt which *Rovere*, the Governour of the Town, and Colonel *Meroles*, who yielded themſelves upon diſcretion, when they ſaw the defence grew deſperate; and ſo confident was *Meroles*, as being tempted before the aſſault was given, by the Prince, to ſurrender the Town, he would not hearken to it, but made the Artillery be diſcharged upon the Meſſengers; nor were the Citizens leſs confident, who fearing nothing leſs then to be taken, did not carry their things of beſt value into the Churches, where they might have been preſerved from the fury of the Souldiers; who though they ſpared nothing, were very obſervant of the Churches; and bare great reſpect to what was thither brought, and towards thoſe who had refuge to them; the paucity of the beſiegers death made the buſineſs much more glorious, who were not in all 300, amongſt which only two Spaniſh Captains; the juſtification of their cauſe, in civil affairs, added much to the Princes good ſucceſs in what was Military; the Dowager being cited, as hath been ſaid, to appear before *Ceſars* Tribunal, did never appear, no not ſo much as by her Proctors; wherefore the Emperour, by publick Decree, named the Princes to be the lawful Guardians of the young Duke, and Adminiſtrators of the States, excluding the Dowager by name; which Declaration, as it encouraged the Princes to continue the War, ſo made it the people adhere the more unto them: this Edict of the Emperours being publiſh'd by the Princes throughout all *Piedmont*, they in the firſt place declared all that had been done by the Dowager as Guardianeſs or Regent to be void and null; namely the League made with the King of *France*; they commanded all the Magiſtrates and Officers not to render her any longer obedience; and that they ſhould appear at *Aſti*, to receive from them the confirmation of the Offices and Charges confirm'd upon them by the Dowager: they commanded the people not to pay her any thing that was due to the Dukes Exchequer; and the Senate, Counſellors of State, and Magiſtrates, that they ſhould make no Confederate meetings, upon pain of loſing their places, and other arbitrary puniſhments; all theſe things being added to the ſo ſudden loſs of ſo many principal places in *Piedmont*; whereinto Spaniſh Garriſons were put by the Princes permiſſion, made the King of *France* not only endeavour to reſtore them to their former condition, but under this pretence to deſire the Dowager, that as the Princes had put all the places which they had won into the hands of the Spaniards; ſo ſhe would be pleaſed to put thoſe that yet remained in her poſſeſſion, into his hands; wherefore that ſhe might not diſtaſte the King, upon whoſe Forces ſhe wholly did depend; and for that ſhe did believe that by putting them into the hands of the French, ſhe might preſerve them from the Spaniards, the Dowager condeſcended to the Kings demands; and gave way that *Chereſco*, *Savigliano* and *Carmagnola*, ſhould have French Garriſons put into them, upon condition that the Revenues, Juſtice and Sovereignty of them ſhould belong unto the Duke, and that

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the Towns ſhould be reſtored without any pretence to be made by the King, for any expence he ſhould be at by keeping the Garriſons there, and that the like ſhould be done with thoſe that ſhould be recovered from the Spaniards, which ſhould be reſtored immediately after their recovery to the Duke, without any defalcation to be made for the expence of their recovery; and it was, moreover, covenanted that no peace nor ſuſpenſion of Arms ſhould be made in *Italy* for above one year, wherein the Duke ſhould not be reſtored to all Towns taken by the Spaniards, or held by the French. The Dowager before theſe conditions were agreed upon, and before the Towns ſhould be aſſigned over, would acquaint the Princes with them, informing them how much the Duke was prejudiced by bringing the Spaniards into his Towns, and exhorting them to a good agreement, whereby all theſe evils might be rooted out; and ſhe offer'd them all fair dealing, with preſervation to hers and her Sons dignity and ſafety; but ſhe received no other anſwer to all this, but the ſame which had been made unto her at *Valentino*. The Spaniſh Army went from *Trino* to St. *Ia*; where the Captain of the Town not awhit diſmaid by the good fortune which the Princes Forces had had, nor terrified at what had befallen *Trino*, refuſed to accept of honourable propoſals made by the Princes; and ſhew'd great readineſs and reſolution to defend the Town, though he ſaw himſelf every way begirt by Spaniſh Garriſons, and quite cut off from that part of *Piedmont* which held out for the Dowager; therefore the Governour of *Millain* went with part of his men to *Livorno*, and from thence to *Pontestura*, where he fell to fortifie that place, leſt the French might ſuccour *Caſſalle* by that way, and the Prince remained with part of his men before St. *Ia*, knowing that the place was in want of victuals, wherewith it could not be full furniſh'd from any part, ſo as it would ſoon be forced to come to a Parley. He did, notwithſtanding, ſo beſiege it at a diſtance, as the Dowagers Commanders deſpairing to be able to relieve it, they reſolved to try diverſion; Marqueſs *Villa* went therefore out of *Turin* with a body of Horſe and Foot, and with 12 peeces of Cannon he went to *Montcalleri*, and from thence advanced to *Aſti*, that he might make the Prince riſe from before St. *Ia*: But finding that the Prince did not remove, and that he had not Forces ſufficient to take that City, he return'd to *Turin*: where joyning with the Cardinal of *Vallette*, their joynt Forces amounting to 8000 Foot, 4000 Horſe, twelve peece of Cannon, and 40 cart loads of Ammunition, they reſolved to go directly to relieve St. *Ia*; marching at a ſlow rate, according to *Vallettes* cuſtom, they found the River *Dora* ſo ſwoln by rain as they could not throw a bridge over it; ſo as they were fain to tarry there two dayes; in which interim, the Prince coming with ſome Forces to the oppoſite ſhore, ſome ſleight skirmiſhes paſt between them: And the Cardinal and *Villa* being hindred by the River, and being ſtoutly oppoſed by the Prince, and hearing that the Town was ſurrendred two dayes before the time prefix'd, for ſurrender, in caſe ſuccour ſhould come, the Cardinal of *Vallette*, to the end his endeavours might not prove altogether vain, fell upon *Chiavaſſo*, which reſolution though it was then thought to be but to little purpoſe, yet ſince it ſucceeded, was very lucky for the Dowagers party. They ſent to *Turin*

for four other peeces of Cannon, wherewith they planted their battery against the Gate which looks towards *Crescentino*. The Prince and Governour of *Millain* were come to relieve the Town with 4000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, and were gotten to the Chappel called *L' Eremita*, within a mile of the enemies Camp; where taking up their quarters, they put themselves in battle array; and began not onely to annoy the enemies quarters with their Artillery, and with sleight excursions, but being come within shot of Musket, they fell to skirmish, wherein some of the Spanish Horse that charged were beaten back. And just as the battle was ready to be given, to which both the French and Piedmontese prepared themselves with much Courage, came the Duke of *Longueville*, whom the King of *France* had sent with 2000 Horse, and 4000 Foot, when his Majesty heard that the Spanish Army was encamp'd before *Turin*; a recruit which came very seasonably both to the Camp and to the Dowagers whole party, which did droop very much. At the Arrival of these men, which was just upon the coming on of night, and the Spaniards Courage cooling, they retreated; the next day the Spaniards finding how hard it would be to relieve the Town, by reason of the recruit which was come to the enemy, they began to prepare to be gone, which they did without any disturbance. The Cardinal of *Vallette*, and Duke of *Longueville*, did then send to *Seback*, who was a Dutch-man and Governour of the Town, wishing him, that since there was no hope of relief, he would surrender. To which he answered, that he desired first to have leave to send to visit the Spaniards quarters; the which being granted him, and he being told by those he sent, that the Prince and Governour of *Millain* were gone; he promised to yield the Town, if it were not relieved within three dayes; and no relief appearing within the prefix'd time, he surrendred the place, and march'd out with 1500 Dutch, leaving such French and Piedmontese there, according to Articles, as had fought against the Dowager in the Princes behalf. The loss of *Chiavasso*, which being recovered, opened the way to receive and send out any thing to *Turin* by the *Po*, made the Governour of *Millain* fortifie *Crescentino*, which he had dismantled a little before; to the end that Navigation by the *Po*, which (*Chiavasso* being recovered) was free from *Turin* to *Casselle*, might be blockt up by fortifying *Crescentino*; but whilst the two enemies Armies were busied before *Chiavasso*, the Prince Cardinal was not idle, nor were his endeavours ineffectual: For coming out of *Asti*, onely with his own attendants and some others, he over-ran the other part of *Piedmont*, where there being no forreign Garrisons, he was received by all the inhabitants with great applause; *Ceva*, *Cuneo*, *Mondoni*, *Beve*, *Saluzzo*, *Fossano*, *Dronero*, *Busca*, and *Demonte*, did willingly come in of themselves to his own person, or to those that he sent to them; and all the chief Towns of those parts and places of any condition, besides the mean people. All this was done without shedding of blood, and without shot of Musket, meerly out of the peoples devotion, and by Treaty of the Governours of the several Towns: And putting Governours and Garrisons into them, he retreated to *Fossano*, lest *Chiavasso* being taken, the French might turn upon those parts, and retake the Towns that had surrendred to him. Nor did he guess amiss,

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for the adverſe Army turning upon thoſe parts, *Saluzzo*, at their very firſt appearance, ſent Commiſſioners to ſurrender it ſelf in a friendly manner. The Duke of *Longueville* went then with his men to *Carignano*, and from thence to *Racconiggi*, ten miles from *Foſſano*; but he had no minde to go to *Foſſano*, thinking it ſtronger then it was; nor would he meddle with it though *Villa* and *Pianezza* ſtrove to perſwade him it was not ſo ſtrong as he thought: They therefore left him in *Racconiggi*, and went with the Dowagers men towards *Foſſano*, to make *Longueville* ſee the eaſineſs of the Enterprize; who when they appeared, the Inhabitants thinking that the whole Camp came, ſurrendred the Town that very night; but the Prince Cardinal was firſt retreated to *Cuneo*, the ſtrongeſt place of all thoſe parts, and peradventure of all *Piedmont*. From hence *Villa* and *Pianezza* went to *Bene*, which Town, though it were ſtrong enough, yielded the next day. The Governour *Vargas*, who was a Spaniard, retired with the Garriſon into the Caſtle of *Bene*, reſolving to hold it out to the laſt: *Villa* and *Pianezza* divided the care thereof between them; *Pianezza* quartered in that part of the Town which was neareſt the Caſtle; and *Villa* kept in the field with the Horſe, to keep off ſuccour. *Pianezza* began to make Trenches; and whileſt things were in this poſture, Duke *Longueville* appears with his men; who leaving the Caſtle to be taken by *Pianezza*, kept alſo in the field: The mean while *Pianezza*, who was come with his approaches to the Caſtle wall, fell to make a Mines under a Baſtions, whereunto, after nine days, giving fire, and a ſufficient breach being made, he fell to aſſault, which was withſtood weakly; for the Defendants thinking to ſave their lives, by retreating into the Keepe, minded getting thither more then fighting; but they were ſo hotly purſued, as that moſt of them were put to the Sword; and Captain *Vargas* being wounded and taken Priſoner, the Caſtle was taken with much effuſion of blood. Theſe two places being taken *Cuneo* remained, which was ſeparated from the acquiſitions made by the Prince Cardinal, and were likewiſe the worſe for being ſeparated from it: Prince *Thomaſo* fearing it, eſpecially ſince his Brother was there, went with a body of men from *Aſti* to *Mondovi*, to try whether by lending ſome help he might free them both from the imminent danger wherein they were: But hearing that Duke *Longueville* was coming to aſſault him with Forces much ſtronger then his, he retreated to *Ceva*, from whence he joyn'd with the Governour of *Millain*, who was with his Army in *Aſti*: Wherefore *Mondovi* being abandoned by the Prince yielded to the Duke, who without any oppoſition made there a rendezvouz of Arms for his own, and for the Dowagers Forces, which were under her two Generals, joyn'd with *Longueville* in that Enterprize. The French and Dowagers Generals hearing afterwards in what weak condition *Cuneo* was, they reſolved to go thither; they had great hopes of taking it; for the Prince Cardinal would either go out of *Cuneo*, or he would not; if he did, *Corvo*, who was Serjeant Major there, offer'd to yield the Town to them; and if not, they were ſure to take it, by reaſon of the ſmall proviſions that were there; and if they ſhould take it, it would put an end to the Civil War, ſince the Prince Cardinal, who was the Head of the controverted Guardianſhip, would be therein taken Priſoner; whereof Duke

Longueville made himself so sure, as he writ thereof to the King, as of a thing done; but they were much deceived, for *Cuneo* was not taken, and *Turin* was lost, which the Prince Cardinal did cunningly foresee; for Prince *Thomas* whilst he was in *Mondovi*, going to see him at *Cuneo*, and having earnestly desired him, not to suffer himself to be enclosed in that unprovided place, which was not such as he ought to adventure his person therein, and therewith the whole affair, he absolutely refused his advice; for he held undoubtedly, that if he should go out, the Town would be lost; and on the contrary, that the Governour of *Millain* would either come with all his Forces to relieve him, or that else he would go to *Turin*, which he might easily take, all the Dowagers and French Forces being now in these parts; and the Siege of *Cuneo* being to be abandoned for the necessary defence of *Turin*, the freedom of his person, and the like of the Town would ensue; but these very thoughts falling into the minds of those who fought on the Dowagers behalf, they likewise knew what dangers *Turin*, and the Citadel, and the Dowager that was therein, would be subject to; if when they should go with almost all the Forces of *Piedmont* to an enterprise so far off, the enemy making use of the occasion should come strongly against *Turin*, whilst it was unprovided of defence: it was therefore thought necessary that the Cardinal of *Valletta* should go with all his men to defend the parts thereabouts; which resolution was approved of, and pursued by the Cardinal, and was as good, as necessary; and if it had been as well perform'd as it was plotted, it had quite overthrown all the Prince Cardinals Counsels; for both *Turin* and the Dowager would have been preserved from danger; and *Cuneo* would have been taken, with evident hazard of the Prince Cardinals person; but the misfortune in performance marred the design, and made good the Prince Cardinals opinion; when the Cardinal *Valletta* was gone, Duke *Longueville* went to *Cuneo*; and on the sudden, in the night season, assaulted the out Works, and forc'd the defendants, with much loss to them, to forsake the Works and betake themselves to defend the Walls and the Gates, which the assailants had well nigh taken as they pursued them: he therefore had happily begun his business, and had fair hopes of ending it successfully; but before the Trenches were begun to be made, the whole thred of the business was cut off by a Letter of the Cardinal of *Valletta's*, wherein he signified to *Longueville*, that the Enemy came very strong against him, and that he could not possibly withstand them, unless he were recruited with eight hundred more Horse; though the Duke was somewhat amazed at this demand, yet he readily sent the desired Horse, that the Cardinal might have no occasion to fail in what was by common consent agreed upon; but the want of these Horse forc'd the Duke to abandon *Cuneo*, and to retreat to a Town neer to *Fossano*, called St. *Albano*; whereby one part of the Prince Cardinals judgement was verified, that *Cuneo* would be abandoned to relieve *Turin*; and the other part proved as true, not long after; for Prince *Thomas* having had speech with the Governour of *Millain* in *Asti*, and having perswaded him to relieve *Cuneo*, and his Brother, at least by diversion, got of him 600 Spanish Foot under Marquess *Caracena*, and 2500 Horse under *Carlo della Gatta*; with expres promise

promiſe that all the reſt of the Forces ſhould immediately follow him; ſo he went forthwith from thence, and came ſpeedily to *Villanuova*; where getting 500 other Foot under Camp-maſter *Tuttavilla*, he paſt over the *Po* about the evening, and came by night to *Vallentino*. *Villanuova*, *Carmagnuola*, and *Turin*, make a juſt triangle; wherefore when news came to the other two Cities, that the Prince was come with a great body of men to *Villanuova*, they were both much terrified, and began to cry out for help. The Dowager ſent Count *Provaſco* forthwith to the Cardinal of *Vallana*, deſiring that he would haſten to defend her and the City of *Turin*; and the Cardinal fearing, no leſs then ſhe, to be aſſaulted in *Carmagnuola*, not knowing what to do, did not ſtir. The Prince kept in *Vallentino* till midnight, giving out fitting Orders for the ſurprizal of *Turin*, and in maturing intelligence with thoſe that guarded it; and having ordered all things well reſolved to aſſault the Town on four ſides: The Marqueſs of *Caracena* was appointed to aſſault the Caſtle Gate with the 600 Spaniſh Foot, which were the very beſt of that Nation; that beating it down with a Petard, he might make himſelf maſter of it. *Tuttavilla* was ſent to ſcale the Wall between the Baſtion of S^a *Maria*, and that of *Citta nuova*. Colonel *Alardo* was ordered to fall upon the *Poſto di noſtra Signora* towards the Citadel; and Count *di Vich* was ſent to faſten a Petard to *Porta nuova*; and each of them had ſufficient Orders, Inſtruments, and Men, given them for what they had to do; each of them did punctually perform what they were appointed, at one and the ſame time, which was at ſix a clock at night; and the darkneſs of the ſeaſon was a great furtherance to the enterpriſe; and yet *Caracena* could not faſten his Petard; for he found the Bridge drawn up, and the Ladders wherewith he was to ſcale the Walls were too ſhort; he notwithſtanding fell to break the Steccadoes which lay along the Courtain toward the Baſtion *Verde*; and entred thereby into the Garden of the *Pallazzo Ducale*. *Tuttavilla*, who was abandoned by his guide, who could not endure the noiſe of a Muſket, marching alone with his Squadron, and groaping in the dark, light upon a Half-moon which was defended by 500 Souldiers; and after having skirmiſhed a while with them, he at laſt made himſelf maſter thereof; then entring the ditch, to fall to the Scalado, he alſo found his Ladders too ſhort; wherefore being called upon by *Caracena*, he reſolved to go to him, and being joyned, they entred the City by the Garden, and formed two Squadrons upon *Piazza San' Giovanni*. The Dowager hearing that the enemy was entred the Town, withdrew with her Guard into the Citadel, being waited upon by the Lord Chancellor, ſome of the chief Magiſtrates of *Turin*, and by a great many Ladies and Gentlemen. *Caracena* and *Tuttavilla* went to the Caſtle Gate, they broke the Portculles, and appli'd a Petard to the Gate, which being thereby thrown down, the Horſe entred, which waited there to be let in. *Fontana*, Captain of the Gate was thought to hold private intelligence with Prince *Thomaſo*, as alſo *Amerino*, Captain of the Swiſſers who were deputed to defend the Steccado; who being corrupted by moneys made no reſiſtance, but preſently paſt over to the Princes party; for which he was queſtion'd by the Cantons. Count *Viſchio*, by reaſon of the great darkneſs, and oppoſition made

made by the defendants, loſt his Guide, and his Petard; ſo as not being able to execute his Commiſſion, he entred the City by the Baſtion *Verde*; by which the Spaniards and Italians alſo entred, the Caſtle-Gate not being as then opened; nor could Colonel *Alardo* do what he was appointed, being ſtoutly oppoſed, but he entred by the Caſtle-Gate, which was now opened; ſo as before full day the City was reduced into the power of the Prince, not any of the Citizens appearing in defence; for the Dowager had commanded, that upon pain of death, none of them ſhould ſtir out of their doors; but when they heard that ſhe was retreated into the Citadel, and that the Prince was entred the City, they ran out to the ſtreets and *Piazzas*, with unuſual expreſſions of joy, and flock'd about the Prince, with incredible applauſe; but their congratulations, which laſted many hours, were not any hindrance to what was neceſſary for defence; for they preſently fell to block up the ways which led to the Citadel, to keep the City from being from thence aſſaulted; which was diligently obſerved all the reſt of the day: at night Lights were put in all the Windows, and the Citizens ſtood with their weapons in their hands, together with the Souldiers, to defend the ſtreets, fearing ſome ſallies out of the Citadel; and the Prince made the Rampiers be raiſed, to keep the City from being prejudiced from the Citadel. The next day things were better ſecured, by the entrance of the Governour of *Millain*, with the reſt of the Army; who, together with the Prince, viewing all parts as well within as without the City, by which the City might be entred, they munited it with Souldiers and other neceſſaries. To end the work, compleat the Victory, and to put an end almoſt to the War, there remained the blocking up of the Citadel on the out-ſide, and the keeping it from any ſuccour by continual circumvallations, which required not the guarding of above three miles; for the Citadel was more then half begirt by the City. Five days after the City was taken, the French and Piedmonteſe Army appeared coming from *Cuneo*, who when they heard the ſad news of the loſs of *Turin*, marched ſpeedily to relieve the Citadel; and finding no Trenches to keep them off, nor any Forces in the Field to oppoſe them, they ſecured the Citadel: they quartered their men without, oppoſite to the City, towards *la Perperata*; and none but the chief Commanders went into the Citadel, to kiſs the Dowagers hand, and to conſult of what was to be done. The Dowagers affairs begun to better a little by ſo ſeaſonable a ſuccour, and the French began to be much encouraged; the Spaniſh Army was in the City, and all the Citizens that were fit to bear Arms were very diligent to defend it; moreover, the Trenches which were over againſt the Citadel were in good order, and did ſhelter the City indifferently well from the ſhot which were made from thence. The Marqueſs of *Caracena* having aſſiſted therein with no leſſe diligence, then danger; who foreſeeing how much the defendants might be damnified by the Garden of the Carmelites which commanded the Trench and ſtreets of the City, if they ſhould be poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, preſſeſs'd himſelf thereof, and munited it well, and put a good Garriſon into it; and therefore though both the French and Piedmonteſe, who were in the Citadel, did much deſire to aſſault the City, and to drive

drive the Enemy from thence; yet the Cardinal of *Vallette* oppoſed it, and by his Authority of Supream Command of the French Forces, curb'd the general deſire; yet being overborn by the General order of *Longueville* and of the other Commanders, and for that he would appear to have ſome hand therein, rather then out of his own addicti-on, he conſented that 300 of the beſt men of the French Army ſhould aſſault *la Citta Vecchia* under the Marqueſs *Nereſtano*; who accoſted the walls, and fell on furiouſly; but being ſtoutly oppoſed were forc'd to retreat, with the loſs of many of them; amongſt which the Marſhal *Nereſtano*, and the Camp-maſters *Allincourt*, and *Valiack*, together with other officers, and gallant Souldiers, and with little loſs to the aſſaulted; by which, as well he, as the reſt of the Captains, having found by experience how much harder it was then they had imagined to recover the City, and the Dowager being put to great ſtreights in the Citadel, they thought it fit that ſhe ſhould go from thence, and ſhould go, together with her Court, to *Suſa*; which was ſo neceſſary as it was preſently done; ſhe went out with an undaunted ſpirit, bearing in her boſom two conſolations amongſt ſo many misfortunes; the one that if ſhe had been ſuffer'd to Govern according to her own will ſhe had not fallen into ſuch misfortune; the other, that the King her brother, who had brought her into that condition, would doubtleſſy bring her out of it, at her departure ſhe left the Citadel in charge with the Duke of *Longueville*, who received it, as depoſited by her, in the King of *France* his name; for ſhe confiding but a little, upon this occaſion, in the Piedmonteſe, and in ſo great perplexity, and croſs fortune, not having Forces ſufficient to defend ſo important a place, threatned by ſo neer and powerful an Army, and not having wherewith to fight, nor to ſubſiſt for above two moneths, ſhe thought ſhe could not do better, then to put it into the protection of the King her brother; being come forth, and attended by a competent number of hers, ſhe came to *Suſa*, where ſhe waited, looking in vain where this ſo great ſtorm would finally fall; a treaty of Truce was afterwards introduced between the Abbot *Veſques*, in the Governour of *Millain*'s name, and Monſieur *d'Argenſon*, on the behalf of the Duke of *Longueville*; which was deſired by *Longueville*, not ſo much for the ſcarcity of proviſion in the Citadel, as for the preciſe orders which he received from the King at his departure from Court, and which were often after reiterated; by which he was enjoyn'd that he ſhould rid his hands as ſoon as he could of the Wars of *Piedmont*, to the end that they being over he might go into *Flanders*, or *Germany*; but Prince *Thomaſo* was totally againſt it, thinking any whatſoever Truce injurious to his cauſe, and to the whole buſineſs; and for that he knew, for certain, that the Duke had orders to rid his hands of the buſi-neſs as ſoon as he could; ſo as departing with the forces he brought, and *Vallette*'s men being diminiſhed, the French Forces grew very weak; for there was great ſcarcity in the Citadel; he moreover (that he might keep the Governour of *Millain* from conſenting thereunto) added, that the Truce would be deſtructive, not onely in relation to the Citadel of *Turin*, but to *Caſſalle*; in being certain that by the Truce ſome reſpit would be given to them both; and did further alleadge,

that

that the Truce would be prejudicial to the affairs of *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, as well as to those of *Piedmont*, by reason of the aforesaid orders given to *Longueville*, to go to some of those parts; and that the King of *France*, when he should have respite from the Wars of *Piedmont*, would intend those other Wars the more; but the Governour, who did not believe that *Longueville* had any such orders, desired to return to *Millain*, and be free from the troubles of Wars, and perhaps also, being distasted, that such a Garrison should not be put into the Citadel, when it should be taken, as he would have; and that so the victory should not appear to be his, but anothers; he therefore was for listning to the Truce; so they chose Deputies to Negotiate the business; the Dowager chose Marquess *Villa*. Prince *Thomaso* chose Count *Mesterati*; the Cardinal of *Vallette*, and Duke *Longueville* chose Mousier *d'Argenson*; and the Governour of *Millain* chose Abbot *Vasques*; all the 8 meeting in *Vallentine*, the Truce was concluded, which was to begin on the fourth of *August*, and to end on the twenty fourth of *October*; the conditions to be these:

That the City, and Citadel, should remain in the Condition they were at the present, with power to either of them to make what Fortification they listed; so as that neither of them should advance their works beyond a Line, which should be drawn by common consent between the City and the Citadel; that the Armies should withdrew into their own Towns and Provinces, and should forbear all Hostility; that none should go from his own quarters into the others, without a passport; that Cassalle *should continue in the same condition it was in at the present; onely that it might be Lawful for the French to change 600 sick and infirm Foot of the Garrison of the Citadel, for as many strong and able men; and that it might be lawful to change Prisoners.*

The Truce being thus concluded, Arms were forborn. The Governour retired to *Millian*, carrying some of his Army along with him, leaving some in *Piedmont*, and quartering some of them upon the Confines; Prince *Thomaso* was not onely unsatisfied with this Truce, but thought himself thereby injured, thinking that the Governour of *Millain* had abandon'd him when his business was at the fairest, and when he was as good as in possession of the Citadel; nor were the Emperour, and the Infanta of *Flanders* less displeased thereat then he, both of them apprehending that when the affairs of *Piedmont* should be quieted, *Longueville* would come down with his Forces either into *Flanders*, or *Germany*; so as they complained grievously thereof, all three, to the Court of *Spain*; which being no less ill satisfied therewith then they, feared that when the War should be at an end in *Piedmont*, it would for certain break out in greater fury in *Catalognia*; wherefore the Governor of *Millain* was very hardly spoken of in that Court; and the King of *Spain* being scandalized both for his own affairs, and those of others, and the Governour roundly check'd, and a strict account required of him for it, it was generally thought, in *Italy*, that the contention touching the putting a Garrison into the Citadel of *Turin* had made the Governour of *Millain* make Truce, fearing that it might occasion much strife; but the Governour alledged nothing in his defence but the diminution of his Forces, which was occasioned by the many Garrisons

which

which he was neceſſitated to leave in the Towns which were taken in *Piedmont*, whereby not being able to keep the Field, he thought it better to deſiſt with honour from that enterprize by the way of Truce, then to do it with ſhame, as he foreſaw he muſt ere long be forc'd to do. But the expiration of the Truce ſhewed how little juſtifiable this his plea was; for though the French Army was recruited with new men during the time of Truce, and that no ſupply was ſent to the Spaniſh Camp, yet the Governour of *Millain* march'd into the Field with more men then the French did, as ſhall be ſaid. But as the Governours plea in his own defence would not bear water; ſo the Emperour and the Infanta's fear of *Longueville's* Forces proved vain. For thoſe Forces were left behind in *Piedmont*, to the end that that Country might not be unprovided of men; and *Longueville* was ſent into *Alſatia*, with onely the Dutch Regiment, to ſucceed Duke *Weymer* in being General of the French, which *Weymer* then dyed; and yet the King of *Spain*, either to reſent this action of the Governours, or to ſatisfie Prince *Thomaſo*, commanded the Governour that for the future he would be adviſed by Prince *Thomaſo*. The Truce was not well concluded, when the King of *France*, and the Dowager were held to be the breakers of it; he by her will having brought French into *Suſa*, *Avigliana*, and *Cavor*: Wherefore 600 ſick men of the Citadel of *Turin* being by the Articles of the Truce to be changed for as many ſtrong and able men, the Governour of *Millain* would not allow of the change; againſt which the French objected, that the reciprocal Articles of the Truce did not oblige one party between themſelves; they therefore ſaid, that the King and Dowager making joyntly one of the parties, they might do any thing between themſelves, without offence to the League; and on the contrary, they complained that the Truce was broken by both the Princes: for that the Prince Cardinal by authority of his pretence had made no leſs acquiſition after the Truce, then his brother had done by all his Forces; ſince going without any Forces from *Cuneo* to the Maritime parts, he had obtained *Villa Franca* and the haven thereof by voluntary ſurrender; as alſo the Fort S. *Seſpire*, and the City and County of *Nice*, where he was received by the people with much applauſe; and that driving out the Governour of that Caſtle, which by art and ſituation was impregnable, he ſoon after forc'd the Caſtle to ſurrender: And that all the people had ſworn fealty to him, as to the Dukes Guardian, which was verily a great acquiſition; that City, Caſtle, and Haven being one of the chief keys of *Piedmont*, upon which the French had alwayes an eye, and were alwayes intent upon the recovery thereof, as part of *Provence*, which of ancient right did belong to the Crown of *France*; and this purpoſe 4000 Foot were at that time ſent from *Provence* under that Governour, and the Kings Fleet kept hovering upon thoſe Seas; but that the Prince Cardinal had ſubverted theſe deſignes, who without Arms or any oppoſition, by the bare authority of his preſence, and by the peoples ready obedience, had obtained a Fort which had already wearied the Forces of *France*, back'd by a powerful Fleet at Sea of the Turks, which was ſent to the taking thereof.

The preſent conjuncture of times did aſſiſt the Cardinal much in this affair for the French Fleet, which kept floting upon thoſe Seas, and the

people of *Provence* who came upon those Confines, made those of *Nice* much afraid that they should lose that Fort, if it were not secured by some powerful Chieftain, in those dayes wherein they could look for no help from *Piedmont*, by reason of the great alterations that were there, and wherein the Dowager being necessitated to assign over her principal Towns into the hands of the French, they feared she would be forc'd to do the like with *Nice*: So as they thought they could not do better for the House of *Savoy*, in these perilous times, for the preservation of that important place, then to deliver it up to the Prince Cardinal, who for his own concernment would not suffer it to fall into the hands of others; and who by the assistance of the Spanish Forces might defend it from the French. The people of *Provence* came neer to *Vare*, where they did and received some prejudice; but hearing of the Truce which was made at *Turin*, they returned back; and the French Fleet which was feared would assault the Town at the same time, either had no such intention, or, as the people said, and thought, was kept from acting any thing by a thick mist. The French pretended that this action of the Prince Cardinal in taking *Nice* after the Truce was made, was undoubtedly a more open and manifest breach thereof, then the Dowagers bringing in of French into *Susa*; especially since it was done by one party, to the great prejudice of the other: And they thought that Prince *Thomaso* had also broken the Truce; who when it was made, obtain'd a Declaration from the supream Senate of *Piedmont*, for the putting of *Cæsars* Decree in execution, touching the Guardianship and Regency, to the prejudice of the Dowagers Affairs which were chiefly in question; though she, in defence of her right, and to keep her Sons sovereignty indemnified, which she thought was intrench'd upon by *Cæsars* Decree, made the supream Senate of *Savoy* declare both the Emperours Decree, and that of the Senate of *Turin-hall*. But because the Governour of *Milan*, and the French, did truly observe the Truce, the rest did nothing to discompose it, but onely complained; all the time of the Truce the Fortifications of the City of *Turin* went on, and the French furnish'd the Citadel with whatsoever it wanted; during the Truce some composure was also treated on between the Dowager and the Princes: For the Princes presupposing that their advantage in Forces should make the Dowager willing to divide, if not the name, at least the substance of Guardianship and Government with them; and being desirous also to make the people see by these overtures of Treaties, that what they did was out of necessity, and not of choice, they sent *Messarati*, a great Confident of theirs, to *Susa*, to propound some terms of accommodation to the Dowager; which were: That she should be Guardianess and Regent, and they her Assisters or Coadjutors; that all writings and dispatches should be signed both by her and them; that the Governours and other Officers should be joyntly chosen by her and them; and that the publick Revenues should be also disposed of and managed by them joyntly.

These Propositions were neither wholly rejected nor wholly accepted, but thus moderated by the Dowager: That the signing which was desired by the Princes should be granted them in things of greatest importance; as in Leagues, Agreements made with Forreigners, Alienations, Marriages,

Marriages, in making perpetual Leagues, and the like: And touching the chusing of Officers, that they should have leave to except against any that they should not confide in, in the Offices of greatest concernment: And as for the Revenues, that proposal was totally rejected: No mention was made here, that the Dowager should quit the League made with *France*, nor that the Princes should pass over from the King of *Spain*'s party to the French; a chief point, and which was the basis and foundation of all agreement; from whence it might be seen, that these Negotiations had rather semblances then substance. But the French, who saw how hard it would be for them to maintain the Citadels of *Turin* and of *Casselle*, the one being in an Enemies Countrey, and the other far from any places which were held by the French, and environ'd with Spanish Garrisons, they began to bethink themselves how advantagious it would be for them, if they could win over Prince *Thomas* to side with their King; by which they should not only secure both the Citadels, but should re-gain many places of *Piedmont*, by means of the peoples favour, who they saw were much inclined to Prince *Thomas*: They thought therefore to draw him over to them by large gratifications; they made very advantagious offers to him, wherein in process of time, and upon occurrences, they enlarged themselves. The King was gone from *Paris* to *Dolphiny*, the more to countenance his Sister, and the Affairs of *Piedmont*; and when he was come to *Grenoble* he was desirous to speak with her, and sent for her to come to him: She very willingly pass'd the Mountains, and went to see the King, with great hopes of receiving comfort from him in these her so many and so sad afflictions; but instead of comfort or consolation, she found her self wounded with yet a more mortal accident then all the rest. Cardinal *Richelieu* being (as he always was) desirous to improve the Grandezza of the Crown of *France*, not content with such Towns of *Piedmont* whereinto the Dowager had consented (as hath been said) that French Garrisons should be put; not being content with the very Citadel of *Turin*, which was lately assigned over by the Dowager into the hands of the French, made the King desire her that she would permit that a French Garrison, under a Piedmontese Governour, might be put into *Montmiliano*, the only refuge, and, as may be said, the sacred Anchor of the Principality. She had no readier answer for this so unexpected demand then her tears, which pour'd abundantly down from her eyes; which, as they mitigated the Kings desire, so did they the more exasperate the Cardinal *Richelieu*'s acrimony, who was the Authour of the demands; who treating thereof afterwards with the Dowager, tried first to win her consent thereunto by Reasons, saying, That since she was to fear her husbands Brothers, and that she could not trust much in her Subjects, she ought to resolve upon nothing but upon throwing her self into her Brothers arms, and absolutely rely upon him: And when he saw he could not work upon her by his reasons, and found that her denial proceeded from her Counsellors, who were by her, who perswaded her never to yield to any such demand, he strove to terrifie them with threats and angry looks, that they might alter their minds, and perswade the Dowager to grant what the King demanded; but his perswasions to her were in vain, and his threats and severe looks

as vain to the reſt; for the Dowager not at all aſtoniſhed or diſmayed at her former adverſities, nor at this preſent demand, which was fuller of horrour then all the reſt, reſented the unjuſtneſs of the demand with a more then manlike courage; and her Officers and Adviſers, not daunted with the ſevere threats of one that was likely to put them in execution, kept conſtant in their Loyalty to the Dowager, and to their Duke: Moreover, the Savoyards, who had ſome inkling of this buſineſs, being very averſe unto it, entred the Town with a Garriſon, reſolving to loſe their lives rather then it ſhould fall into the hands of the *French*. The Cardinal being more then meanly incenſed at this denial, began to ſit upon the skirts of the Dowager, and, in revenge, deſired occaſion to ruine her affairs, which he was not long in meeting with; for Prince *Thomas* having ſent Count *Meſſerati* to the Court of *France*, to treat with the King and *Richelieu* upon the large offers which were made him, he found them at *Lions*, in their return from *Grenoble*, and brought back word from the Cardinal, That not only the offers which were made unto the Prince ſhould be confirmed, but promiſed greater things touching his pretentions with the Dowager, and that he ſhould be maintained and upheld therein, ſo as he would drive out the Spaniards that were in *Turin*; and that even the Dowager ſhould be excluded from thence; for he would order it ſo as ſhe ſhould keep in *Savoy*, and that ſhe ſhould be forced to all his pretentions, except ſuch as the King could not with honour conſent unto: But all theſe offers would not prevail with the Prince, were it either that he doubted they would not be made good, having ſmall reaſon to expect that more account ſhould be made of his concernments than what he apparently ſaw was made of the Kings own Siſters; or were it that he was adviſed to the contrary by the Prince Cardinal, and by *Meſſerati*'s ſelf, who was totally inclined to the Spaniſh party: But reſolving not to break off the Treaty altogether, the Prince anſwered, That he would not accept of any of thoſe offers, unleſs he might be permitted to remain a friend to the Spaniards, or at leaſt be a Neuter between the two Crowns; which not being granted him (for the King of *France* his only end in making him ſo great offers was, that, together with him, he might make War upon the State of *Millain*) the Treaty broke off; and yet the greatneſs of theſe offers, which at the preſent ſeemed to effect nothing, like ſeed ſown in good ground, produced afterwards new and more high pretentions, which brought forth at laſt the fruit of thoſe diſſentions and alienations which were at the preſent expected; for the Prince, being proud to have ſuch offers made him by the King of *France*, began to be ſcandalized, that though he was a Prince, and Child of *Spain*, and had been honoured ſo in appearance, yet in reallity he was treated but as a private Cavalier, without any ſetled allowance, whereby he might maintain his Court and menial Servants, but was fain to uſe means daily to the Governour of *Millain* for his maintaining of them; and much more, that he had no independent Authority or Command, as became a Prince of his condition; and though when the Truce was made, and wherewith the King of *Spain* was not well pleaſed, the King had ordered the Governour of *Millain* that he ſhould do nothing for the future without conſulting with the Prince: yet were it either that the Governour had ſome

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private Orders to the contrary, or that he was tied by his Order only to conſult, but not to execute, or that he abhorred to have his authority bounded by the Prince his pleaſure, he acted not according to the Prince his opinion, but as he liſted beſt himſelf, from whence diſ-ſatisfaction grew daily. The Prince began to demand that he might have an Army depending upon none but himſelf, which he might manage as he would himſelf, and that he might have a certain perfix'd allowance ſeded for the maintenance of himſelf, and of his Court.

Theſe were high demands, and ſuch as were not eaſie to be granted, the ſcarcity of men and moneys in theſe times being conſidered, and the preſent condition of affairs; but though the paſſages between the Prince and French had made the Court of *Spain* jealous of him, yet they made him as neceſſary for them, ſince they ſaw the French endeavoured ſo much to draw him over to them; ſo as neither the Agents in *Italy* nor the Court of *Spain* durſt exaſperate him by denials: his demands were therefore refer'd by the King to Count *Rivola*, who going to the Prince aſſured him of the Kings good opinion, and ſaid he was very willing to give him ſatisfaction; but becauſe the Prince, when he came out of *Savoy* and ſided with the King of *Spain*, had ſent his Wife and Children to the Spaniſh Court, as Hoſtages of his fidelity, and had given her Commiſſion to put him and his whole Family into the protection of that Court; and that his Wife in performance thereof, by the conſent of Preſident *Coſta* whom the Prince had given her for her Counſellour, had ſubſcribed a publick writing to that purpoſe in *Madrid*, which the Prince would never ratifie, though he had been often deſired to do it; therefore the Count who was very willing to give him all ſatisfaction, demanded the ratification of that writing, before he would enter into any treaty with him. The Prince, who when he had nothing to relie upon but the King of *Spains* favour was ſlow in ratifying it, was now more obdurate therein when he was ſo ſought unto by the King of *France*; ſo as no treaty was commenced, the Count thinking it ſtood not with the Kings honour to proceed otherwiſe, and perhaps he had received ſuch inſtructions from the Court, to prolong the concluſion of the treaty by propounding ſuch difficulties. The Governour of *Milans* carriage to the Prince co-operated to theſe proceedings, who was more liberal to him in furniſhing him with moneyes then he had been formerly; and did more frequently follow his advice in the managing of War; and granted more unto him then he had formerly done; eſpecially in things wherein the main buſineſs was not concern'd, to the end, that obtaining that in effect which he could not do by expreſs covenanting, he might adhere the more conſtantly to the Kings party; ſo as what by reaſon of the better ſatisfaction which he received, what by the progreſs which the Spaniſh Forces made in *Piedmont*, and by the yet greater which he hoped they would make, he bare the better with it.

Let us now re aſſume the thred of Affairs which enſued, from which the Treaties of Peace, and the Intereſts of Parties have a little deviated us.

The Truce being concluded, and the Duke of *Longueville* being gone (as hath been ſaid) into *Alſatia*, the Cardinal of *Vallois* died in *Rivoli*,

Rivoli, being much distasted and anger'd at the heart, by reason of the unfortunate success which had hapned in his Generalship, the blame whereof he saw was laid upon him; and his Brother, the Duke of *Candale*, who was joyn'd with him in the Government of the War, died seven moneths before him in *Cassalle*; so the Arms of *France* in *Piedmont*, wanting a Commander in chief, the King of *France* sent *Henry* of *Lorrein*, Count d' *Harcourt*, thither to be his General; he who by his Fleet at Sea had happily recover'd the Islands of *Provence* from the Spaniards; who being come to *Piedmont*, a little before the Truce was to end, being desired by the Nuntio to prolong it, seemed very willing thereunto; yet the effects shewed that he dream'd of nothing less, then of consenting to any the least delay; but he appeared otherwise, that he might lull the Governour asleep, and make him negligent in making provisions, to the end that when the Truce should be expired they might fall to War again, as he was resolved to do. His reason of not proroguing the Truce, was, the necessity of relieving the Citadel of *Cassalle*, which was ready to be lost if it were not speedily relieved. On the contrary, the Governour of *Millain*, though by his Speeches and Demonstrations he seemed to be wholly averse to the prorogation; yet he desired nothing more, in his heart, then that the Truce might be prolonged, out of his thirsting after the same Citadel of *Cassalle*; which being but weakly garrison'd, and being every where begirt with Spanish Forces, he knew that by a long Siege it would fall of it self into his hands; and thought that it was reduced even to extremity; but Prince *Thomaso* who desired more to make the Citadel of *Turin* sure, then to gain that of *Cassalle*; and who, contrary to his will, had given way unto the Truce, was unwilling to have it prolonged, neither did he believe it would be; for that the new General, as well as the Governour, foreseeing how prejudicial the prorogation would be to the Citadel, he was sure it would never be granted: he therefore admonished the Governour not to suffer himself to be fed with vain hopes, nor to trust the enemies fair speeches, who as soon as the Truce should be expired would assuredly march into the Field; wherefore he exhorted him to be prepared, lest he might be assaulted at unawares. The Governour was of another opinion, either out of his desire of seeing the Truce prorogued, or being detained by the inconveniences which lying in the Field bears with it, or by reason of the great expences for necessary preparations, which believing that they would be superfluous if the prorogation should succeed, as he believed it would, he desired to spare; and finding that *Harcourt* could not be rid of the Nuntio, who continually sollicited him to prolong the Truce, he argued that he had a good mind thereunto; but being at last ascertained by the Prince, that the French who were quartered abroad in several parts of *Piedmont* during the Truce, now that it drew neer to an end, went to joyn with their General, who lay in *Carmagnuola*, he began to be un-deceived; wherefore going from *Millain*, he went, but not with all his men, to *Pavie*, and from thence to *Asti*, where he tarried observing the enemies proceedings; who giving still good words, and holding on the treaty more then ever, would not suffer the Governour to despair of a good conclusion, which he strove to make him believe was

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now neerer then ever: at laſt *Harcourt* making an expreſs Meſſenger appear at the very expiration of the Truce, who feigning to be ſent from the Court, brought him preciſe Orders from the King not to prorogue the Truce, but to carry on the War, he bad farewel to all Negotiations, and alſo to the Nuntio, who out of hope of obtaining a prorogation did ſtudy it much. The French when this feigned Poſt appeared were ready drawn out in order; ſo as the General, at the ſame time that he diſmiſs'd the Nuntio, commanded them to march toward *Montcalleri*, they being about 9000 fighting men, whereof about 7000 Foot, and the reſt Horſe, thoſe Piedmonteſe being numbred in, who were come to joyn with him under Marqueſs *Villa*. The Governour underſtanding (contrary to his expectation) that the Treaty was over, went from *Aſti* to *Villafranca*, where he heard from the Prince, that the French marched to *Cheri*; and therefore he counſelled him to draw neer to St. *Paolo*, and to the Towns within a mile of *Villafranca*, by the neighbourhood whereof he might ſecure *Cheri*, and oppoſe any deſign of the enemy, without expoſing his men to danger being ſo neer *Villanova*; he ſent him word that he would come out of *Turin* with 2000 Foot, and 600 Horſe, and that he would come to *Cheri* by the way of the hills, ſo as the enemy being aſſaulted by one of them before, and by the other behind, he might undoubtedly be diſcomfited. *Cheri* is a Town of large circuit, abounding in all things, full of Inhabitants; and being one of thoſe which made up the circle of the ſiege of *Caſſalle*, *Harcourt* having caſt his eye upon it, thinking that if he ſhould take it, he might open a ſure and fit way to ſend relief to *Caſſalle*, which was now his chief intent. There were but five hundred Dutch in *Cheri*, who were ſent thither, when the Truce was expired, by the Prince under Colonel *Formeſtre*, together with ſome troops of horſe, too ſmall a number for ſo great a circuit. The Governour of *Millain* ſent the Prince word from *Villafranca* that he would advance, and wiſh'd him to do the like from *Turin*; to the end, that encloſing the Enemy between them, they might eaſily rout them. But fortune often makes a laughing ſtock of the beſt grounded deſigns; the Governour being come to the foot of a hill, which was the mid-way between him, and *Harcourt*, and which kept the French and thoſe of *Cheri*, from diſcovering the Spaniſh Army: The Governour defer'd paſſing over this hill till the next day, which if he had done the ſame day, as undoubtedly he might, *Harcourt* would not have dared to attempt *Cheri*, for fear of being aſſaulted by the Governour, whom he would have ſeen upon his back; and the Inhabitants and Garriſon of *Cheri*, encouraged by the Governours being ſo neer, would have done more then they did in their own defence: but no oppoſition appearing, *Harcourt* came to the Town; from whence ſix Troops of Horſe iſſued forth, and skirmiſhed four hours ſpace with 400 French Horſe, which were the firſt that appeared. But after a long fight, the main body of the French Army came up unto them, which forced the others to retreat to *Cheri*, upon whom the Gates of the Town being ſhut, leſt the enemies Horſe might enter a long with them, they ran as faſt as they could towards *Turin*, whither they got ſafe and unpurſued. The French being come to *Cheri*, were not long in planting their Cannon againſt the walls, but it

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was more then needed; for those of *Cheri* seeing none appear to assist them, and wanting men enough to defend the Town, they feared to be plundred: So as the same night, without the consent of the Dutch Captain, they by Marquess *Villa*'s means articled to surrender the Town: the next day Prince *Thomaso*, who marched with his men towards *Cheri*, might see the Dutch that were come out of *Cheri* come towards him, and the Governour who had past over his in another part, heard of the surrender. They both were astonished at the news of so sudden a surrender; and having lost the hopes of their expected victory, they halted upon the Hills, expecting to hear from one another, what they were to do next; But *Harcourt* hearing that the Governour advanced, left his baggage, artillery, and all incumbrances behind in *Cheri*, and march'd with his men into the field, and advanc'd to fight him; which when the Governour heard, he made two squadrons of Horse, and some Musketiers, advance, that they might fall upon the enemies Van; and immediately ordered Don *John di Garrai*, to draw out the Souldiers in order; and whilst the Horse which were sent before by the Governour skirmish'd with the enemies Van, *Carpano* Captain of the Spanish Horse, and *Tavanes* Serjeant Major of the French Army, were hurt; but *Harcout* hearing that Prince *Thomaso* was faln down from the hills and was come to assault him on the back, lest he might be taken between them, made his Reer his Van, and with speed retreated to *Cheri*, whose Inhabitants were doubly blamed upon this account; First, for having been too hasty in surrendring, when two reliefs were so neer; Secondly, for not having advertised the Prince of the enemies going out of the Town, when they went to encounter the Governour, for then he might have advanced, and might have recovered the Town, might have taken the baggage and artillery which were left therein by the French, and might have faine upon the enemy joyntly with the Governour. The Governour, when he saw the occasion was over, went to *Santena*, a Town within three miles of *Cheri*, upon the way by which you go from *Cheri* to *Carmagnuola*; and mustering all his men together he resolved to besiege the enemy, from thence, who were in *Cheri*. And knowing by those that he had taken, that they wanted victuals very much; he made account, that since they could receive none but either from *Carmagnuola* or *Montcalleri*, he might hinder any from coming from *Carmagnuola*, by his keeping at *Santena*, and might also keep any from coming from *Montcalleri*, by sending a Garrison of a thousand Foot thither, and some Horse, and that consequently the Town would quickly be relinquish'd for want of food; which *Harcourt* foreseeing, he thought by one and the same means to free his men from Famine, and (which was his main end) to send relief to the Citadel of *Casalle*, which stood in great need thereof. He therefore sent 400 Horse out of the Town, with men *en croup*, who passing by the hills of *Montferrat* which lead to *Casalle*, met with no opposition, except at the village *Gazzino*, where some Troops of Prince *Thomaso*'s Horse were commanded by his General Don *Mauritio*, who though they made some resistance, yet the French made their way valiantly thorow them, and got with little loss into *Cassalle*; and Marquess *Villa* came forth also with almost all the Dowagers Horse, and thereby not onely freed the Town from Famine,

Famine, which began to be very great, but thought alſo to get food for the Town; but he intended firſt to fall upon the Prince, who over-ran the parts about *Montcallieri*, and raiſed contribution: And to the end that he might not be hindred by the Enemies Army, the reſt of the Horſe march'd out at the ſame time and faced the Enemy, thinking by this means to keep them within their quarters: But being met by the Enemies Horſe, he was forced to retreat once more into *Cheri*; nor did the ſame Horſe fare more fortunately in the ſally which they made out by night not long after, with intention to fall at unawares upon the Horſe quarter, which being commanded by *Gonzaga*, lay in *Poirino*, a Town not far from *Santena*; for the firſt Charge being ſtoutly withſtood by *Aiſaldo*, who was Captain of the Horſe guard, the reſt of the Horſe had time to put themſelves in order; who charging the Aſſailants, after a long diſpute and much reſiſtance put them to flight, and took *Aiſaldo* from them, who being wounded in the head was carried away Priſoner by them. And for all this, thoſe that remained in *Cheri* wanted bread; ſo as the French were forced to go elſewhere to get victuals, if they would keep there: They therefore endeavoured to get ſome from *Chiavezzo*, which though it was ſomewhat far off, and divided from *Cheri* by the *Poe*; yet the water being then ſo low as that it was foordable, they thought that by great conducts they might ſecure the paſſage; and becauſe *Cheri* ſuffer'd more in want of Griſt then Grain, and *Chiavezzo* wanting Grain, they ſent Loads of Grain thither, and brought as many Loads of Griſt from thence; whereby they thought they might ſuſtain themſelves, and prolong the Siege; which they might have done, if a proviſion had not been found againſt it; for the Governour had ſent before to break down all the Mills of the parts thereabouts, and placed Garriſons in the Towns neer the high-ways, by which the Convoys paſs'd, and made the Countrey people be ready with their Arms in hand, to oppoſe any of the Enemy that ſhould paſſe that way; ſo as the Convoys being often routed, proviſion of bread grew very ſcarce in that Town; yet Marqueſs *Villa*, according to his promiſe, brought ſome relief from *Carmagnuola* to the great Famine that was in *Cheri*, which he did luckily and without oppoſition; for the Governour having removed his Quarters from *Santena* to *Poirino*, the way which leads from *Carmagnuola* to *Cheri* was left almoſt open, which whileſt the Governour tarried at *Santena* was quite block'd up: But this relief being but very ſlender, it being no more then what was brought *en croupe* behind 600 Horſe, and the French having no hopes of any more from elſewhere, it was impoſſible for them to tarry longer there, eſpecially in reſpect of ſtraw which the horſes wanted extreamly. Almoſt all the French Horſe which were in *Piedmont* were in *Cheri*, which if they ſhould be loſt, neither the Citadel of *Turin*, nor *Chiavezzo*, nor any Towns of *Piedmont*, could be longer kept; and the very Citadel of *Caſſalle* was held as good as loſt if theſe horſes, which were the ſinews of the French Forces, ſhould be loſt: And many things made againſt the coming of new recruits from *France*; for the King, beſides proviſions made for the Wars of *Flanders* and *Germany*, was wholly bent upon the Enterprize of *Catalognia*, which was at that time in inſurrection againſt the King of *Spain*, and had ſent

all the Forces that he could raiſe in his Kingdom thither; ſo as no wiſe man could dream of any ſupplies: To demand conditions of the Enemy was the total ruine of the King of *France* his Forces, and of both his and the Dowagers honour; for the Prince and the Governour knowing very well what advantage they had would not have been ſatisfied with mean conditions; and if they ſhould have yielded to any conditions, they would have demanded the Citadels of *Turin* and *Caſſale*, *Chiavazzo*, and whatſoever was then upon the point to be loſt; nay, they would hardly have pardoned the Souldiers lives; ſo as they would have pretended to as plenary a victory by way of agreement, as if they had won it by force of Arms. It therefore was more honourable to venture life in maintaining the Towns they yet had, then ignominiouſly to abandon them to the Enemy. *Harcourt* was thus generouſly minded; who being in theſe ſtreights would rather run the hazzard of his life and fortune, then be forc'd to yield to ruinous conditions: nor did this his Generoſity prove vain; for Fortune, which always favours the couragious, ſeemed to be deſirous to preſerve this gallant Commander for more glorious Victories. He was to do one of three things, to get from thence, and to eſcape an ignominious and ruinous ſurrender; he muſt either get into *Chiavazzo* by the ſame way by which he had cauſed victuals to be brought, and from thence to the Citadel of *Turin*; or elſe go towards *Battigliera*, a Town which ſtands upon the skirt of the hill, and from thence go through the *Langhe* to *Alba*; or elſe (which was the moſt dangerous undertaking) get into *Carmagnuole* by the way of *Santena*, which the Governour of *Millain* had lately abandoned: The greateſt danger of the laſt lay, that whereas if he ſhould betake himſelf to either of the other two, he went ſtill further from the Enemy; by the third he ſhould fall into his very jaws; yet *Harcourt* liked the laſt beſt; for if he had endeavoured to get into *Chiavazzo* by the firſt way, he muſt paſs through the narrow ways of the hill; and in caſe he ſhould be purſued by the Enemy, he muſt be forc'd to abandon his Cannon and his Baggage; if he ſhould go the ſecond way, which was exceeding troubleſome, he could carry neither victuals nor ammunition with him; and being to march ſtill through an Enemies Countrey he expoſed himſelf to apparent danger of being routed, if the Governour of *Millain* ſhould follow and overtake him: He therefore choſe the third way as the ſecureſt, though fulleſt of danger. And becauſe he had made a falſe March to be beaten when he ſtirr'd not, ſeveral nights before his coming, it hapned that when he cauſed it to be beaten the night that he went away, the Enemy either did not hear it, or believed it to be feigned, as were the former; ſo as he had time and conveniency to be well advanced with his men before the Enemy knew he was gone; but though he ſhould have purſued him he could not have ſpeedily overtaken him, for ſeveral reaſons: But howſoever he ſent his Horſe after him to gall him on the Rere; but it was late ere theſe got to him; and when they came they found the Enemy engaged with the Prince, who coming from *Montcalleri* fell upon them, believing that the Governour would do the like at the ſame time on his ſide. The Prince gave a furious and gallant aſſault, with various fortune for a while; but the French finding that the Spaniſh Army

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was got up unto them, they placed their Artillery loaded with Musket-bullets, in the Rere, and turning them upon the enemies horſe, they hurt them not a little; and therefore being forced to forbear, partly in expectation of the reſt of the Army; partly to keep from being further prejudiced, they advanced no further; the Prince his own perſon was much endangered, by the valiant reſiſtance made by the French; but at laſt he made himſelf maſter of a Bridge which they had abandoned; the coming on of night, which was very dark, and the Countrey being full of underwoods, and Rivulets, kept the Governour from falling upon the French, whileſt they were in Fight with the Prince; for he thought it better to make the Victory ſure, by deferring the Combat till the next day, then to undergo thoſe dangers and diſaſters which battels by night are ſubject unto; but *Harcourt* reflecting upon the danger he ſhould be in, if (tarrying till broad day) he ſhould be aſſaulted on both ſides, he fell upon the Prince at midnight ſo furiouſly, as though he was ſtoutly reſiſted, he got the better of the buſineſs, he regained the Bridge, over the which he paſt his men before the dawning of the day, and ſecured both them and himſelf; when day was up, the Governour found that the aſſured victory which he had promiſed himſelf over night had eſcaped his hands; which if it had fallen out otherwiſe, it had undoubtedly put an end to the War: as this ſucceſs redounded much to *Harcourts* Glory; ſo did it occaſion much murmuring againſt the Governour, in general, and in particular, by your Prince, who complained, as if the Governour out of private rancour and indignation, had by affected delay and ſlow marching ſhun'd falling upon the Enemy (who if he had been taken in the midſt between them, he muſt of neceſſity have been overthrown) as if he had not onely not cared to put an end to the War, ſo to keep the Princes from obtaining their pretences, which he ſeemed not to wiſh well unto; but as if he had expoſed the Prince his perſon to the Forces of a more powerful Enemy, to the end that he might be defeated, and have his own perſon endangered: the Piedmonteſe joyned all, generally, with the Prince in his Complaints, and not a few of the Captains of the Spaniſh Army, who could not know why, when the Governour might have followed the Enemy in a ſtraight line, he had purſued him in an oblique one; and yet there wanted not ſome who defended this action, alleadging in excuſe of what had hapned, that the Governours ſlowneſs was not to be aſcribed to affectation, or to any ſiniſter intention to the Prince, but to a good rule in War, which ſays, it is better to make a bridge of gold for an enemy to march away over, then by incenſing him to make him deſperate, and put the whole affair in hazard; they praiſed him, for that he had been contented to free *Cheri* from the Enemy, without unſhe thing a ſword, or endangering his men; applauding the genius of the Spaniards, who are known by ſo many experiences to ſhun pitch'd battels as much as they can, and never to come unto any, but when forced by neceſſity; after this the Governour ſent towards *Alba* and *Asti*, to drive all the French out of the lower *Monferrat*; and to this purpoſe he ſent the Camp Maſter *Emilio Ghisino*, to drive them from *Vezzeno*, and *Bubbio*, two Caſtles neer this part of *Monferrat*, where the French were as yet; who defending

themselves better then it was thought they could have done, he sent the Marquess of *Caracena* thither afterwards with his Brigade, and with some pieces of Artillery; who drove the French from both those places, and reduced them to his power within three days space: thus the Governour having put strong Garrisons into the Towns of *Piedmont*, and left 5000 Foot and 1000 Horse with Prince *Thomaso*, under-camp Master *Bolognino*; the winter coming on, he retired with the rest of the Army to the State of *Millain*; and having quartered them in several parts of that State, he prepared all that Winter for the next years War; this mean while the business was not given over between the Citadel and the City of *Turin*; for as soon as the Truce was expired, those of the Citadel began to draw neer the Enemies Fortifications, by new Trenches, and works under ground; and having sprung a Mine, a fierce Skirmish ensued, by which those of the Citadel advanc'd to very neer the Trenches of the City, and could not be driven from thence till the next night, when the Princes Souldiers, having also sprung a Mine under the Enemies new advancements, they also made a great assault; wherein though they were stoutly resisted, and were repuls'd more then once, yet they got the better of the business, and made those of the Citadel not onely forsake the station wherein they were; but forced them to retreat a little more backward then where they had been before: they then fell to make use of their Artillery; those of the Citadel endeavoured to beat down the great Tower in the great *Piazza*, from whence they were play'd upon in the Citadel; and those without strove to beat down the Keep within the Citadel, from whence the houses of the City were beaten down by the Artillery of the Citadel; and each of them obtained their ends, but not alike; for the Tower, after above 2000 Cannon shot, was beaten down to the ground: and the Keep of the Citadel was onely beaten down so low, as the City could receive no prejudice from thence; but notwithstanding, the City and Citadel continued plying one another with Musket, and Cannon shot, whereby many were slain, and many hurt, and (amongst the rest) Monnsieur *di Cerogne*, Governour of the Citadel, received a sleight hurt in the face; and in this manner did things continue here all the Winter. In which interim they forbare not to fortifie the City against the Citadel: *Harcourt* being with them who were preserved at the Bridge gotten to *Carmagnuola*, quarter'd his men in those Towns of *Piedmont* which held yet for the Dowager; amongst which were *Saluzzo*, with all the Marquisate, *Alba*, *Folsano*, *Chirasco*, *Savigliano*, *Bene*, *Carmagnuola*, *Chiavasso*; and yet *Harcourt* was not idle; for he furnish'd the Citadel of *Turin* with such things as were chiefly necessary, for some moneths; and when the Governour of *Millain* was retreated, he vex'd some Towns which held for the Prince; he took *Busca*, a Town between *Cuni* and *Savigliano*, and passing to *Rossana*, and *Drovere*, they yielded to him upon conditions, before his men came to him: he went then to *Revello*, which having easily taken, he quarter'd there all that Winter; but the French were generally hated by the Piedmontese, who taking up Arms, denied to pay them usual contributions; and abhorring their government, declared themselves for the Prince; who that he might not spend that

Winter

Winter idely, ſent the horſe which lay idle in *Turin* to ſcour the parts about *Chiavaſſo*, where, together with much other hurt which he did, he ſtreightned that Town very much, which the French deſired to relieve, but could never do it; the Governour of *Millain* met alſo with a no inconſiderable encounter, wherein he loſt five Troops of Horſe, which were quarter'd in *Conſtanza*, and kept the territories of *Canava* from being overrun by the Garriſon of *Caßalle*: which Troops whileſt they lay careleſly there, were aſſaulted, at unawares, by four hundred Horſe, which came out of *Caſſale*, who ſlew ſome of them, took other ſome priſoners, and ſuffer'd but very few of them to eſcape: and yet all this while, peace and agreement was treated on between the Dowager and the Princes, not without deſire to ſee it Effected.

WARS OF ITALY.

BOOK XVII.

The End of the Sixteenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XVII.

The Contents.

You ſhall read in this Book the Treaties of Agreement between the Dowager and the Princes; and the Intereſt between the Princes and the Governour of Millain; *how the Governour goes with a powerful Army to* Caſſalle; *how it is relieved by* Harcourt; *how he fought the Governour before he could bring in the ſuccour, and had the better of the Fight, and did not onely relieve but perfectly free the place.* Harcourt, *being victorious, goes preſently to* Turin; *he takes the* Capuchins *Bridge over the* Poe; *fortifies himſelf there; and afterwards begirts the City with a vaſt line, and endeavours to get it by famine, Prince* Thomaſo *being in it; but ere long he ſeeth the Governour upon the Hills with a powerful Army, coming to relieve the beſieged Prince; the Governour finding it impoſſible to bring the ſuccour by that way, tryes to get a paſs over the River, towards* Montcalleri: *and having gotten it, he paſſeth over the* Poe; *where quitting the Hills, he takes up new quarters; and thinking to make the French abandon the enterprize by famine, he poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Avenues by which Victualls were brought to the Camp; ſo as they would have been quickly made to remove, had not Prince* Thomaſo, *who was impatient of delay, made the Governour to fall upon the Enemies Trenches, and to relieve him ſo; which falling out unfortunately, and the Governour not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in his quarters beyond the* Poe, *returns to his quarters upon the Hills; where he*

he tarried aſſiſting the beſieged in what he was able, till the City was ſurrendered; which hapned two moneths, and eleven days after the unfortunate aſſault given to the French Trenches, that the beſieged City might be relieved. Prince Thomaſo *comes out of* Turin, *and retreats to* Inurea; *where he is deſired by Monſignore* Mazzarini, *who was come Embaſſadour from the King of* France *into* Piedmont *a little before* Turin *was ſurrendred, to joyn with the French: but Count* Siruela *coming to him from the Governour of* Millian, *he makes new capitulations with him, to joyn with the Crown of* Spain; *and the Count* Della Rivera, *being ſent by the ſame Governour, to the ſame purpoſe, to the Prince Cardinal, the Embaſſadour* Mazzarini *having notice thereof, forces the Prince* Thomaſo *to joyn with the French upon conditions; one of which was, that the Prince ſhould go to* Paris *within one moneths ſpace; which condition was not obſerved; for the Prince inſtead of going to* France, *paſſeth ſecretly to* Nice, *where he and his brother re-confirm their union to the crown of* Spain, *to* Rivera; *the Embaſſador* Mazzarini *who went to* Nice, *to confirm the one Prince, and to draw the other over to the French party, laboured the contrary very much; at the ſame time the Governour of* Millain *is ſent for into* Spain, *and is ſucceeded in that Government by Count* Siruela; *the French go to* Montcalvo, *take the Town at their firſt arrival, and afterwards the Caſtle, which yields without expecting ſuccour.*

THough the Princes ſaw their cauſe brought to an advantagious condition through the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh Forces, and by the Popular favour, and that they had the better of the Dowager, who had not as yet been aſſiſted by the French, anſwerably to her need; yet finding it very hard to recover the chief Towns of *Piedmont*, ſome of which were fallen into the French-mens hands, ſome into the Spaniards; and the Citadel of *Turin*, which was the head and foundation of the State, at the preſent poſſes'd by the French; which if it ſhould be recovered was likely to fall, contrary to their will, into the hands of the Spaniards; they did inwardly reſent it, and began at laſt to find that, by experience, which before theſe commotions it was impoſſible for them to comprehend by Reaſon; that they were not likely to be concern'd in the good of any victories they had got, or hoped to get; and that by overcoming, they overcame not for themſelves, nor for the Duke their Nephew, whoſe protection they pretended; but that they ſubmitted themſelves, the Duke, and the Principality of their family to the diſpoſal of others; they might alſo conceive how little reaſon they had to rely upon the Spaniſh Forces which were managed with ends differing from theirs, and aimed at things much more differing; eſpecially if that were true which the Prince complained of ſo bitterly, that the Governour of *Millain* had abandoned him, in the dangerous conflict which he had at the Bridge *Dellarotta*; they alſo ſeemed to have reaſon, not onely not to confide in, but to abhor the favour of the Spaniards, which looked more after their depreſſion, then their exaltation; as they might find, moreover, by the Truce concluded ſo unſeaſonably, and contrary to all expectation, before *Turin*; and much more by their pretending to put a Spaniſh Garriſon

Garriſon into the Citadel of *Turin*: theſe things did certainly cauſe much greater Commotion in the Dowager, who was powerfully aſſaulted by her enemies, weakly protected and defended by her friends, b reft at the ſame time by both of them of her chiefeſt Towns, and even of the City and Citadel of *Turin*: beſides, forced by the Cardinal of *Richelieu* to yield to unreaſonable conditions, or elſe to be fiercely proſecuted by his bitter malice: all wiſe men thought therefore, that the frequent Negotiations which paſs'd all Winter long between the Dowager and the Princes, would have produced the deſired, and ſo neceſſary agreement; but they were deceived.

The Princes were at the preſent in much Authority and Grandezza, and were, with no expence to themſelves, brought by the Spaniſh Forces almoſt to what they deſired. The Prince Cardinal was poſſeſs'd of the City, Fort, and almoſt of the whole County of *Nice*, of *Cuneo*, *Mondovi*, of the Marquiſate of *Ceva*, and almoſt of all *Piedmont*, from *Carmagnuola* to the Sea. Prince *Thomaſo* had the City and County of *Aſti*, *Trino*, together with the *Canaveſe*, the Valleys and Cities of *Inurea*, *Biela*, and *Aoſta*, and the City of *Turin*: They executed all Juriſdiction in all theſe places; they choſe all Officers and Governours; they received all uſual Revenues and impoſed Taxes; the people did not only freely follow them, but readily obey'd them; they had moneys from *Spain* to maintain the preſent Wars, and their Courts; and, what was moſt conſiderable in theſe ruptures, they were much ſought to by the King of *France*, by whom, before this War, they were not only kept from the Guardianſhip and Regency, but baniſhed out of *Piedmont*, as publick Enemies: Wherefore conſidering their former condition, their preſent Sta'e, and what they were to be, if, abandoning ſuch noble acquiſitions, they ſhould ſubmit to the Dowagers Regency; it was impoſſible that they ſhould forſake their preſent fortune, to receive afterwards, as a great favour from the Dowager, their Childrens Portions, which were ſo ſhort of the ſplendour they lived in now: Neither did their ends and hopes ceaſe here; for believing that the Governour of *Millain* would undoubtedly put them the next Spring in poſſeſſion of the Citadel of *Turin*, they thought they ſhould have atchieved their utmoſt pretences, and be become abſolute Arbitrators of all things; and that they ſhould be in a condition, not only of not receiving Laws from the Dowager, but of doing what they liſted in *Piedmont*: Neither did theſe their hopes appear to be idle; for beſides that they might hope well by what was paſt, they ſaw the French were very thin in *Piedmont*, and that they had but ſmall or no hopes to be recruited from *France*. On the contrary, the Spaniſh Forces in *Italy*, by what recruits were already come, and by what was expected the next Spring, were very powerful; ſo as not being likely to me t with any that would withſtand them, they promiſed themſelves aſſured Victory. And no compariſon being to be made between what they were offered either by *France* or the Dowager, and what they at the preſent enjoy'd, and might promiſe themſelves for the future, from the peoples favour, and the aſſiſtance of *Spain*, they could not parallel the ſlender hopes of what was to come, with their preſent advantagious condition; ſo as they could not liſten to any accomodation; and if they did, it was but to feed the people with

with vain hopes, to ſell their conjunction the dearer to the Spaniards, and for other particular ends of their own. On the other ſide, the Dowager, though it might be thought that her unhappy preſent condition might make her accept of any thing, yet, finally, ſhe could not allow but of what ſtood with the joynt ſafety and dignity of her ſelf and Son. Several Propoſals and Articles paſs'd between them all the Winter, by which the Princes queſtioning her lawful Authority, they aimed at bringing all to a Triumvirate, conſiſting of her, and of themſelves, to the Arbitriment whereof all things ſhould be referred; a ſpecious Propoſition in appearance, but which finally comprehended nothing but the abſolute excluſion of the Dowager from all Sovereignty and Grandezza, and the bereaving her of all Liberty; for the Princes being ſure to joyn in any whatſoever reſolution, ſhe muſt neceſſarily be excluded from all choice, and muſt ſubmit to their joynt opinion: What would her Authority be then in this Triumvirate? What would her Guardianſhip and Regency be? How could ſhe ſecure her ſelf of her own and her Sons Affairs? Was not this to put her ſelf, the State, and her Son, into the abſolute diſcretion of the Princes, between whom and her there were ſo many differences and diffidences? It was better for her aſſuredly to be at her Brothers will, and to run any fortune together with him, then to joyn with her Brethren in Law, who were her Rivals, and ſo bitter Competitors. And as the Propoſals made by the Princes were not in reaſon to be accepted of by the Dowager, ſo neither could the Princes, being in ſo advantagious a condition, allow of the Dowagers Propoſals, though they were more juſtifiable. The Dowager pretended, That as the Principality of *Savoy* was Monarchical, ſo the Regency in her muſt be Monarchical; ſo as deteſting that it ſhould degenerate into an Oligarchical Triumvirate, ſhe would be ſole and Sovereign in the Regency.

The conſiderations wherewith the two Crowns proceeded in theſe Affairs, were ſuch, as no cure was to be found for theſe preſent evils, without a general Peace; for the King of *France* pretending that *Piedmont* ſhould be abſolutely at his diſpoſal, his intention therein was to carry the War freely, and without any let, into the State of *Millain*. On the contrary, the King of *Spain*, endeavouring to keep the French Forces as far as poſſibly he could from his Dominions, was neceſſitated to uphold the Princes pretentions, and to uſe all means to exclude the Dowager and French from *Piedmont*; and ſo under colour of making War there in the behalf of the Princes, to make himſelf maſter of all the chief Towns, and to keep the French from the State of *Millain*; and this deſign proceeded ſo ſucceſsfully, as the King of *France*, diſtruſting a good end of his deſigns, by reaſon of the great obſtructions he met with, forewent the rigour of his proceedings hitherto againſt the Princes, and was induced to make great offers to Prince *Thomaſo*, to the end, that by his joyning with him, he might miſs thoſe oppoſitions which the people of *Piedmont* and the Spaniſh Forces made to the progreſs of his Arms; and the King of *Spain* was forced to conſent largely to the will and intereſt of the Princes, and to command his Agents that they ſhould not diſtaſte them, leſt being diſtaſted they might paſs over to the French party; and might bring the Arms of that

King into the Confines of the State of *Millain*; so as a general peace seemed to be the only means to piece up all these rents; but though all treaties of accommodation were in this desperate condition, yet the Dowager from the profundity of her sad fortune found out so adequate an expedient, and so proportionate to the present conditions, as if it had succeeded well (as it was very likely to do) the Civil Wars had been wholly ended, and Forreign Wars, unfomented by the Civil, would have been much ceased, if not quite extinguished: She was very apprehensive that she should be wholly excluded all administration, if Prince *Thomaso* should accept of the offers made him by the King of *France* and Cardinal *Richlieu*; and foreseeing that that would be as displeasing to the Prince Cardinal, she sought to close with him; wherefore telling him that he was the more obliged to endeavour the quenching of Civil Wars, which arising from domestick dissention would undoubtedly cease, when the others were at an end, by his being neerest to succeed in the Principality: She therefore exhorted him to give way to her just Regency upon fair and reasonable conditions; she offer'd to give him her eldest Daughter, the Princess *Maria Lodovica* for Wife; she who it was so much doubted might carry the succession of the Principality to the Blood Royal of *France*, if she should be married to the *Dolphine*. The offer was not mean, nor of small consideration; for the Prince Cardinal did not only ascertain the succession of the Principality in his own person, which in case the Duke should die, he feared might receive incumberances thereby; but did assure to himself the favour and good will of the Dowager, who from being his Brothers Wife, becoming his Wives Mother, was interessed in a neerer tye of alliance with him; so as he might promise himself she would be much govern'd by him, and that he should have a great stroak in the Regency, and in the administration of the State. It is to be observed that the Cardinal was very desirous of issue, and not finding any Princess in these times more suitable to his ends, he was very well pleased with the offer, and did readily entertain it, which did much facilitate the Articles of Agreement; which being dictated by him very conformable to the Dowagers intentions, were sent to her from *Nice*, and were for the most part accepted of; and those where of there was any dispute were reduced to so neer a composition, as there were great hopes all things would be well agreed; for it was not very impossible but that the Prince Cardinal might come over to the King of *France* his party, when by this marriage he should be become his Nephew: But Prince *Thomaso* hearing of this Treaty was very much incens'd, and endeavoured by all means to discompose it; he thought that though in reason he had not equal pretence with his Brother to the Guardianship, he was not yet inferiour to him in authority, by reason of his Military worth, by reason of the good will the people bore him, and by what he had done in the present debates: they were both likewise comprehended in the Emperours Decree; so as he thought it not fit to give way to any accommodation, whereby he should be debarred all authority and command: it was also thought that he liked not that his Brother should marry; he and his Children being thereby bereft of so neer hopes of succession; he therefore took it ill that any accommodation should be treated of without his cognizance; and fearing

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ing that if it ſhould be concluded, he ſhould fall to the ground between two ſtools, he preſently ſent Marquess *Bagnaſco*, and the *Commendatore Fabro* to *Nice*, to diſſwade his Brother from making any ſuch agreement, by the ſame reaſons by which the Prince Cardinal had diſſwaded him to accept the offers which the King of *France* offer'd him; and to enter his proteſtation againſt it, in caſe he ſhould make it. When they came thither, they found the Prince Cardinal abſolutely reſolved to embrace the Dowagers motion, the deſire of quiet prevailing with him, and marriage whereunto he was exceedingly inclined; but being put in mind and made to ſee how fair a courſe of fortune, both to himſelf, and Brother, he brake by that reſolution; how great a prejudice their diſ-union would be to the common cauſe: what great offers the Prince had refuſed generouſly, to keep from abandoning him; how little reaſon he had to confide in the Dowagers promiſes; and how little good he could expect from the marriage, though it ſhould ſucceed: they exhorted him to follow his Brothers example, and to perſevere conſtant to the Spaniſh party, by whoſe favour and forces being ſo far advanced, he might hope that when the Citadel of *Turin* ſhould be gotten (as certainly it would be) they ſhould be put into ſuch a condition, as he ſhould not only obtain the marriage for certain, which was now uncertainly promis'd him, but much greater things. The Cardinal being won upon by theſe reaſons, and profeſſing that notwithſtanding this, he would value his Brothers intereſt as highly as his Brother had formerly done his; he began to proceed but coolly in ſigning thoſe very Articles of Agreement which he himſelf had ſent to the Dowager; excuſing himſelf, that he had ſent them to let her ſee how well he was inclined to her, and that he would uſe all means poſſible to bring his Brother to be included therein; but that it became him not to divide the family further, whilſt the uniting of it was in treaty. Thus he ſent the Articles to *Turin*; where they were reformed by the Prince, and much altered in the moſt eſſential parts; for being deſirous to have a ſhare in the Government, the Prince inclined to the Triumvirate, wherein he being to make one, he was to have his ſhare in the adminiſtration of the weighteſt affairs; whereunto the Dowager would not conſent for the aforeſaid reaſons; and yet being deſirous to preſerve the Dominions which he ſaw would be manifeſtly ruin'd by theſe diſſentions, ſhe who was always a well-wiſher to peace and quiet, ſtrove to keep the treaty on foot; which being handled with much patience and accurateneſſe would by her ſollicitous endeavours have been brought to perfection, had it not been ſometimes interrupted, ſometimes prolonged by the Princes delays, who were not yet well reſolved what to do. The occaſion of the delays and demurs made by the Princes was attributed, by ſome, to their conſtancy to the Auſtrian party, by whoſe favour and forces being ſo far advanced they thought they could not in honour abandon them, as they muſt have done if they ſhould condeſcend to the Dowagers deſires; others ſaid it was becauſe the Princes could not give over their aforeſaid advantages, nor their yet greater hopes, if they ſhould proſecute the common cauſe by Arms; which and by what means it happned, it will not be far from our purpoſe to touch upon briefly.

The Princes kept the Treaty still on foot with the French, and by their means with the Dowager; and Prince *Thomas* did publickly admit of Monsieur *d'Argenson*, one in great authority with the King of *France*, who was often busie about him, beating the iron whilst it was hot, that he might bring the Prince to end the business. The Governour of *Milain* and the other Spanish Agents did resent this; and many thought that this which seemed to be a wavering from the Spanish party, would at last break out into an open alienation. But the Princes, who did no much confide in the Spanish Forces and Counsels, did not resolve by abandoning the Treaties with *France*, to deprive themselves of the favour and assistance which they had thereby; for they making their accounts also, found that the same continuation was not onely a great cause of keeping the people faithfully devoted to them and their party, but served to shew their greatness, which certainly was the more conspicuous and resplendent, whilst the world might plainly see, that at the same time that they were effectually protected and upheld by the Crown of *Spain*, they were sued unto and courted, and had large offers made them by *France*, which they waged War against, to adhere unto the Crown of *France*: and which was yet of greater importance, the continuance of the said negotiations did not onely serve as a curb to the excessive power of those Arms which protected them, to keep them within their due limits, but as a preservative against any machination, which might peradventure be plotted against them and *Piedmont* by the Spaniards; and finally the fear of losing them, made the Governour of *Milain* much more willing to give them all possible satisfaction. The Princes therefore being neither able, nor having reason to neglect such advantages, they excused the continuing of the Treaty with the French, by the necessity they were in of keeping the people constant to them by these feigned demonstrations, by the hopes which they conceived of an approaching peace, and of the sorrows of a not far off War; and to assure him the more fully of their firm intention of persevering constant to the common cause, they used to communicate freely unto him all that pass'd between them and the French, and telling him that they could ground no certainty thereupon, they strove to make him believe it was impossible it should be ever effected; and thus they endeavoured to quit all jealousies, and to make the Governour of *Milain* bear with their French negotiations; but their freedom in communicating their occasions to him, did rather irritate then appease the Governour: For he thought that the exact notice which they gave him of what great offers were made him, was a secret threatning of him that they would embrace them, if at any time they should not be satisfied in their pretentions; which partly concern'd their private interests, partly the publick concernments; the private consisted in what hath already been said, that Prince *Thomas* might have an Army given him, which might wholly and integrally depend upon himself, which he might manage as he listed upon all occasions; and that monies might be assigned to both of them for maintaining their Courts; and that neither of them should have any dependency upon the Governour; the publick aimed at being absolute Arbitrators of the Regency of the States:

States. As for the first, though Prince *Thomas*, by denying the ratification which had been formerly spoken of, did himself hinder the resolution therein; yet the Governour being desirous to satisfie him, took order for providing him speedily with monyes, and was fully bent to consolidate him in that regency, wherein at the present he had put him, and so advance it. But the Prince not thinking all this sufficient, and thinking it unworthy of his own greatness to keep in the Kings Army without command, several disastes did many times arise, by the which the Prince appearing to be daily less satisfied with his present condition, the Governour did not onely desire to satisfie him in his own particular concernments, but added a great willingness to content them in their publick pretentions, so to keep them from foregoing the King of *Spain*'s party. To this purpose, he added his yet more powerful endeavours to those great ones which were used by the Princes; for finding that all the Princes ends aimed at the taking of the Citadel of *Turin*, he held them in hopes that that should be the first thing that he would take in hand the next Spring; by which hopes being fed and dazled, they could not listen to the Dowagers proposals, nor to those of *France*; neither of them being able to make them any such offers. So these reciprocal hopes and jealousies continuing between them all that Winter; when the next Spring of the year 1640. began, the Princes seeing the Governour busie in drawing the Army into the field, they quit their pretentions of having men and monies assigned them, as inferiour to their conceived greatness, and minding this which was the publick and greatest importance, they began to sollicite the Governour to make good his promised assault; who sometimes held them on with the same hopes, and sometimes raised difficulties, which made against their desired ends. But now that the Spring was come, not being able to dissemble any longer, he declared his mind unto them, and shewed them the necessity of taking the Citadel of *Cassalle* first; that going with his Army to *Turin*, he might not leave that place behind him, from which much mischief might redound to the State of *Milan*; that otherwise he must divide his Forces, and must leave part of them in that State, and go with the rest to the taking of the Citadel of *Turin*; that they might see how prejudicial such a division would be to both those enterprizes; that they should suffer him therefore to acquit himself first of *Cassalle*, which when it should be over, he promised them faithfully he would apply himself wholly to the business of *Turin* Citadel. The Princes strove by forcible argumen ts to make him alter his mind; shewing him that the good success of *Turin* would not only be a great furtherance to the main of their affairs, but even to those of the King of *Spain*; they told him that he who would make himself master of the Citadel of *Cassalle* must first begin with that of *Turin*; which being lost, the other must needs be lost also by the French, who being driven out of *Turin* could not keep in *Piedmont*, but must be forc'd to pass back over the *Alps*, and leave not onely *Cassalle* to the arbitrement of the Kings Forces, but also the whole affairs of *Piedmont*; so not onely *Cassalle*, but *Chiavazzo*, *Carmagnola*, together with all the other Towns held by them, must be abandoned; that therefore many other greatly good successes did depend upon

upon this. They represented unto him the weakness of the Enemy, who were reduced to a very small number, not exceeding 4000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, ill appointed, not able to keep the field, nor to defend the Citadel of *Turin*, much less to cause any jealousie to the State of *Millain* from *Cassalle*; moreover that the Kingdom of *France*, which was not onely troubled with the Wars of *Flanders*, but with those of *Catalonia*, and intestine risings, was wholly diverted from the Wars of *Italy*; that *Normandy* was up in Arms against the King, whose example would certainly be followed by many other Provinces; that there was therefore no fear, that new Forces should come from thence to *Piedmont*; and on the contrary, that the Spanish Camp being redoubled by so great recruits which were coming from several parts, might easily compass any whatsoever enterprize; much more that of the Citadel of *Turin* which was already half taken, they therefore earnestly perswaded him to betake himself to the taking thereof; but contrary reasons perswaded the Governour from the going to take the Citadel of *Turin*, and to go to the taking of that of *Cassalle*; first his jealousie of the Negotiations still continued between the Princes and the French; to this was added the competition touching who should put the Garrison into the Citadel of *Turin*; which not being yet decided, the Governour foresaw that the Princes would bring it in play when the Citadel should be taken; so as he was refractory therein, which when it should be taken would afford occasion of disorders and dissentions, which might afterwards make the Princes go over to the French, when they should not be masters of the Citadel; on the contrary, the felicity which he promised unto himself in the taking the Citadel of *Cassalle*, made him believe that it became him not to weaken the flower of his Forces, which he had assembled with so much trouble, and with such expence to the Kings Exchequer, in the taking of the Citadel of *Turin*, which Forces when they should be employed in the taking of *Cassalle* would undoubtedly win unto the King a place of such importance for the safety of the State of *Millain*; and by which acquisition so great preheminency and advantage would accrue to the Kings affairs over the neighbouring States; and (which was not least to be considered) the acquisition whereof would make so fair a way to the generall peace; he was moreover disswaded from taking that of *Turin*, lest the Princes when they should be possessed thereof, assenting to their self interests, and to the Common concerns of the Italian Princes, would do what they could to keep that of *Cassalle* from falling into the Spaniards hands, and that they would hinder it by underhand dealing; wherefore preferring the good of the Kings affairs before that of the Princes, he resolved to employ his forces which were then fresh and entire in the enterprize of *Cassalle*; believing that the hopes of being afterwards assisted in that of *Turin*, might keep the Princes faithfull to the Spanish party, and make them co-operate in that of *Cassalle*; and what way of more importance, the Governour knew how much the Court of *Spain* was concern'd in the business of *Cassalle*; not so much out of the desire of getting it as for that they thought the French would have slackned the War of *Catalonia*, for the preservation of *Cassalle*; or the Court was not well satisfied with the orders gi-

ven to assault *Piedmont*, and that they were too exactly observed, and could have desired, that the Governour, contrary to their orders, had begun with the enterprise of *Cassallo*, so to draw the forces of *France* into those parts; so as though he was honoured with the title of a Grandee for the taking of *Pereselli*, yet he had some orders of Revocation to the contrary: which Revocation not afresh to incur, and that he might at the same time help to secure the State of *Milain*, and also free *Casalmont*, he could not but prefer the business of *Cassallo* before that of *Turin*; amongst these publick reasons, there wanted not some private ones; arising from a certain ambition in the Governour, to signalize his name in the Court of *Spain*, by the acquisition of that place which he knew was so much desired there; and look how much he saw that enterprize had proved unfortunate to his predecessours in that Government, the more diligent he was therein, hoping that his glory would be the greater in bringing it to a happy end; there were also certain other private emulations between him and the Princes, which did not make the Governour any thing at all well affected to their interests; for as being Infanta of *Spain* they treated somewhat briskly with him, punctually expecting from him all those observances and respects which are due to the Infanta from the subjects of that Crown; to that height, that in the Campagnia where great Princes use to keep open table, and to honour their Commanders with sitting at meat with them, they never invited him to dine with them, nor ever did he negotiate with them but be cheaded, and standing; and when he was indisposed in his feet, he treated with them either by messengers or letters; this his aversion was much increased by the Princes arrogating unto themselves all the honour of the good that had succeeded; not attributing it to the Kings forces, but to the love of the people of *Piedmont*; not to the Governours valour, or Counsels, but to their own: alleadging for proof thereof, what great difficulties he met with before *Pereselli*, when he attempted it without them; on the contrary, the Governour, who came not short of them either in counsel or Military valour, alleadged; that the peoples affection would have been curb'd, and kept back by the Dowager, without the assistance of the Kings forces; just as befel the Prince Cardinal, when being entred into *Piedmont*, he would try what the Authority of a Prince of the blood unarmed could do: and when the Princes came first with a powerful Army before the Walls of *Turin*, the Dowagers Authority was such, as she did so hold the people within bounds, as none durst ever speak, much less declare themselves in favour of the Princes, or raise any sedition, so as to let them see that he was able to undertake, and to effect great enterprizes without them, he was desirous to apply himself to this, wherein the Princes not having any thing to do, the business might be acknowledged to be wholly his: and consequently the honour which he undoubtedly expected from the happy success thereof, might belong wholly to him, and not be communicated to any others; private and publick interests being thus joyned, the Governour having all things in readiness sent *Carlo Della Gatta*, general of the Neapolitan Horse, at unawares to preoccupate the ways that led to *Cassallo*, to keep the *Monferrat* Souldiers who were dispers'd abroad in that State,

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from entring therein; and he sent the Count *di Monte-Castello* after *Gatta* to take *Livorno*; both which having observed their Orders, they appeared on *Palm-sunday*, the year 1640 before that City; and took the Town St. *Giorgio* without fighting, which had a Garrison in it only of 400 Souldiers under a French Captain; and the Governour being returned with new men from *Germany* and *Naples*, came thither with the whole Army the next *Easter-day*; his Army consisted of 12000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, to which soon after were added 2200 Foot come from *Spain*. The Garrison of the place did not exceed 1200 Foot, and 300 Horse; The French Army, which was that that could only relieve it, being very weak, was thought unable so much as to attempt it, so as the Governour made himself sure of Victory: To this was added the intelligence which was said to be held between the Governour and some of the chief of the Town, not without the Dowagers knowledge (as was thought) who was not well satisfied with the French Garrison; being come within sight of the City, he thought to fall to work, to the end that when he should have taken the City, as he thought he should easily do, he might quarter his Army more commodiously under covert, and by a short line to be drawn without the Citadel he thought to save the time and labour of making large Trenches, as his predecessors had done, when they were to lodge their Army in the Campagnia: he therefore made only two quarters; the one at the foot of the Hill; and the other upon the Plain towards *Frassinero*, two good miles distant one from the other. To the latter, whither he sent above 1000 Horse under *Carlo della Gatta*, and 400 Foot, under the Campmasters *Serra*, *Troyse* and *Gliglipo*, was added 900 Swissers; that of the Hill was divided into two bodies. The Marquess of *Caracena*, who succeeded Don *Francisco di Selva* in being General of the Horse, commanded the one, and Don *Lewis di Lincastro* the other; and the Governour, who lodged in one of them, commanded them both: here were eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; they then began their approaches against the City, which was besieged on three sides; on two, between the Citadel and the Castle; and on the third, neer the *Bee*, which they called *Degli Italiani*, intrusted to Marquesse *Serra*, and they also took a certain House called *la Fornace*, which proved very commodious for the Siege; but fortune which would deride the assured hopes of the Governour and his great Forces, appeared very little favourable to him from the very beginning; for the great rains which fell for many days together, were of great prejudice to him, not only in the commencement of his works, by which he was to make his approaches, but in preserving those which were already made; for it destroy'd them all: and the water having sunk down the ways had also made the fields unmanagable; so as the two quarters, which were far one from the other, could not communicate together. To these hinderances was added many fierce sallies, which (though they were with equal fierceness repuls'd) they did not a little disturb the Works and hinder the Work-men: Whilst the Army did thus little good, expecting fairer weather, the Governour that the Souldiers might not be idle, sent *Thomaso Alardo* with his Regiment of Dragoons, and 400 Foot to take *Resignano*, who having at first taken

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the out-works, had also begun a Mine, which when it was finished, he gave fire unto, and did thereby much good; for throwing as much Wall as sufficed to give an assault, he went thereunto, but unfortunately; for some of the Souldiers would not fight, and others were crush'd by many Gabbions of earth which fell from the earth-work of the Wall that was blown up, falling down; when they hasted to get upon the breach, those who were forwardest in advancing were repuls'd with the death of the valiantest amongst them; and many Spanish Captains were wounded, and *Don Fabricius*, who fought valiantly, though they were forsaken by their Souldiers. This mean while it was given out, as is proved true afterwards, that *Harcourt*, taking the greatest number of the French Souldiers that he could out of the Towns of *Piedmont*, accompanied by Marques *Villa*, who brought 1500 Horse with him, and by the Marques *Pianezza*, who brought 2000 Piedmontese Foot, to whom also some Montferrins were gotten, had got together a body way of an army, with which he betook himself to bring succour by the of *Villanova*, and that he brought with him twelve pieces of Cannon, and some Carriages of Victuals and Munition. The more unexpected this news was to the Governour, they made the greater impression in him, calling therefore a Counsel of War, it was consulted whether they should march out against the enemy, and fight him in the open field, or rise from before *Cassalle* and go speedily to *Turin*; giving out that the business of *Cassalle* was but a feigned attempt, to draw the enemy thither, so to keep up the Souldiers reputation: The great advantage in number of Souldiers, far more valiant then the enemy, who were said to be most of them Vagabonds, driven from their houses by Famine and War, made for the first opinion; that (therefore) Victory was not to be doubted, if they should come to battle; and that body of men being destroyed, wherein were all the Forces which the enemy could make in *Italy*, not only *Cassalle*, with the Citadel thereof, would fall into their hands, but also the Citadel of *Turin*, together with all the other Towns of *Piedmont*; which being unfurnished of Garrisons, and not able to hold out, nothing could be imagined; but that they would yield at the very news of the approach of the conquering Army. To the easiness and advantage of this Course necessity was added; for the enemy not being far off, and the Army which was before *Cassalle* lying in the open fields, divided into two quarters, with a great interval between them, not fortified either by Trench or Rampier; it was impossible for them to resist the joynt Forces of the enemy, without marching joyntly out into the field; that therefore since the great store of rain, and the shortness of time, would not permit them to fortifie the Camp, it was without all question necessary to joyn all their men into one body, to march with them into the field, to encounter the enemy with their accustomed bravery; being certainly assured, that not being able to withstand them, they would rather run away then fight, and so afford them occasion of a signal Victory, which drawing many other Victories after it would put an end to the War, and would render his Excellencies name immortal. Two things stuck with the Governour touching this so good and glorious resolution; First, the doubt of the conflict, that it might make way for the relief, presupposing that when

the conflict should be begun the enemy would send relief to the Citadel by another way, and having gotten their intent would withdraw themselves from the battle; whereby the taking of the Citadel, which was thought would be soon done, would be prolonged; the other, the Governours own genius, who did naturally abhor pitch'd Battles; and perhaps precise Orders from Court, which forbad coming thereunto, when it might be avoided; both which were powerful occasions of the loss of a famous Victory, which would assuredly have been gotten if they had fought, and would have ruin'd the enterprise; for if the Governour presupposed so much courage in the enemy, who were inferiour to him in Forces, as they might lessen their men, when the conflict was begun, to send part thereof to relieve *Cassalle*, why had not he courage enough to send some of his men to oppose the succour? and yet *Harcourt* made it be seen that dangers are overcome by encountring them, not by avoiding them; and on the contrary, that to examine dangers and inconveniences too narrowly, and to keep within Trenches expecting that good fortune should fall into ones mouth, was nothing but to neglect the fairest occasions of overcoming; to ruine enterprises and pull dangers and dishonour upon ones self. The Governour being therefore not pleased to encounter the enemy, nor shamefully to abandon the enterprise which he had begun with assured hopes of compassing it; he chose a middle way, which though frequently used in extream ruptures is usually dangerous, and which in this proved directly ruinous; and it was not to expect the coming of the enemy in open field, that he might keep from being fore'd to fight; but within a line of circumvallation, which he gave Order should be presently begun, and finished as soon as possibly might be; so giving over making of approaches, the face of affairs was in an instant changed; and this new work being to encompass Mountains and Plains, it required many Pyoneers to bring it to perfection, and more men to guard it; wherefore great store of Work-men were sent for from the State of *Milan*, and the choicest of the Milita of that State; and all this not seeming sufficient, those were sent for back who were gone to take *Rossiglione*, and 1500 of those who were left in Garrison in *Turin*; Prince *Thomaso* was also desired to come and assist in the enterprise with his Cavalry, who though he very much resented, that the Governour by going to before *Cassalle* had deluded his expectation of going to take the Citadel of *Turin*, which he had so faithfully professed all Winter long he would do; yet hoping for mighty affairs by taking the Citadel, he held it not fit to break with the Governour upon this occasion, nor by foregoing the Spanish party not only lose all his future hopes, but all that he at the present enjoyed in *Piedmont* by means of the peoples favour: taking therefore all things in good part, and making a vertue of necessity, he suffer'd that the Kings business should precede his; and not thinking it fit to abandon the City, he sent his bastard Brother Don *Mauricio* of *Savoy* to him with 800 of his best Horse; who passing over, after the taking of *Turin*, from the Dowager (who had made him Captain of the Dukes Guard) to the Princes party, was by Prince *Thomaso* made General of his Horse: all which diligence proved altogether vain and insufficient; for *Harcourt* made such haste as he prevented the perfecting

perfecting of the line of circumvolution; and beſides they had no men enough by many to defend the vaſt circuit thereof: it is true, that the Hill above *Caſſalle* being thought to be impaſſible, by reaſon of the deep ſtiff clay, they were not over careful of minding the Trenches there; nor were there ſufficient Garriſons provided for defending that part, for the Governour held for certain that the very ſituation thereof was enough to keep the enemy from falling on that part. The Army being in this condition before *Caſſalle*, *Harcourt* comes with the two Generals *Villa* and *Pianezza* to *Roſignano*; where muſtering his Forces, he found them to amount to the number of 6000 Foot, between French, Piedmonteſe and Montferrians; and to 3000 Horſe, part French, part Piedmonteſe; and the Governour continuing in his opinion, that the enemy could do nothing of moment by the Hills, and that therefore he would advance by the Plain, he placed all his men to guard that part of the Trench towards the Plain, where the *Gattola* falls into the *Poe*; where he thought the enemy would come, thinking that being ſtoutly reſiſted there, and deſpairing to make his way on that ſide, and much more by the Hill, he would abſolutely give over the buſineſs; for it being impoſſible for him to maintain his Army, which wanted all manner of things in thoſe parts, what could he do elſe but return to *Piedmont*, but he was deceived; for *Harcourt* coming from *Roſignano*, and appearing within ſight of the Plain about noon, he made his Foot tarry upon the skirts of the Hills, and being deſirous to know the poſition of the enemies Camp, and of the line of circumvolution before he did any thing, he deſcended into the Plain, together with the Signeior *della Turenna*, *della Motta*, *Odancorte* and *di Pleſsi Pralin*, with *Villa* and *Pianezza*, and with *Roccacervieta*, Serjeant Major of the Battle, back'd for his more ſafety by ſome Troops of Horſe, and advanced a little into the Plain, where he ſtaid till he had inform'd himſelf ſufficiently, and ſo return'd to the Hill, ſome Cannon-ſhot were made at him, and he was ſaluted by ſome Dragoons, but received no prejudice at all by them.

The night coming on, the Spaniards thought that the Enemy had found ſuch difficulties in the Plain as he would forbear attempting any thing; and they thought themſelves ſafe enough on the Hills ſide, for the Reaſons already ſaid: Wherefore thinking that the Enemy deſpairing of any good ſucceſs would attempt nothing, they conſequently held themſelves ſure of Victory; and applauding the Governour for his wiſedom and military warineſs, they approved of his counſel, who had choſen to ſit ſtill and overcome; ſo they minded nothing but reciprocal congratulations: But *Harcourt*, not at all deterr'd by any difficulty he found on the Plain, after ſome conſultations, thought to aſſault the French towards the Plain on three ſides that very night, a good part whereof being ſpent in conſultations, and in ordering their marches, and one of the Guides being run away, who was to have guided them to the furtheſt place where they intended to fall on; at laſt, when day began to clear up, changing his reſolution, *Harcourt* reſolved to try whether the natural difficulties of the Hills would not be more eaſily overcome, then the oppoſitions upon the Plain: he therefore made a Bridge be thrown over the *Gattola* about break of day, in that Valley, by which

beginning his course, he afterwards made his men pass over the Bridge before day, thinking to make them ascend the opposite hill, and there to re-attempt the enterprise: which design being soon discover'd, the Governour sent the Dragoons, with some Foot Companies, to defend that hill which the enemy strove to get up; but the provision was but weak and in vain; for *Harcourt* finding that he must either mount there, or shamefully give over the enterprise, advanced almost all his Forces against those Dragoons, and succeeding therein, drove them, after a long dispute, from the station which they had taken but a little before; and being master thereof, endeavoured to make twelve pieces of Cannon be drawn that way. The Governour, by the bad success of his men began to fear the worst; and going from his quarter, he commanded Don *Mauricio* to advance with half his Horse, to defend a certain station beyond the line, seated upon the hanging of a hill, behind an Hermitage, where 400 Musketiers were placed, that he might oppose the enemy who was to ascend by that way, and not suffer him to get any higher. *Harcourt*, when his Artillery was got up the hill, made four batteries of them, wherewith he began from Sun rising to play upon the opposite Plain, with much prejudice to the quarters which lay below, and to the enemies Squadrons; then leaving the Piedmontese Horse and Foot under *Villa* and *Pianezza*, to the end, that holding the enemy play there they might diver them from succouring the hill when the French should ascend; he march'd by the climbing of the hill in this order. *Il Signore della Motta Odencourt* mounted on the left side with six Regiments of Horse, and as many Foot, together with some Troops of Dragoons. *Harcourt* himself got up with the rest of the Foot on the right hand, the rest of the Horse under the Viscount of *Turin*, march'd up in the Rere; they all got well up, having not only overcome the difficulties of the situation, which the Governour thought was not to be done; but the opposition which was made at the Hermitage, which was abandoned at the very first assult; and then that of the Horse under Don *Mauricio*, which were placed behind the Hermitage, which not being back'd by any Musketiers, after some resistance made, was at last forced to retreat; so *Harcourt* having overcome this impediment also, pursued his march the more freely, and got to above the Trenches. The hills were but badly fortified; for the line of circumvolution not arriving at the height thereof, it was commanded by the part above it; and the Work was made in such haste and disorder, as both the line and the ditch which munited it were in many places overlooked by the ground that was without; and there were but few defendants, for the Governour (as hath been said) thought that part sufficiently secured by its situation; but some of the chiefest Spanish Commanders thought that the enemy would not adventure an assault even from hence; so much did they confide in their own Forces, and made so little account of the enemy; amongst which was Don *Antonio Sarmiento*, one of no small authority, but better at the Gown then Sword; and yet he did not only meddle in giving Counsel, but in issuing out Orders in the Camp; and thinking that *Harcourt* durst not give an assault, but that he endeavoured by feigned attempts to divert the Camp from that side, by which he thought to steal in the succour,

succour, he persisted so much in this opinion, as he would not alter his mind, though he saw *Harcourt* gotten to the top of the hill: And seeing a certain lower part of the line subject to be damnified, and not caring to defend it, he sent the Souldiers that had the guard thereof, into the field, and placed them in an eminent part without the line, thinking that defence might be better made there; but he was mistaken, and it proved to be of very bad consequence. *Harcourt* being gotten to the top of the hill, and seeing his advantages, and the disadvantages of the Enemy, he began to hope well, and that he should be Conqueror that day: wherefore he cheerfully disposed of his men for an assault, and himself, and Count *de Plessis Praslin*, who commanded that garison, went to assault the upper part of the Trench; who having chased away those who were placed by *Serviente* to guard the more higher outward part, they went to assault the upper part of the line, hoping to have the like success there, but it proved otherwise, for two Brigades of veterane Spaniards, who were long accustomed to War, being set to defend that place, the Assailants were thrice repuls'd; but at the fourth assault, which was more fierce then the former, the Defendants were forced to yield; and at the same time that part of the lower Trench which was unfurnish'd of Defendants by *Serviente* (as hath been said) being assaulted by *Torenne*, was easily broke through, so as the line being thrown open in two parts, the French, like a swift Torrent, (which having broken down the bank doth overflow the fields) burst in into the Spaniards quarters: and at the same time, *Villa* and *Pianezza*, did not onely assist by way of diversion in the plain, as they were ordered, but valiantly advancing they also broke into the Trench in the plain, which was much better munited then that upon the hill; a Fort munited with a good ditch stood opposite to them, which without any defence made, was taken by the foot. So as they having forc'd the line below, at the same time that the other had broken into that upon the hill, they entred the line; and speedily making a Bridge, with materials which they found upon the place, to make the Horse pass over the ditch, which *Villa* made them forthwith do; so they passed in, and *Turenne* joyned seasonably with them, who having but a few with him, pursued the disordered Enemy. The French being entred (as hath been said) on the hils side, divided themselves into three parts, one, which was the greatest, and which was led on by Count *della Motta*, fell on the left hand upon the Spanish quarters, which were upon the skirts of the hill; the other two, which were led on by *Harcourt* and Count *Plessis*, took to the right hand; and being come over against the Citadel were met by part of the Garrison thereof, and by many young men of *Cassale*, who stood in ranks under the Artillery of the Citadel; and all of them joyntly fell to pursue the Enemy, who abandoning their Trenches in great confusion retreated, partly, because the French were entred the line of Circumvolution on the hills side, and the Piedmontese on the plain; partly, because the Governour, hearing what had hapned upon the hill, was gone to his quarters: So as finding themselves abandoned by their Commander in chief, and hearing the bad success upon the hill, they feared to be assaulted on the back, and confusedly gave over all defence: And such was the confusion,

fusion; as they did not onely not know what they had to do, but were so intangled within themselves, as the Pikes, without any distinction, mingled with the Musketiers. So being pursued by *Villa* and *Tarenna* with their Horse, they were at first muddled. The Dutch and Burgundians who kept the lower Trench, the assault of confusion not being yet come to them, kept their stations, and valiantly received and answered the Enemy. Marquels *Caracena* helpt much to the extricating them out of this confusion, who coming in, where he saw the croud of people intangled in disorder, out of meer madness and anger fell upon the French on the flank with a squadron of Horse that was at hand, routed them, and afforded conveniency to the others to rally, and put themselves in a posture of defence, and having freed them from the Enemy, sent them to recover a certain station which guarded a Bridge over the *Gaeta*, and which was taken a little before by the French: Nor he alone shall content; he rallied together many others that were scattered up and down the fields; and in the interim whilst he behaved himself courageously, every where, amidst greatest dangers, he received a mortal shot by a Musket thorow the left side, and was carried out of the field almost dead to a poor Cottage. But two other Champions came in to the rescue of the imminent ruine of the Camp; *Carlo della Gatta*, and Marquels *Serra Gatta*, being sent for by the Governour from his quarters at *Fraschinelo*, a little before the fight began, came in with a thousand Horse, and being come to the Camp when things were in greatest confusion, he advanced with his thousand Horse, and with some other that came in unto him, as neer as he could to the Citadel, with keeping without reach of Cannon, where he drew up a powerful squadron in the open field, under the shelter whereof all that were disbanded and disordered, had safe refuge; and Marquels *Serra* being with his Italians in their quarters neer the *Poe*, heard the unexpected news of the rout, and therewith received strict and penal orders to retreat; and that since things were in disorder and ruine past all remedy, he should go with his men to beyond the *Poe* over the next bridge, so to keep himself from the danger of the Enemy, who would quickly be upon his back. But he, though he were much astonished at the unexpected advertisment, did not forego the field, nor did he despair of safety; but encouraging his men, he drew them into a squadron, and made himself strong in the field; and sending his Artillery to beyond the *Poe*, stay'd with his men in rank to keep back the Enemy who made towards him; so as many Souldiers who ran away escaped death under the shelter of his squadrons, as others had done under those of *Gatta*, not onely Troops and Companies, but whole Brigades saved themselves under these two refuges. The Camp-master General, Don *Jovan Vasques Conrado*, came under the shelter of *Gatta* and the Neopolitan Horse, as also the Brigade of *Naples* which was all Spaniards: Don *Vincenzo Munsurio's* Brigade, that of *Lombardy*, that of *Martino Maxica*, and *Battavilla's* Brigade of the Burgondians, together with the Artillery which were drawn from off where they play'd against the City, and those which defended a little Fort, not far from the Burgondian battery; behind *Serra* came the Governour himself, with the greatest part of his Court, and part of the Artillery, who in stead of his

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threatned punishment gave *Serra* a thousand thanks for not having obey'd his orders: *Serra*'s own Brigade, those of *Trotte* and of *Emilio Ghiglino*, the Regiment of Swissers and a Brigade of *Papenheim*'s Dutch: And those that came under the shelter of *Gatta*, went safe with the Artillery to *Frassinero*, and from thence to *Brone*, by a bridge which was thrown over there; and those who received shelter by *Serra* past over the *Po* with their Artillery by a Bridge neer his quarters, and got with all quiet safety to *Alessandria*: so the retreat amidst so great a discomposure proved safe, and honourable, even to the admiration of the Conquerours; who doubting least those who were rallied under these refuges might have regained the Victory, were contented with the relief which they had brought, which was the chief end of that days action; and ordered their men only to keep the Enemy from rallying, but not to provoke them to battel: and truly the counsel was not bad, for when the confusion was quieted, and the disorder over, the Spaniards had yet so many left alive, as, though they had not been able to keep out the relief, they were sufficient to have routed the conquerours, and to have taken the victory from them, so many Brigades as have been named remaining untouch'd; besides those who escaped away unhurt, and but little prejudiced, elsewhere; for the Dutch Regiment under Prince *Borso*, and the two Spanish Regiments, who had fought so valiantly upon the hill, were retreated safe and unpursued, making their advantage of the night, to *Pontestura*; the like befel some 400 who were placed upon the hill, without the Trenches, who rallied together in an upper plain neer Saint *Georgio*, under Don *Alonzo Vatgas*; moreover the foot of *Frassinero*'s quarter, which had not fought at all, nor were not assaulted, were fresh, and untouch'd, about 5000 of the Horse were also undamnified; so as the Victory being gotten rather by industry, and valour, in having won the hills, then by much havock and ruine of the conquered Army, the Governour might have kept the field with the remaining Forces, and have done what he pleased; but these things are thought upon when the danger is over, and when confusion is past, which bereaves the wisest of Reason; the Governour, who thought he had ventured too much already, thought rather how to save his men that were not yet routed, then to expose them to further hazard; out of these respects, the Governour chose neither to reassume the enterprize; nor to do what was thought by many of the Commanders would prove successful in the siege of *Cassalle*; who grounded their reasons upon the coming in of many men into *Cassalle*, and but little victuals, so as it must necessarily be brought soon to surrender: these advises were therefore far differing from the Governours genius, who was cautious in all his actions, and too much cowed in this; the quarters under the hill fared otherwise, where there was no fighting, nor battel, but downright plunder on the conquerours side, and running away on the conquered; the conquerours found the Enemies quarters almost void of men, but full of booty: especially that of the Governour, wherein were not only great store of Silver-plate, and of other moveables belonging to the Governour, and so many other Lords and Commanders that lodged there; but also monies, which were to be used in the enterprize,

prize, which all fell into the hands of the French; so as the Souldiers who were greedy of handling money, loved not to handle Iron; especially not having to employ it, for all the Enemies were fled; the Governours Cabinet was also sacked, wherein many secrets were found, and amongst the rest the old King Spains Cypher, with all writings of account; some of those that fled from hence got safe into *Pontestura*, not being pursued by any; but many of those very many which fled to the Bridge neer *Margherita*, over the *Poe*, were drowned; for they crouded so fast one upon another, as they fell by the sides of the Bridge into the River; and the great number of men, and cattle, and some carriages, did so overload the bridge, as one of the Boats whereon it was built, sank; and so great was the number as well of men, as cattel, and carriages, that were there drowned, as they fil'd up the vacancy of the Bridge; and those who were not yet past over saved themselves by passing upon the dead Carcasses: there were not above a thousand of the Souldiers slain in the battel; 2000. were wounded, and taken prisoners, amongst which some of the chiefest of the Army; those who perished in the *Poe* were most of them victuallers, and the poorer sort of people who follow after the camp. *Harcourt* sent generously, all the Governours servant, who remain'd prisoners, to their Masters: and Marquess *Villa* redeemed all those that belonged to Marquess *Caracena*, and to *Vasquez*, and sent them to their Masters; the writings also were sent back for some sleight rewards disbursed, to those that had them in custody. *Harcourt* being victorious by so happy and so important a relief to a place of such concernment, with a number so far inferiour to those that were fortified within their works, did not forget himself with this happy success: but having scarcely refresh'd his men, and furnish'd the Citadel with some Victuals, he went two days after the victory towards *Turin*; and being desirous to purchase yet more glory, he thought he should have done nothing, unless he should also set the Citadel of *Turin* at liberty, and put the Dowager into the condition she was in, as she did earnestly request the King, his Agents, and Commanders, and as the King had strictly ordered his Commanders: this could not be done without the perfect recovery of the Citadel of *Turin*; whereunto he couragiously betook himself, and whereunto he was much enheartned by the smallness of the Garrison that remained in the City, from whence the Governour had sent for a good part to before *Cossale*, and Prince *Thomaso* had sent away 800 Horse: and he thought that but small succours would be brought from without for he held (for certain) that the Governour, from whom succour could only be expected, would not hazard the remainder of his men after having been so baffled and beaten in the relief of *Turin*, to the so great prejudice of the State of *Millain*; he moreover was put in greater hopes, by the scarcity as well of Victuals as of Warlike provisions, which he had learned by discourse was in that City; for he calculated that the French, Spanish, and Piedmontese, which one after another had been fed in that City, must have consumed all the Victuals that were there; and the *Poe* being block'd up all the Winter, on the one side by *Chivasso*, on the other side by *Carmagnuola*, he thought it impossible it could be furnished by that river; and much less by land, by reason

reason of the great scarcity of Cattel that was in those parts; he thought there was greater want of Warlike provisions, by reason of the great profusion which necessarily must have been made thereof the preceding Winter, in the many Mines, Batteries, Assaults, and Fights between the City and the Citadel; he also built much upon the Citizens good will; not so much out of the inclination which many of them might privately have unto the Dowager, as of the meaner sort of people, who living upon their handy work, which was fed by continual concourse and traffick, they could not hold out long, the Gates of the City being shut up, so as it was thought impossible that they should hold out a siege long; all which things though they had an appearance of truth, yet the sequel shewed that they were badly calculated; for none of them cooperated to that Victory which was thought so sure; for the City (as was afterwards known) was provided with victuals more then needed; and as for warlike provision, (which was that which they wanted most) they wanted not witty new inventions, whereby they got enough thereof; they might want Defendants to free the City from siege, but not to defend it; the people, and all the Citizens, kept always constant in defence of the City, and stuck close to the Prince; and, what made most for the main affair, the Governour of *Millain*, contrary to *Harcourts* supposal, appeared within a few days with a powerful Army before the City ready to relieve it; for having a little digested the misfortune at *Cassalle*, he feared (as it fell out) that the Enemy would forthwith come before *Turin*; and knowing how weak the Garrison was, and what scarcity of Warlike provision there was in the City, he immediately sent 1500 Souldiers thither, part *Italians*, under Marques *Sirra*, and *Vercellino* Viscount; and part *Burgondians*, under the Baron *di Vatteville*, all of them choice and *Veteran* Souldiers; to which about 4000 others of several nations being added, which remained under *Bologuino* in defence of the City, they amounted to well neer 5500 Foot, who were all to obey Don *Antonio Sotelo* General of the Artillery of the State of *Millain*; who was sent thither with supream authority to command all the King of *Spains* Forces; many loads of powder, and other warlike tackling, were added to this succour; & the Governour Writ fervently to the Prince, encouraging him to persevere in defending the Town, and promising him that, to boot with these succors, he would come thither himself shortly with a powerful Army to relieve him, and set him at liberty; and telling him that what had hapned at *Cassalle* was but a trick of Fortune, and had rather dispers'd then discomfited his men; that he stay'd now to rally them under his Colours; to the end that with them, and with others which he expected very shortly from other parts, he might come and relieve him and the City; All those that were sent by the Governour got luckily into *Turin*; and Don *Maurice* got thither also, who was returned with the Prince his Horse from *Cassalle*, though somewhat lessened by *Harcourts* Cannon which thundered from the hills; but little powder could be brought in for want of Waggon horses; and the ways being afterwards block'd up, and possessed by the Enemy, the rest could not enter without much prejudice to the Enterprise; especially for that Prince *Thomaso* had sent 400 Horse before

the ways were block'd up, to be a conduct to that Munition, which Horse was not suffered to return for the aforesaid blocking up of the ways; so the Prince was not only deprived of that provision, but also of those Horse, which had he had them, he would doubtlesly have made greater impressions upon the Enemy by sallies then he did; but now he was forced to be more circumspect in his night Assaults: 3000 Citizens, able to bear Arms, were added to the Kings men, who were employed in defending the City, and also many Country people, who were come thither for refuge, who were a great help in their handy-works; so as the Prince, though he wanted fighting men and war like ammunition, yet finding that the Governour was mindful of him, and of preserving the City, and taking that assistance which he had already sent as a Token of what he would do in the future, he was not wanting to himself, in doing what he could, in so short a time, to defend the City.

Turin stands in a large and pleasant Plain, twelve miles Eastwards from the *Alpes*; the *Poe* runs almost within a Bow shot of it on the East side, and on the North the *Dora* comes almost to one Angle of the City; and a little beyond *la Dora* runs *la Stura*, both which Rivers fall into the neighbouring *Poe*: on the South side runs the *Sangone*, rather a Torrent then a River, which falls also into the *Poe* over against *Lucerna*. The City thus scituated is divided into three parts, the new City, the old City, and the Citadel. The new City joyns to the old on the South, they are only divided by a Wall, but are both enclosed within a Wall; and as the new Town advanced a little further then the old towards the *Poe*, so not thrusting out so far towards the *Alps* it leaves a spacious Plain, whereon the Citadel stands; which being further from the *Poe* then the City wants not only the conveniences which the might receive by the neighbourhood thereof, but not being able to command the River cannot debar it from Navigation. The Citadel is a Pentagon: The circuit of both the old and new City is flank'd round about with Bulwarks and with Ditches. The Prince when he was master of it did not believe he should be forc'd to defend it from without, but imployed himself totally against the Citadel, and neglected securing the City on the out side, but learning, by what had hapned at *Casale*, that instead of hindring the taking of the Citadel, it behoved him to take care of defending the City, he fell with all speed and diligence to fortifie it from any assault that might be made from without; and leaving smaller matters, his chiefest care was to defend the Bridge over the *Poe*, which, as whilst it was in his hands, it kept the way open for the bringing of succour, which he expected would be brought from the Governour; so when it should be taken by the enemy, it kept out any succour that might be brought by that way; for then the reliever must find some other way to pass his Army over the River, which was almost impossible to do in the face of a powerful enemy. This Bridge is made of Stone, and is the best that crosses the *Poe*; at the left side of the foot thereof, towards *Turin*, stands a little Burrough; the other which stands on the right side lies under a little hill, upon which there is a Church, and a Covent of Capuchins, and this side being all hilly, other higher hills stand above that of the Capuchins, one above another. The Prince fortified this Bridge at both ends with Trenches; not herewith-

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all contented, he munited very well the aforesaid Church and Covent; and, Moreover, built a little Fort upon another higher hill which overlooked the Monastery: he put 300 Foot into these Fortifications, and Victuals, and Ammunition sufficient for fifteen days, within which time he hoped the Governour would appear with his Army. These Works were not fully finished, when the French Army appeared on three sides; the first that appeared having block'd up the Passes of *Susa*, *Lanza* and the Canevese, advanced to the City towards the *Dora*, and the new Park, which answers upon that Angle of the City which is called the green Bulwark, and which includes the Dukes Palace and Gardens, in defence whereof the Prince had made a sudden Trench, formed like a pair of Shears; the other quartered on the upper hill, above the Church and Covent of the Capuchins; and the third, passing the *Poe* at *Montcalleri* by a wooden Bridge that is there, advanced to the Palace *Valentino*; whereof, after a small Skirmish, making themselves masters, they the next night took the Burrough, which (as we said) stands between the City and the Bridge; and not meeting with any resistance there, they assaulted the Bridge where they found some resistance; but having mortally wounded the Captain, who did defend it, they made themselves also masters thereof: the Garrison retiring towards the Monastery, as to an advantagious place; which was not able neither to keep there long; for the little Fort which (as hath been said) was built, and fortified by the Prince above the Monastery, was at the same time assaulted and taken by those who had taken up their quarters upon the hill which was above that Fort: whence playing upon the Covent which was beneath, they easily took it, though they were manfully fought with; for at a third assault the assailants entred the place, and from thence went to the Church, whither the defendants had retreated; where, without any respect to the holiness of the place, they put all to the sword that were there, except the Officers; and sacking, moreover, not only such secular things as were brought thither as into a place of safety; but without any distinction laid hands upon such as were sacred, and dedicated to divine worship; by which good success waxing more bold, and meeting with no opposition (for the Prince being desirous to keep his men within the Walls, would not go out) they did not only give themselves to better the Fortifications which they there found, but joyned another Fort which they themselves made, to that which the Prince had erected above the Monastery; which commanded all the other Fortifications, even those of the Bridge: they likewise fortified the heads of the Bridge better; and extending their Trenches towards the Burrough, they placed a very strong Garrison there of 2000 Foot and 1000 Horse, which were commanded by Count *Plessis Pralin*: the rest of the Army was distributed into several quarters about the City; the Inhabitants whereof were the same day so enclosed within their walls by the enemies Army, as they could not hear news of any succour from the Governour; unless it were by various inventions which they found, and which did often deceive them, by which they inform'd the Governour of what streights they were in, and sometimes received hopes of succour. The Governour was much troubled at the scarcity of powder that was in the

City; wherefore he sent *Carlo della Gatta* with 2000 Horse to *Inurea*, that he might endeavour by a greater force to bring in that Ammunition which was left there, but it proved in vain; for *la Gatta* being come with that Ammunition to *Cassalle*, five miles from *Turin*, and having found conveniency to inform the Prince of all things, he was willed by him to retreat; for that it was impossible for him to get into the City, he being first to overcome *La Stura* and *La Dora*, which were then munited with strong French Garrisons; but in his return passing thorough the *Canavese*, he found the Town of St. *Mauricio* taken again by the French, and ready to be sack'd, which he freed with the death of all the French, whom he put to the sword. *Harcourt* kept this mean while in the *Vallentino*, expecting that the people should rise in the City, as the Prince and the Governour did, when they came first before it the preceding year. But this proved in vain; for for all that he could do, there was not any one amongst the Souldiers who was discover'd to comply with the Dowager, or were blemish'd so much as with any such thought, but all of them during the whole siege proved faithfull to the Prince. Wherefore *Harcourt* failing every day more and more of effecting his desire by that way, he try'd another; *La Dora* falls a little above the City, by a cleft into a Channel which conveyes water to the Mills, which serve the people with grist. He therefore gave order that that cleft should be dam'd up with earth by night; so as the Mills not being able to go for want of water, the City which abounded in Corn, began to want bread: For there were onely two hand-mills within the Town, which could not possibly supply so great a multitude with grist; so as the City was in a short time like to be famish'd for want of bread, though it abounded in Corn. *Harcourt* resolved to reduce the City yet to greater extremities, and to make it altogether despair of succour, with hopes whereof being fed, it patiently suffer'd all hardships: For at last he began to draw a line of Circumvolution; which beginning from the bank of the *Poe*, about a Musket-shot above the *Vallentino*, ran along the plain towards the West, and came to the Church *Della Crocetta*, just over against the Citadel; and then winding about the Citadel, came to the great Edifice called *La Perporata*; and continued to the *Dora*, crossing with it came to the little house which is called *Bianchina*; and then declining by the *Madalene*, to the mouth of the same River; where being broken off by the source or course of water, it was reassumed again, and terminated in the neighbouring banks of *Poe*; a compass of eight miles, which being furnish'd with small Forts and other works was divided into six quarters; wherein the French and Piedmontese Armies were thus distributed. Count *Plesis Pralin*, the first Marshal of the Camp, was quartered from the bridge to the *Parco*. This quarter contained within it the *Burgo*, and the fortifications of the bridge, and of the Capuchins hills: From *Vallentino*, where the line began towards *La Crocbetta*, and so forwards towards *La Perporata*, *La Dora*, and *Le Cassine divisa d' Albera*, was General *Harcourt* quartered, and with him the Viscount *Di Turenna*, Camp-marshal of the French Horse: The Circumvolution made a great bow from one bridge upon the *Dora*, to another bridge below the *Parco*, and neer the *Poe*; to which *La Dora* served as a string:

ſtring: wherein *Ill* Signeior *della Motta Odencourt*, field Marſhal, was firſt quarter'd; who commanded a ſmall body, part Foot, part Horſe; who were left by Duke *Longueville*, and were ſubordinate onely to General *Harcourt*. But afterwards the *Porparata* was aſſigned him for his quarter, together with a good part of the line on both ſides; and with him were *Villa* and *Pianezza* quartered with the French and Piedmonteſe Horſe. The Citizens of *Turin* ſaw themſelves thus ſurrounded, and as it were impriſoned, and were not able of themſelves to break the line, which did not onely threaten their liberties, but their lives and fortunes. And in theſe great ſtreights all their hopes lay in being relieved by the Governour; which they were day by day inform'd ſhould be ere long: For he having rallied his men, and re-inforced his Camp, was come from *Vercelli* to *Creſcentino*, and by a bridge thrown over the River there, marched ſtraight to *Cheri*, where having ſtay'd ſome days to get his men together, he endeavour'd by all poſſible means to get neer the City, to free both it and the Prince from ſiege; in which time the Prince deſirous either to try the Enemies Forces, or to give a trial of his, ſally'd very ſtrong both in Horſe and Foot by night out of the City, and fell upon *La Motta*'s quarter, which was at the *Magdalene* beyond the *Dora*; and charging him whilſt they were all a ſleep, his men entred even into the Rendezvous of Arms of that quarter, wounding and killing many before they could put themſelves in a defenſive poſture; which proved not ſuch, but that after having done them much prejudice, the Prince might get to within the ſhelter of the Cannon of the City, whereinto he retreated with little loſs to himſelf, and more to the Enemy. This action revived the ſpirits of the beſieged, and much more the bringing back of the water of *Dora* to the Mills, which was done by the Citizens; a great band whereof, back'd by a ſquadron of Musketiers, went out of the City, and coming to where the water was dam'd up, broke as much of the earth which cloſed the orifice, as made way enough for water to turn four wheeles; and the next night the current of the River broke down the reſt, ſo as the water came plentifully into the Channel, much to the comfort of the City, which thereby got bread enough.

To theſe two happineſſes, which amidſt ſo many evils appeared to be great ones; a third, yet greater, was added at the ſame time. The relieving Army appear'd at the laſt upon the higheſt of the Capuchins hills, on the twentieth day after the Enemy appeared, and the one and thirtieth after the buſineſs of *Caſſalle*. In this Army were 4000 Horſe, 700 Dragoons, and 12000 Foot; to whom were added no ſmall recruits both of Foot and Horſe, ſent by the Prince Cardinal, and 600 Mountainers, who being by the War driven out of their houſes had deſperately taken up Arms. This ſo goodly Army was not onely a terror, but a wonder to the French; who (thinking that the whole Spaniſh Forces had been defaced by the victory gotten at *Caſſalle*) could not believe that they could be ſo ſoon got together, and brought to diſpute the buſineſs with them; and being but few in number themſelves, and not ſufficient to munite ſo great a Circumvolution, they much doubted what the ſucceſs would be; the Governour was fully reſolved to do nothing herein, but was furtheſt out of the reach of fortune, and what might

might be gotten with least danger and effusion of blood. Wherefore he resolved to bring the relief by that part of the hills which was scituated along the River of *Poe*; and particularly there where the Enemy had fortified above the Covent of the Capuchins and the bridge; and where when they should have taken the Fort which was built by the French, and which was above them all, they might command all the lower fortifications and the bridge; in which case he might have an open way to come with his men to the City, and not onely bring what relief was requisite to the besieged, but by discomfiting the Enemy would have raised the siege; and would have largely revenged himself for the blow he received before *Cassalle*. This design would have succeeded happily, if the Governour had been so diligent in executing it, as the Prince was in assisting him: For guessing by the appearing of the relieving Army from those hills, and the rather by some lights, that the Governour would assault the upper Fort that very night; he went out when it grew duskish, with all his men, out of the Town, and drew neer the bridge, intending to assault it when he should hear the assault given from above; by which being likely to make a great diversion, he might have much assisted the Governour in his assault. But the Governour who would consult with his Commanders what was to be done concerning the main affair, before he would do any thing, put off the execution till the next day; by which delay the Prince being frustrated in his expectation, retired to the City; and the French were very careful to lay bare the Fort, that very night taking the earth from it towards the Enemies Camp, and so made it unaccessible and impregnable. And because they saw all the Enemies force drawn up thither; they called all the best Souldiers and Commanders of the Camp, as if *Harcourt* foresaw how much the getting or losing of *Turin* lay in the keeping or loss thereof. The Governour seeing, the next day, how hard the taking of that place was made by that nights work, he forbore assaulting it, and kept four days upon those Hills, upon which having raised some batteries, he played upon the lower fortifications; and the French, that they might free themselves of that molestation, sallied out one night very strong upon the Enemies Works, to the end that if they got no other good else thereby, they might at least cloy the Ordnance, and free themselves of the mischief they received thereby; but meeting with stout resistance, they were repuls'd with loss, and forc'd to retreat to their own fortifications. And yet the Governour knowing that the laying of them level with the ground made but little for the main business, and that to beat down Forts, which would be continually repaired by the neighbouring Army, was to no purpose; and that the City being streightned on many sides, he resolved to change his quarters, and to go to *Montcalleri*, which is a great Town upon the right hand of the *Poe*, a little above *Valentino*, where there is a wooden bridge over the River, which is strong and safe enough; which the Governour thinking to make himself master of, that he might pass thereby over the River, when he could not do so by that of the Capuchins; he when he came first upon the hills, sent a Regiment of Dragoons to take the Town and Bridge. The Town was abandoned at the first appearance of the Dragoons, and the Bridge was at the same time burnt; so as

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the taking of the Town made nothing at all for the Governours purpoſe; for he muſt find means to make another good and ſolid Bridge, whereby to paſs over his Army, if he would effect the intended ſuccour; he therefore ordered *Carlo della Gatta*, to go with a good ſtrength of men to *Montcalieri*, and to throw over another Bridge a little above that which the French had burnt, where two Iſlands were made by the *Poe*, which were very commodious for the paſſage. *La Gatta* went thither, and paſt over 300 Souldiers in boats to the other ſhore, under Serjeant Major *Lomelino*, by which thoſe who defended the further ſhore being beaten back, he began a Fortification upon the bank which he had won; that it might ſerve to keep back the enemy, if they ſhould oppoſe the throwing over of the Bridge; but as ſoon as *Harcourt* heard of the enemies being paſt over, and of the Fortifications which they made there, conſidering of what importance it might be, if the enemy ſhould enter on that ſide, and accoſt their Trenches, he forthwith ſent the Viſcount *di Turenna* to diſturb the Work; who went with a great body of Muſketiers, and was followed by *Harcourt*'s ſelf, with a great ſtrength of men to back him, if there ſhould be occaſion. The place where *Lomelino* fortified himſelf was environed, for the moſt part, with a great ditch full of the water of the *Poe*; the Souldiers being afraid, and not daring to paſs over it, *Turenna*, to upbraid their cowardlineſs, threw himſelf, with ſome of the chiefeſt that were about him, into the ditch, and undaunted paſt over it, though the water came up to his breaſt; the Souldiers being thereby encouraged did all follow him; and ſurrounding the enemy who were buſie in fortifying themſelves, and others coming in by where the ditch came ſhort, a fierce Skirmiſh began, wherein the aſſaulted, not able to ſave themſelves by retreating fought ſtoutly; but *Turenna*, who fought amongſt the foremoſt, receiving a ſleight hurt in the heat of the conflict, was reported to be dead, at which the aſſailants grew ſo enraged, as being recruited by new men which continually came in, they began to fight deſperately, killing not only thoſe who fought, but thoſe who yielded; and being ſuperiour both in number and in force, they ſlew them all, part whereof periſh'd by the ſword, and part were drowned in the water. *Lomelino*'s ſelf, who was taken priſoner, could find no mercy with the enraged rout, who refuſing great ſums of money to ſave his life, allaid their anger in his death; by which cruel action the Spaniards being highly incenſed, they likewiſe grew cruel, ſo the conflict began to be very bloody. The French were much rejoyced at this happy ſucceſs, who having already kept the Spaniards twice from paſſing over the River thought themſelves ſure of Victory; and made publick fires of joy in the Camp, witneſſing it with three Vollies of Muskets, and with diſcharging their great Guns; but the City was as ſad, and the Spaniſh Camp grew very diffident, both of them finding how hard a buſineſs it would be to paſs over the Rivers; wherefore it appearing impoſſible for them to relieve the City as they intended, they began to conſult how to do it by diverſion, by going to *Carmagnuola*, thinking that the French would not ſuffer *Carmagnuola* to be apparently loſt, for the uncertain hope of taking *Turin*; and the Prince himſelf, ſeeing how hard it would be for them to paſs over there, adviſed them to go higher up, toward *Villa*

franca;

franca, 22 miles above *Turin*, where the River being foordable, they might throw over a Bridge without any opposition; but *Villa franca* was judged to be too far off, and that the march would prove incommodious, as well in their going, as in their returning; and so great a march so neer the enemy was not likely to be made without being forc'd to fight; wherefore that resolution was not taken; and yet the Governour had so great a desire to relieve the Prince, as he attempted to pass over once more, a little below *Montcalleri*, where the *Poe* dividing it self into three branches makes other two small Islands, more commodious for passage then the former two above *Montcalleri*, which had been unfortunately attempted; and though the River was much swoln by the fall of waters, and that the further shore, over against these Islands, was well munited with Trenches and Garrisons; yet he resolved to send the same *Gatta*, with greater Forces then before, to make a trial. *Gatta*, being come to the shore side placed some pieces of Artillery there; and embarquing some Souldiers in some Shallops, he past them over by night into the Islands; who when the Souldiers were landed, they began to send over materials for Fortification in the same Sciffs; so as they made Trenches, with great diligence, in the second Islands, before day break, and before the enemy were aware; but at last being awakned by the going off of a Musket, which unfortunately took fire, they presently put themselves in defence. This going off of the Musket, instead of disturbing them in their Works, made them work the harder; so as, about break of day, the Islands were wholly cover'd with Trenches, and in a good posture of defence: both the Generals hasted immediately to the two several shores, to provide against so sudden and so unexpected an accident; upon which the main affair of the whole business was thought by both parties to depend; by the Spaniards, for encouraging the enterprise; by the French, for the disturbance thereof. The French strived five times to fortifie their shore with new & better Fortifications; but were still beaten off by Musket-shot from the Islands, and by Cannon, charg'd with small bullets, from the opposite shore, with great slaughter to their men; notwithstanding that the chiefest of the Army were sent for thither to defend it; nay, though Souldiers were drawn thither out of the Citadel, and the Governour of the Citadel invited to come and hinder the passing over; but, at last, giving over the defence of their shore, *Harcourt* withdrew his men so far inward, as they were out of the reach of the Spaniards Muskets which were placed on the side of the Island, and made them stand ready to play upon those whom they should see first appear upon the assaulted shore. The Spaniards, when they saw the shore abandoned, failed not to throw over their Bridge, and to fortifie the head thereof; where they began a Half-moon; about the making whereof whilst a hundred Souldiers were very busie, a good strength of Horse and Foot appeared on the shore to hinder the work, and to drive away the Work-men; who according to Orders which they had received retreated over the Bridge back into the Island; and the Bridge not being yet well fastned, broke, so as 25 of them fell into the River, and were unfortunately drowned; yet a hail of Musket-shot, mix'd with the thunder of Cannon, continuing from the Islands, which made much slaughter amongst the French

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who were upon the Plain beyond the River, *Harcourt* was forced to cauſe a Retreat to be beaten, and not only to abandon the ſhore, but even the Plain, which was full of dead bodies; and retreated to within the line of circumvolution, leaving the Paſſage free to the enemy; who faſtning the Bridge better, paſt over the *Poe* victoriouſly, and became maſters of the Plain, which they had valiantly won, and much to their glory; as many of the French, if not more, were here ſlain, as were Spaniards in the firſt attempt; and many of them were wounded, amongſt which the Governour of the Citadel, and many of the Souldiers of the Citadel were ſlain; ſo as expecting to be aſſaulted within their Trenches, the French fell diligently to finiſh their line of circumvolution, making new Forts thereupon for their more ſafety; and *Harcourt* having found by experience what ſcarcity of bread the beſieged underwent by taking away the water from their Mills; he attempted once more to take it away by a greater diverſion; he therefore immediately cauſed greater banks to be thrown up againſt the mouth of the Channel; which being the worſt of evils that the City could undergo, the Citizens, and the Prince endeavour'd to diſturb that work; and to put the water into its wonted courſe: but they could not do it, for a great many of the French aſſiſting in the work defended the Work-men, and kept the enemy from hurting them, and from impeding the work; but going thither afterwards with greater forces, they made a gap which brought water to three Mills; but this laſted but a while, for the bank was quickly made up, and the Mills went dry as before; yet ſome Hand-mills being in this interim made, the ſcarcity was by continual labour leſſen'd; and the City was ſomewhat better provided of bread; but the people were more afflicted, when hoping by the Armies ſo glorious and ſo victorious paſſage over the River, to ſee it apply it ſelf preſently to their relief and freedom, they ſaw it lie idle in the Plain which it had won, and that it did not any thing to ſhew that it cared for the welfare of the beſieged, which made them all complain grievouſly. That which kept the Governour from acting, was, that he might fortifie himſelf in the place which he had taken, againſt the ſallying out of the enemy; and that it might not be in the power of the enemy to draw him out to battle there, where having the *Poe* upon his back, he had no where whereby to retreat, in caſe of of ill fortune, but by that narrow Bridge, which he had cauſed to be thrown over; but when he had fortified he was not over diligent in aſſaulting the enemies Trenches, as if he intended not to hazard his Army under the enemies Fortifications; preferring therefore cautious, before couragious counſels, and the preſerving of the Kings Territories before the relief of *Turin*; he aimed at keeping the French Army from Victuals, and at forcing it to quit the ſiege rather by Famine, then by the Sword: and thus, without adventuring or hazarding the Kings Forces to free the City, and the Prince, and yet to preſerve his Army againſt any unthought of accident which might happen, the French Forces being in *Piedmont*. The Princes intentions were diametrically contrary to theſe; who thinking it reaſonable that for the preſervation of himſelf, his Siſters and the City, all the Kings Forces and Intereſts were to be hazarded, held it alſo neceſſary to be done ſo for the ſafety

of the State of *Millain*; for all *Piedmont* being to be loſt by the loſs of *Turin*, he held that that State would be but badly preſerved after ſuch a loſs; and he the Prince not being a bare Captain or Governour of a Town, he thought he ought not to ſuffer himſelf to be reduced to ſuch extreams, as that he might afterwards be neceſſitated to beg his life, or at leaſt his liberty, of the Conqueror; that therefore it became him, when he might ſee from a far off that it was impoſſible for him to hold out, and that he could not be relieved, to prevent ſurrendring, by Articles ſuiting with his condition. Theſe complaints went accompanied with tacite proteſtations, that he would accept of the large promiſes made him by the King of *France*, if he would yield to the treaties of agreement which were yet on foot; alledging and giving out, that if the Governour would carry on affairs, aiming only at the Kings private intereſts, he ought not to wonder, if he the Prince, paſſing by the common concerns, ſhould adviſe and govern himſelf, according to his private ends, and thoſe of his houſe. Theſe were the debates and altercations which paſt between the Prince and Governour during the whole Siege, whilſt the Prince complain'd that he was abuſed in his expectation, not ſeeing any effect of ſo many promiſes, nor of his hoped for ſuccour; and the Governour, that he was drawn into precipices, as concerning the common cauſe, by the Prince, and by the too couragious attempt propounded by him; which tended not to the good leading on of the ſuccour, but to the apparent ruine of the Army, and of the whole enterpriſe; which would certainly be brought to a good and honourable iſſue, by ſafer and more cautious Counſels. Thus the Prince, who was naturally ſtout and couragious, deteſted the Governours comportments, and accuſed him of timerouſneſs, and ſometimes of double dealing; and the Governour, the more he ſaw the Prince deſirous to hazard all, upon the fortune of a general aſſault, the more he thought his Counſels and Propoſals to be deſtructive: he therefore would not be drawn from his reſolution of delivering the almoſt famiſhed City, by famiſhing the French Army: he therefore ſent his Cavalry to over-run the Country, and forrage the highways by which Victuals might be brought to the enemies Camp; and he found his counſel to be good; for he daily heard news of the intercepting of Victuals. This his deſign was alſo more authenticated by Letters written from the Dowagers Agents to the General, which were intercepted, wherein he was told that he was not to build much upon any help from *Savoy*, unleſs he would keep the ways open for ſuccours from elſe where; and the ſequel did approve of the Governours counſel; for Victuals growing very ſcant in the French Camp, their Souldiers would come to the Walls of the City, and beg a piece of bread, which ſometimes was given them even by the Prince his permiſſion; and for that the City wanted Graſs and Forrage for Horſes more then bread, a bartering was agreed upon between the beſiegers and beſieged for Graſs and Straw, for bread; a great ſign of the extream want the beſiegers were reduced to. The Prince complained grievouſly of the Governour, and propounded ſometimes one thing, ſometimes another, that he might be once free of the miſery he was in; but he was not at all moved therewith; he was more moved by the treaties of agreement which

were

were ſtill kept on foot between the Prince and the French Agents, and with the great offers that were made the Prince, if he would adhere to *France*, and forego *Spain*, and if he and his Brother would quit all claim of Regency to the Dowager; wherefore it became the Governour to be very careful of diſtaſting the Prince, leſt being allured by the French offers, and ſcandalized at his proceedings, he might embrace the former; wherefore the Prince propoſing, finally, that ſince he continued conſtant in overcoming the French by famine, it would be better for him to leave a competent Garriſon in *Montcalleri*, which might ſecure that Bridge, which kept the way open between his Camp and the parts beyond the *Poe*; and to go with the reſt of the Army to *Giuliaſcho* and *Collegno*, Towns three miles on the back of *Turin*, upon the way which leads to *Pinarollo*, and *Suſa*; for that by reſiding in *Collegno*, which is ſituated upon the *Dora*, he would not only block up the aforeſaid ways of *Suſa* and *Pinarvolo*; but thoſe of the *Canaveſe* and of *Piedmont*; by which the enemies Camp would be formally beſieged, and would be forc'd for fear of famine to riſe in a ſhort time.

The Governour, were it either that he approved of this advice, or that he deſired to like whatſoever the Prince propoſed, (provided that he were not thereby to hazard his men;) reſolved to follow it, the rather for that he was counſell'd ſo to do by the Count *Sirvela*, who was Embaſſadour in extraordinary from the King of *Spain*, to the Commonwealth of *Genoa*; a Gentleman of excellent parts, and who was then in the Camp, and by whom the Governour was much ruled; and who, having by the Kings appointment been ayding to the carrying on of the main affair in all this Campagnia, had had his ſhare therein. The Governour therefore had already conſtituted Don *Luigi Ponze, Di Lion*, Commander of 2000 Foot and 800 Horſe, who were to be left for the ſafety of that quarter, when he ſhould go with the reſt of his men to thoſe Towns: This advice was alſo furthered by news from *France*, that the King being at laſt moved by the imminent danger of this enterpriſe, if ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould not be ſent, had taken order to ſend good recruits both of men and victuals to the Camp in *Piedmont*. But on a ſudden, (nor was it known upon what occaſion) the Governour cut his reſolution in two, which certainly would have been better for the full accompliſhment of the enterpriſe, if it had been entirely executed as the Prince adviſed: He ſent Don *Carlo della Gatta* with a good number of Horſe, and with about 4000 Foot to *Collegno*, to the end that quartering and fortifying himſelf there he ſhould do what the whole Camp was to have done if it had gone thither, which was, to block up all the avenues from ſuccour and victuals. *Gatta* paſt ſucceſsfully on with his men to the place appointed, by the way of *Mille Fiori*; though a thouſand Horſe went coaſting along by him, which came out of the line of Circumvolution: For the Prince ſallying at the ſame time out of the City, had faln upon the Enemies quarters toward the *Dora*; and the Governour was gone to give a feigned Allarme to *Vallentino*; and the Garriſon of *Cheri*, being recruited by the Tradeſ-men, had at the ſame time aſſaulted the fortifications which were above the Capuchins. So as the French being diverted into many parts could not much impede *Gatta* in his paſſage; who coming to *Collegno*, drove out

the French Garrison, and being master thereof, began immediately to fortifie it better. The Governour also instead of taking *Grugliasco*, took *Bianesso*, which stands upon another way which leads from *Pinarolo*, but a little lower then *Grugliasco*, and consequently neerer the quarters of *Montcallieri*, by which the besieging Camp was somewhat more streightned, and almost as much besieged as the City. The taking of *Collegno* caused much jealousie in *Harcourt*, who apprehended that his Trenches might rather be assaulted on that side then elsewhere; and they being weaker then the rest, he put stronger Garrisons into them, and fortified them better towards *Collegno*; the same day that *Gatta* came to *Collegno* he met with a fair occasion of intercepting a great conduct of Victuals, as he did; and of routing a Regiment of the Dowagers which served for a Convoy thereunto: he also defeated 500 Horse, and 500 Foot of Count *Verrua's*; which were coming from *Susa* to the Camp, and either slew almost all of them, or took them Prisoners, except the Count, who got safe with some Horse to the Camp *Vincenzo della Marra*, a *Neapolitan* Gentleman, took also 60 load of Corn and utterly defeated the Convoy; and the Governour having sent the Horse of his quarters towards *Millefiori* had a gallant Skirmish with the Enemy, where the *Corps de guard*, which were therein was totally put to the sword; at the same time, or a little before, the French having thrown a Bridge over the *Dora*, between the Meadows called *Vanchiglia*, and the New-Park, which made very much for Communication between the quarters of the *Borgo*, and of the Capuchins, with those beyond the *Dora*, the Prince took a fancy to try whether he could deprive the enemy, or no, of that conveniency, and free the City of the inconvenience which might result by the communication of those quarters by means of that Bridge; he to this purpose Sallied out by night very strong, both in Horse and Foot; and though he cut the Ropes in sunder which fastned the bridge on this side, yet the enemy easily mended it, and put it into it's former condition, and made some fortifications for the safety thereof; the Prince being desirous to attempt the same again, he sent Don *Maurice* with 500 Horse, thither, and Marquess *Serra* with two squadrons of Foot, one Spanish, one Italians; these sent *Fra. Jovan Pallavicino* with some Foot to discover the Bridge; who finding it newly fortified, whilest some sleight Skirmishes past between him and the Enemy, they might see five companies of Horse come from the *Borgo*, and advance towards them, to cut them off from joyning with their companions; against which Don *Maurice's* Cavalry advancing, *Fra. Jovanni* had conveniency to withdraw to a place of Safety, and incorporated himself with *Serra*, who went not onely to shelter Don *Maurice's* Cavalry with his squadrons of *Musketiers*, but to fall upon the enemies Horse, which were forced with much loss to face about, and get into a place of safety: and though some other squadrons of Horse came from *Vallentino* to relieve him, yet they came not time enough; for they were de aned by the Cannon which played from the works of the City, and by musket-shot which poured down from the Walls; but the Bridge not being ruined neither by this second attempt, the Prince threw another Bridge over the same River, that he might pass

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over to the other ſhore when he pleaſed, and receive any ſuccour that might come by that way; a difficult buſineſs; for all the Bank beyond the River was defended by a Battery levell'd againſt the Mills; but the knowledge that Marqueſs *Villa* (who together with *Pianezza* was quartered there) was gone with moſt part of the Piedmonteſe Horſe elſewhere; and the Enterpriſe being intended at the third hour of the Sun, when the night Guards being relieved grow remiſs, encouraged them to the Enterpriſe, which was wholly given to *Bolognino*, who going forth with Horſe and Foot, threw over the Bridge with little loſs, over which the Foot paſs'd the next day; part of them were ſent towards the Park, againſt ſome Foot which guarded a Redout, which was over the againſt the old broken bridge of the Park; which Redout being aſſaulted, and the Defendants cut in peices, was taken; the other part went to aſſault a body of men who guarded a half Cannon, placed over againſt the new bridge; who being routed, the half Cannon fell into the aſſailants hands, which they began to draw towards the *Dora*; but *Pianezza* hearing thereof ſtrove to repair the loſs. He therefore headed two ſquadrons of French Horſe which were in that place, and the ordinary Troop, and ſpur'd on a pace to aſſault the Enemies Horſe; and skirmiſhing fiercely with them, (the half Cannon and thoſe that carried it away put to flight;) the Foot with ſome of the Horſe paſt back over the *Dora*, the reſt were chaſed by *Pianezza* towards the Park; yet were the takers but little prejudiced; for the Enemy having in the heat of the purſuit left the half Cannon behind them, they immediately took it again, and brought it to the banks of the *Dora*, where it was under good ſhelter; and being impoſſible to be recovered, it was carried in triumph into the City. But the French were as well damnified by the Garriſon within the City, as by the Army without; for together with the continual preſſure of victuals, the Garriſon of *Collegno* having ranſack'd the Country as far as *Pinarvolo*, had ſpoiled the mils which were not far from that Town; and put the Town in ſuch a terrour, as it kept the Gates ſhut for many dayes. And *Gatta* going with 1000 Horſe afterwards into thoſe parts, fell upon St. *Secondo*, a Town neer *Pinarvolo*, where he kill'd 200 Dragoons, and took their Captain Priſoner.

The Prince Cardinals Horſe likewiſe, which were ſent (as hath been ſaid) to the Spaniſh Camp, being come from *Beineſco* under Count *Broglio*, fell upon *Rivalta*, cut the Garriſon in pieces, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town; by theſe ſucceſſes affairs proceeded well for the relief of the City, and but ill-favor'dly for the beſieging Army; which was yet much more ſtreightned by famine, and which was very grievous within the time of Circumvolation, no victuals being poſſible to be brought thither, ſo cloſely were all the Avenues block'd up; inſomuch as they were forced to make uſe of that ſmall remainder of Victuals which was in the Citadel, whereat the Governour thereof complained much, who being forced to obey the Generalls command proteſted that he would give over his charge meerly for want of victuals, and that he muſt be forced to ſurrender the Citadel, when the Army through famine ſhould be neceſſitated to raiſe the ſiege; but *Harcourt* cared but little for all thoſe words and proteſtations, as knowing that if the ſiege ſhould be raiſed, the Citadel muſt inevitably

rably be loſt; nor herewithal content, he laid hand upon the victuals which were left for the ſuſtenance of the Garriſon in *Chiavazzo* which did but ill ſupply the want of the famiſh'd army; ſo as *Harcourt* who thought to have furniſh'd *Turin* by ſiege, did famiſh his own camp, the the Citadel, and *Chiavazzo*; and had he continued long in this condition, the City had not onely been freed by famine, but the Citadel and *Chiavazzo* would have been taken by the relieving Army; and the Camp was already brought to that low condition, as the daily allowance of bread ceaſing, ſome few ounces of Rice taken from the Citadel, were in lieu thereof diſtributed amongſt the Common Souldiers; nor fared the Captains any better; and yet *Harcourt* perſevered conſtant in his reſolution of taking the City; nay, being offer'd compoſition by the Nuntio, he would not liſten to it: but as if he had been Conquerour, demanded that the City might be abſolutely delivered to him, which he would keep in the Dukes name during the Dowagers Regency; and as if he had been certain of what was to enſue, he proteſted he would continue the ſiege, till ſuch time as the Horſes that were in *Turin* ſhould have eaten all the Hay and Forrage that was in the City, and the men all the Horſes; he moreover continued making great offers to the Prince: in ſo much as ſuch conſtancy being altogether contrary to the Genius of the French, who are impatient of ſuffering, it cauſed much wonder in all men, who confeſt that the French did the ein not only out-do themſelves, but did even out-do the Spaniards, who are excellent good at ſuffering; but it was now almoſt impoſſible that the buſineſs could hold out any longer: for the Souldiers having undergone all the extreams which it was poſſible for humane nature to tolerate, many of them fell ſick, many died, and many ran away, ſome into the City, ſome into the Spaniſh Camp: and every one of them relating their ſhare of the great extremities that the beſiegers were in, they occaſioned (which was miraculous) ſo various, differing, and contrary opinions between the Prince and the Governour, as the reſult thereof proved almoſt the utter ruine of the common affairs, and the ſafety of the French: the Prince, who grew daily more and more impatient of delay, and infinitly deſirous to ſee himſelf freed from ſiege by a general aſſault, thought it was now high time to aſſault a body of an Army which was languiſhing, afflicted, and macerated by famine, ſufferings, and aſſiduous labour, and which ſeemed not fit to manage Arms, and could but ill bear with the Governours phlegmatick patience, who ruling rather like a Cunctator then Dictator, perſiſted the more in his reſolution of overcoming by ſitting ſtill, for that he ſaw the Enemy reduced to the utmoſt brink of neceſſity, and that the main affair conſiſted in having patience for a few days: But the news which was divulged of the great ſuccour both of men and meat which was ſent from *France*, and was already arrived in *Piedmont*, troubled the Prince above all things elſe, fearing that if it ſhould come before the Siege was raiſed, all the Governours calculations would be ſubverted, and the ſiege would be reduced to its former condition, with little hopes that the Governour, who would not move when he had ſo fair an occaſion of overcoming, ſhould hazzard his men in keeping off the ſuccour, or in relieving the City, when he ſhould ſee the Enemies Camp recruit-

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ed with men, ſtrengthned, and invigoured by the great ſupply of victuals. The ſcarcity that was in the City of gun-powder, did make the Prince more deſirous to ſee an end of ſo great anxiety before ſo neceſſary a ſuſtenance of defence ſhould fail: And amongſt all theſe agitations of mind, great jealouſies and ſuſpitions were not wanting, making him believe, or leſt doubt, that the Governour by whom he thought he was abandon'd at the *Ponte delle Rose*, ſhould be as careleſs of relieving him at the preſent; not out of any warineſs, or any myſtery of War, but rather for that hatching his accuſtomed rancour in his breaſt, he looked with an ill eye upon his weighty intereſts, not caring to aſſiſt him in his ſo great ſtreights. Theſe conſiderations made the Prince impatient in expecting what the iſſue of the Governours deſignes would be. But it was thought he was moſt grieved to ſee how happily the Governours deſignes proceeded, which was no leſs hateful to him then to the Enemy, and was more mad thereat then *Harcourt*; foreſeeing by the manner of his proceeding his own utter undoing, the ruine of his family, and the loſs of his peoples liberty for which he fought. The Prince knew as well as *Harcourt*, that if he the ſiege ſhould in any way raiſed, that if the ſiege ſhould in any way be raiſed, the Citadel would undoubtedly be thereupon ſurrendred. He alſo knew that if the ſiege ſhould be raiſed by famine and not by the ſword, the Governour would enter into the City victorious, with his forces entire, and would doubtleſſy uſe ſuch ſupercheries as Victors uſually do; and would ſet forward his pretentions to the Citadel, which he the Prince being ſo ſhort of him in forces, could not obviate. Therefore not onely he, but all the Piedmonteſe was ſo fill'd with horrour, as they were in doubt whether that it would be better for them, that the City ſhould be relieved by that way, or not at all relieved. And not knowing what to do in ſo great extremity, they could think of no better way to evade it, then by uſing their utmoſt means that the Spaniards and the French might be brought to fight together, hoping that if the French ſhould be beaten, they might be maſters of the City; and that if the Spaniards ſhould be worſted, they might be maſters of the Citadel; and that the Piedmonteſe, who were in the midſt between them, might be able to oppoſe the Victors, and to preſerve their Ducall Family and their own liberties; in which buſtling the Prince might probably promiſe himſelf, that the remainders of the French Army, as alſo thoſe of the Citadel, being of Enemies become his Friends, might joyn with him in excluding the Spaniards; and he was almoſt certain, that the Governour, to ſhun greater inconveniencies, would give way that the Citadel ſhould rather remain in his hands, then in thoſe of the French. The Commendator *Paſero*, one of much experience, and in great authority with the Prince, was cry'd up for the Author of theſe counſels; which being divulged about the Court were approved of by the Piedmonteſe nobles, as thoſe who being naturally more inclined to the French then to the Spaniards apprehended, that to fall under the Spaniſh Empire; was the worſt of evils that could befall them. They therefore thought that, to keep from that misfortune, they had beſt embrace any thing how ſlender ſo ever, and expect better fortune. The Prince being oppreſs'd by the nearneſs and by the greatneſs of the danger, which

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though it was foreseen when a far off, yet was it never so inevitable nor formidable as now. Being therefore resolved to do all that was possible, he sent a Letter to the Governour on the seventh of *July*, wherein he signified unto him, that he could hold out no longer, and that if he were not relieved within four dayes at the furthest, he would without more adoe accept of the French offers, and would surrender the City: Which Letter was very unfortunate for the Prince, and for the busines in order to the relief, and to the raising of the siege; was the ruine of the common affairs, did overthrow the Princes cause; and on the contrary, raised the French Army out of the extream precipice and danger whereinto it was more then manifestly brought. The City was not effectually in so great streights as the Prince would fain have made it been believed to be; for it had great store of Corn, nor did it want grist as before, that default being much supply'd by hand-mills which were daily made. And though, in conformity to what the Prince had writ, the Governour was also informed by Don *Antonio Sueto*, of the aforesaid wants, who though he was chief of the Kings men, and affairs that were handled in the City, had upon many occasions appeared apter to please the Prince, then careful of the Kings concernment; yet the Governour had received contrary intelligence from other Captains, and in particular from Marques *Serra*; who looking more narrowly into affairs, knew that the City might hold out longer; and w o e his mind freely to the Governour, and did assure him that there were those who had offer'd to maintain the City with bread for two moneths, at no exorbitant rates: Which offers the Prince refused, as thinking them impossible to be performed; and though there was more want of powder then of bread, yet it was found that the City held out, and made stout sallies upon the Enemies quarters, twenty days after the eleventh of *July*, and yet had received no recruit in powder; and the danger of the French succour, which was said to be very neer, proved vain; for *La Gatta* being stronger in *Collegno* then the relievers, who were not above 4000 Foot, and some Horse, it was impossible for to pass that way, or to force the Garrison. The Governour seeing himself taken off from continuing his designes, and bereft of the victory which he so longed after, and was neer getting, by the Princes so precise pressures, and resolute pro estations, he was much astonished, and was the mo e confused, for that by letters, which he received at the same time, he was informed (as hath been said) that the City was in a far different condition from what it was represented to be in by the Prince; so as suspecting the Princes pressures must needs ayme at some hidden end; amongst many things which he thought upon, at last he light upon one or two, either that the Prince had closed with the French, or was upon agreeing with them. And that therefore, that he might the better honest his surrounding of the Town, he put him upon the poynt of speedy relief, that so he might provide for him elf, abandon the King of *Spain*, and b take himself to the King of *France*; or else that he would revive his claim to putting of a Garrison into the Citadel. The Governour had alwayes proceeded so reservedly with the Princes, as without either assuring them of his intent, or making them despair, he had still held them in expectation that they should be pleased; and they were alwayes

ways confident to have what they pretended unto either with his will or against it; wherefore he was forc'd to vary his determination in the Enterprise, though it proceeded on very successfully, and to put the certainty of Victory upon the uncertain chance of a Dye: He therefore began greatly to doubt what peradventure was true; he knew no better way how to avoid this exigency then by feeling *Pastrot's* Pulse with offering him six thousand Pistols to procure the Prince to delay his expectation of succour for fifteen days, to the end that he might the better attend the keeping out of that relief which was expected by the enemy from *France*; hoping, nay firmly believing, that if that succour could be kept out, the Siege would be raised before the desired time of delay should be expired; and that by this means he should not need adventure his Forces in relieving the City. The care of this was committed to Marquess *Serra*, who was chiefly trusted by the Governour in carrying on this Siege; but this Negotiation not being to be ended so soon, by reason of the difficulty of giving and of receiving advertisement, and for that it becomes those that negotiate in such affairs to wait the conjuncture of times; the eleventh day being come before the Negotiation was ended, the Governour, who had precise Orders from the King not to give the Prince any occasion of foregoing his party, he suffer'd himself to be pul'd on by necessity, and by the Prince his inclinations, (as one doth sometimes who rides an unruly horse) and resolved, to please him; he therefore agreed upon the doing of it in this manner. The Governour was to go from his quarters of *Montcallieri*, and *Gatta* from his of *Collegno* upon the break of day, on the eleventh day, upon the sign being given by certain fires, and should fall upon the enemies Trenches. *Gatta* was to assault those which were between the *Porporata* and a certain Channel which is called *Martinetto*; and the Governour, those which do terminate on the banks of *Poe* neer *Valentino*: that the same night 1000 Horse should be sent to the Prince by a Foord over the *Poe*, which being joyned to his Horse might enable the Prince to sally strongly out of the City that same night, and face the enemies Horse. The Prince was to go with this recruit of Horse, and with the Spaniards which were with him, towards *Valentino*, to facilitate the Governours entrance on the inner side; and to the end that these three, which were the chief, actions might succeed the better, the Governour was to place eight piece of Cannon upon the hills beyond the *Poe*, and to play therewith upon the tops of the Trenches, and drive the enemy from thence, and so facilitate the assault that was to be given on that side. Divers provisions also were made to the same purpose, thus; The Dragoons and Croats were to be sent to scoure along the other parts of the Trenches, to keep them in aw with feigned assaults, and intent upon defending themselves. Don *Silvio* of *Savoy* was to advance towards *la Stura*, with the Horse that were without, and was to fall upon the Quarters beyond the *Dora*, or at least to seem as if he would do so. The Mountainers beyond the *Poe* were to assault the Forts upon the Capuchins Hills, with the Horse which were of the Garrison of *Cheri*. These three diversions were to be made at one and the same time, to the end that the besiegers being assaulted on these three sides might not

come to assist the Trenches which were to be assaulted by the Governour and *Gatta*; things being thus ordered, an accident hapned which made the Governour alter the hour appointed for the assault; he heard that the succour from *France* was come to *Giavenna*, a Town five miles from *Collegno*; and fearing that if *Gatta* should go to give the assault by break of day he might run danger of being fallen upon by the French, who were the Convoy for the succour, on the back, he ordered him to forbear falling on till noon; when if the French should not move, he should; and according to Orders should give the assault; but if the French should be already moved, he should keep within his quarters till he should receive new Orders. *Gatta* heard, by his Scouts, that the French would not move that day; whereof he advertised the Governour, and being come four hours before Sun-set to the Trenches, he fell courageously upon them with 4000 Foot, and 2000 Horse; his first assault was bravely received, and at last he was repuls'd, and had some of his men slain, amongst which Camp-master *Emilio Ghiglino, la Motta*, who was in defence of that part with his Regiment discharg'd the part of a valiant Souldier, and judicious Commander; but coming with more vigour to a second assault, the Foot scaled the Trenches, and making way for the Horse, the Horse and Foot joyntly entered, who, had they been more considerate, this very action had freed the City; for the breach which was made being made good by Garrisons and Fortifications, the Line was open, and at the disposal of the Governour, who without forcing the Trenches at *Valentino* might have entred by this breach and have destroyed the besiegers, and broken the line of circumvolution; and if he had not resolved to put himself to this hazard by keeping that breach in his possession, he might have sent what succours he had pleased into *Turin*; so as the besiegers losing their hopes of the Siege would have risen of themselves, and have given the business over; but whilst *Gatta*, when he had broke into the Trenches ran with his Horse towards the City, according to his Orders received from the Governour, to joyn with the Prince, and cared not to guard the breach which he had made, and whilst some of the Foot that were entred fell to plunder the enemies Huts and Pavilions, and other some to pursue in disorder those that fled; the French who were driven from defending the Trenches had time to get under the shelter of the Artillery of the Citadel, and to rally, and re-order themselves; and being assisted by many others who were come from other parts of the line to help here, they made a good body, and turn'd upon the enemy, who were in disorder and busie in plundering, whereof they slew and wounded many; and it hapned that Don *Michele Pignatelle*, Captain of the Rere, who entred therewith, when those that were entred before were ill handled by the French, was assaulted as he would have defended himself; and though he resisted stoutly, yet having no Horse, for they were all gone towards the City, he found he could not well keep the field; so spying a little Fort not far off, between the City and the line of circumvolution, he entred thereinto with the best of his men, thinking to defend himself there; but the Fort not being able to receive so many men, those who got in resisted as long as their powder lasted, and afterwards betook themselves to their Pikes; but the defendants

fendants valour was overpower'd by the multitude of French, who ſtill encreaſing in numbers, took the Fort, and put all the defendants to the ſword, except *Pignatello*, and ſome Officers, who were taken priſoners; what with theſe, and ſome others that were amongſt the Tents, 500 of the Spaniſh Army were ſlain, but not without revenge; for many more French periſhed, amongſt which two Camp-marſhals, twelve Lieutenants, four Captains, and ſeven Officers, and Colonel St. *Andrea* was taken priſoner. The worſt that befel the beſieged was, that the French making uſe of the errour committed by the relievers preſently made up the breach of the trench which *Gatta* had abandoned, and kept out 70 load of powder, part whereof fell into the hands of the Enemy, and part was carried to *Cullegno*. The Prince had no notice given him that the hour of aſſault was altered; for the ſhortneſs of time and difficulty of giving advertiſement could not permit it; he therefore waited all that night in Arms with his men, expecting an aſſault ſhould be given at break of day, and that the re-inforcement of Horſe by *Vanchiglia* ſhould appear; he continued in this poſture till noon; but failing at laſt of his ſo long expectation, and not expecting that any thing that had been promiſed ſhould be performed, he much unwillingly retreated to the City, and diſmiſ'd his men who were very weary, that they might repoſe themſelves after their long watching, and pains which they had taken the preceding night: when not many hours after he heard of the aſſault given by *Gatta*; and not long after he might ſee the Souldiers appear victorious, who brought him certain news of the ſuccours being entred; wherefore he ſuddenly ſummon'd all his Souldiers to their Enſigns, and though he had not above 300 Horſe with him, he notwithſtanding reſolved to go towards *Valentino*, to facilitate the Governours entry on that ſide, according to agreement; he took *Tavera*'s and *Serra*'s Brigades along with him, and the Burgondian Souldiers, and advancing with his Cavalry towards the Trenches he took the hedge which incompaſſed the Fort which ſhelters the way that comes from *Montcalleri* and *Pioppi*, he ſent others to get ground upon the Fort which defends *Valentino* towards the City; and a number of Citizens, who went out with the Prince, joyning with ſome of *Serra*'s men, took a redoubt firſt, and then got in even to the Palace of *Valentino*, which they took and plundred. *Gatta* at this time joyned with the Prince, together with 2000 Horſe which were entred before; ſo as being thus ſtrongly recruited he advanced towards the Trenches which were then aſſaulted by the Governour on the out ſide, or ready to be aſſaulted; and being gotten to *Pioppi* he took a Farm-houſe and a neighbouring Chappel which environed the Fort which was aſſaulted on the out ſide; and though he ſaw the ſouldiers very deſirous to fall upon the ſame Fort on the inſide, yet he held it better to reſtrain their forwardneſs, till he might ſee the ſuccourers Enſigns advanced in that Fort; for the Governour, at the ſame time that *Gatta* aſſaulted the Trenches, was gone from his quarters to *Montcalleri*, and went to aſſault *Valentino*; but not with any intention of adventuring the reſt of his Forces there: his chief end was to entertain the Enemy in defending that part, ſo as they might not oppoſe *Gatta*, who when he ſhould have broken into the line of circumvolution was to joyn

with the Prince, and fall joyntly on the Trenches on the inside, and assist the assaule from without, to the end that the Trench being thrown down both within and without, they might raise the Siege, and ruine the besieger. The eight Cannons on the Hill beyond the *Po* had from the break of the day plaid incessantly upon the Parapets of the Tenailles about *Valentin*, which were to be assaulted; and having broken down a Bulwark which was neer the banks of *Po*, towards which the Governour sent Don *Lewis di Lintesfro*, with his Brigade and with many Ladders, Bridges and little Hats, after whom he also sent the other Camp-master Don *Jovan Arriaga*, with his Brigade, and with some of Prince *Berps* and Don *Jovan Pignatelli's* Brigades, against a Fort which flank'd the way from *Montcallier*, and which was the same upon which the Prince expected to see the victorious Enfigns set; but these and the rest being somewhat at a loss, they occasioned some confusion; yet they went on to an assault; but though the assault were twice re-inforced they could do no good upon it, but were at last forced to retreat; wherefore the Governour, finding that the aids from within were not answerable to his Forces without, began to apprehend *Gatta's* success, since he could not hear that he was entred; so as night drawing on, and having lost 500 Foot in that assault, and six Captains, he caused a retreat to be beaten, and gave over the enterprise; a more unfortunate or disastrous succour then this hath not been read of; for it ended very unfortunately, not only for that *Gatta* had no ways aided the Governour in his assault, nor for that he had not guarded nor kept open the breach he had made, and whereby he entred; but for that having carried neither powder nor victuals with him, it served to no purpose; for without these those that were entred were neither able to force the Enemies quarters, nor to defend the City; so as their entrance did but little good, nay rather harm, since they were to be fed by the Cities Victuals; those who entred, being as it were so many imprisoned *Samsons*, imployed in nothing but in turning about Hand-mills, to supply themselves with Victuals and the City with Grist: nor did the mischief cease here; for the Governours Army being deprived of so noble a part of his men, who being broken into the Trenches were there shut up, was rendred unable for bringing any more succour; and on the contrary, the French Army was hereby freed from all danger; it languished before for hunger, and was only fed with slender hopes whether the succour which was expected from *France* would force its way, or no, through the Pass, and opposition which was made at *Collegno*; where their fear was certainly greater then their hopes: but *Gatta's* assault removed all difficulties; for that he might give, if he had left but a small Garrison in *Collegno*, and the Gates almost open; so as the French succour made use of the occasion, and almost beyond all expectation came the next day after *Gatta's* entrance to the Enemies Camp, and having recruited it with Victuals and Men did in an instant free it from the misery it was in, being almost ready to ask mercy of the Enemy, or to retreat as it did at *Chieri*, and made it frollick and courageous, and of being almost conquered it became Conqueror; and having no cause to fear the Spanish Army, it became doubly formidable; as well by the encrease of its own Forces, as by the weakning of

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the Spaniſh Army. The Scene of affairs being thus ſtrangely altered, new and more fervent rancours and reciprocal complaints aroſe between the Prince and the Governour, and between their Souldiers and Captains, each of them laying the fault of this diſaſter upon other. The Governour, that he was too much importuned to this action by the Prince, and ſaid that if he had continued a few days longer in his own courſe he had aſſuredly gotten a famous Victory, without effuſion of blood; he alſo complained that the Prince had not aſſiſted from within the aſſault which he gave without, which was the occaſion of all the misfortune; on the contrary, the Prince exclaimed horribly upon the Governour, for that he had not ſent him any Horſe by *Vanchiglia*, that he came not really, and with all his Forces to aſſault the Trenches; that he had altered the time appointed without giving him any notice; and he alſo complained of ſome leſſer failings, which he ſaid did concur to the misfortune of the ſucceſs. It would be too tedious to relate the bitter accuſations which they laid one upon another, or rather the recriminations which paſt between the fautorers of them both; to inſiſt upon which too accurately belongs not to the Office of a good Writer.

The Governour, ſeeing this unfortunate ſucceſs, and the loſs of thoſe men who were entred the City without Ammunition, bit his fingers ends for madneſs, was grieved at the very heart, and blamed himſelf for having ſuffered himſelf to be removed from his firſt reſolution; and conſidering that the miſchief would be yet greater, and irrecoverable, unleſs he could find ſome means to ſend Ammunition of War into the City, he caſt about how he might do it, and having long thought upon the buſineſs, he could not light upon a better way then to convey it over by the Ford of the *Po* called *Margerita*, over againſt *Vanchillia*; he therefore ſent ſome loads underneath the Hill, which coming into the Valley which anſwers upon that Foord, they came to the River; but the Governour having made ſigns to the Prince by ſome fires, that he ſhould ſend Horſe to the River to receive them (for all commerce between the beſieged and the Spaniſh Camp was ſo block'd up as they could not converſe but by ſuch ſigns) that now hapned which doth often times fall out, that the ſigns not being underſtood, but very little good was got thereby; ſo as none appearing from the City at the Foord, the Carriages returned back by the ſame way that they went: And on the other ſide, fearing what might enſue if no help were found out againſt this default, got together as much Salt-peter and Sulphur as he could, whereby he provided, though but in a ſcant meaſure, for the neceſſary and daily defence: But the Governours Forces being ſo diſ-joyned as they could not be of any help one to another, and finding that the Enemies Forces were not only refreſh'd, but recruited, he began to bethink himſelf rather how to ſecure thoſe men which he yet had, then how to relieve the City, or how to recover his loſſes; ſo as giving over his firſt deſign of famiſhing or beſieging the French Camp, nay, doubting the ſafety of his abode at *Monteallieri*, he would provide himſelf of a more ſecure quarter: Repaſſing therefore back again over the *Po*, over the which he had paſſed a little before with ſuch glory and honour, he went to his firſt quarters upon the Hills, where he thought he might keep

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more safe from being assaulted, where he might better defend himself, and watch any occasion which should be offered of relieving the City; which *Harcourt* perceiving, he took a course, that fearing less to be assaulted on the other side beyond the *Poe*, he might draw many of his Forces closer toge her, and joyn'd them almost all in defence of the bridge and *Capuchins* Forts, where he made new Forts and new Trenches, that he might the better resist any attempt that the Enemy might make upon those confining parts: Nor herewithal content, having by experience known how easily the Enemy had made way to relieve the City, what danger his Army had incurr'd by *Gatta*'s entrance; he strove to prevent the like disasters for the future: He therefore began a second line of circumvolution, which was two thirds lesser in compass then the former; which though it needed a lesser number of Souldiers to defend it, yet he drew a good part of the Garrison out of the Citadel to guard this second line, which beginning from the furthermost angle of the Citadel struck strait toward *la Dora*, and crossing the *Dora* ex ended it self a little further, and then falling towards the *Poe* enclosed the new Park, and then crossing the *Dora* again drew neer the banks of *Poe*, and running along thereby to *Valentino* joyned in a crooked line to the Citadel, from whence it began. The Citizens were much afflicted at this second line, whose numbers being encreased both in Men and Horse, they were forced to let them partake of that Bread and Forrage which was hardly sufficient for themselves: Finding therefore, for certain, that things could not continue long in this condition, they began to think of a remedy: Many entreated the Prince to attempt getting out of the City, and to get with a good strength of Horse to the Governour; and to try whether he could prevail more with him by his presence then by his Letters, to do some gallant action for the freeing of the City more then he had yet done: They wish'd him also to consider, that when his person should be safe, come what would come, the common Affairs would not be so much damnified as if he should meet with any misfortune in his own person; and out of this respect only he was sollicited by Letters from the Governour. But the Prince refused absolutely to do so, not being able to abandon his Sisters in the common danger, who had followed their Brothers fortune with such constancy; nor to forsake that Countrey where he was born a Prince, nor those people who to maintain his Cause had put themselves into those troubles: And this Proposal being absolutely denied, it was resolved that *Gatta* (who whilst he kept idle in the City, by reason of the Souldiers and Horse that were entred with him, was rather an incumbrance then a help) should attempt forcing the Line with the same Horse that he brought with him, at the same place of the *Porporata* by which he had entred, and should go joyn with the Governour; whereby the City was to receive a double advantage; which should thereby be eased of the great burthen of maintaining so many Horse, and the Relievers should be made better able to assist it. This motion was presently embraced, and put in execution, every one thinking that it might be easily effected; for the Enemy having drawn almost all his Forces towards the hills had left all the other parts slightly guarded. *Gatta* went out in the dark of night with the

Neapolitan

Neapolitan and Dutch Horſe, being guided by ſome Troops of Croats, and one of the Prince Cardinals Troops, led on by Count *Broglio*, which carried ſpades and mattocks to throw down the Trenches, and which might levell the way for the reſt, who kept with *Gatta* under the Baſtion *della Conſolata*, expecting News when the way ſhould be levell'd. Theſe went out, and luckily threw down the firſt Line, and afterwards (though with ſome more difficulty) the ſecond; but they met with a very great impediment beyond it, which was a great ditch newly digg'd behind the Trench, whereinto the water of *Dora* was brought; and for their further misfortune, the earth of the Trench which was beaten down falling into the Ditch, and mingling with the water made it muddy, and harder to be paſs'd over: Wherefore being aſtoniſhed at this difficulty, which they ſaw was not to be overcome, whilſt they were thinking what to do, they were diſcover'd by the Enemy; and though ſome of them eſcaped by wading through the ditch, many, notwithſtanding, who attempted the ſame ſtuck faſt, and not being able to recover themſelves were taken Priſoners, or were ſtifled in the mud, amongſt which Captain *Lamas* was one of the firſt; the greateſt part fled towards the City, ſome whereof ſaved themſelves, ſome were ſlain, or taken priſoners by the Enemy. *Gatta* ſeeing this misfortune gave over his intended voyage, and went into the City again; which not being any wayes eaſed by its diſgorgement returned to its former ſtreights; which the Citizens endeavouring to get out of, and finding that the ſcarcity of Griſt, which was encreaſed by the many mouths which were added to the eating thereof, was that which would haſten their deaths, they attempted to open another channel to the *Dora*, a little below the old and accuſtomed one, which was notwithſtanding much hindred by the Enemy. The Engineers diſputed very much whether the lowneſs of the *Dora* would not hinder the deſign, but it proved eaſie; though not without much danger and labour, and expence of time; for they could not work but by night, by reaſon of the Enemies Musketiers; yet in a months ſpace they perfected the work, but could bring water only to four Mills, which was a great conſolation to the City; but this comfort laſted not long; for the Enemy after having endeavoured by divers Batteries to beat down the Mills, which were notwithſtanding fruſtrated by the diligence of the beſieged; *Harcourt* made an out-let for the water on the oppoſite ſide of the River, by which the water was turn'd away and the Mills were left dry; it remained that ſome proviſion might be found out to furniſh the City with Ammunition of War, ſince by the abundance of Hand-Mills which were made they provided ſufficiently for Griſt. The Governour agreed with the Prince to ſend him 200 load of Ammunition at a certain hour of night, which was to be conducted by Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga*, accompanied by a good body of Horſe, which was to bring the ſupply to *la Motta's* quarter; whither the Prince was to ſend Horſe to receive it: but neither did this deſign proſper; for the nights being very ſhort, and *Gonzaga* being to foord over *la Stura* and *la Dora*, after he had foorded over the *Po*, before he could come to the place appointed, he knew he could not get thither before the Sun would be up; ſo as perceiving day break a little after he had gotten over the *Po*, and

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fearing lest he might be met by the way, he returned back. This night the Prince was come in his own person out of the City to receive so necessary and so desired a recruit; and with him was Don *Antonio Sotello* with all the Horse, back'd by Marquess *Sarra* with Foot; and being come to the place appointed he was discovered, and assaulted by the Enemies Horse. The Prince withstood the assault manfully, and after a sore contest repuls'd the Enemy, wherein *la Serra* behaved himself gallantly, who sheltering the Horse with his Musketiers afforded them conveniency of forcing the assailants to wheel about, who being pursued left above 200 of their men behind them, and five Captains wounded; not above ten of the Prince his Forces being left behind, amongst which a Dutch Captain, who being stript was, to the admiration of all men, found to be a woman; who having always kept company amongst Souldiers in mans habit, was never known to be what she was, but alway conversing like a man, and fighting as valiantly as any man, was in a few years gotten from being a Foot Souldier to be a Captain of Horse; when she was taken, her life was offer'd her if she would demand it; but she scorning so low a behaviour, chose rather, with an undaunted spirit and high words, to die honourably, then to live a life which she should have obtained unworthily. The day beginning to clear, and the Prince seeing no Ammunition appear, he ordered a retreat, which was orderly and gallantly made even in the face of the Enemy, though not without much grief for not being succoured by their long expected Ammunition; but ere long the besieged were provided of Powder and all things necessary for defence, by an unusual and never before practised or known way, convey'd with safety and speed from the Camp to the City. Commerce being block'd up, as hath been often said, between the Camp and the City, so as there was great trouble of giving and receiving advice upon reciprocal occurrences and necessities, a certain invention was found out, by a hollow Bullet, wherein Letters were put, and the hole stop'd up with a stopple made of a piece of Wire; which being put into a piece of Artillery, was shot from the Camp into the City, and from the City into the Camp, the sign being formerly given by a great smoak, to them who were to receive it, that they might watch where the Bullet fell: by this means the Prince and Governour conversed freely, such conveyance being to be sent hourly; which were afterwards, by way of mockery, called flying Posts; and as it is not hard to add to things which have been formerly found to succeed well, this lucky and useful invention was improved in the conveying of Ammunition for War in bigger Bullets, capable of fifteen pound weight of Powder, which being more carefully squeezed together and put into a Mortar-piece, were by the force of fire blown into the City over the Heads and Trenches of the besiegers who were very angry thereat; and finally, this invention served to furnish the City with Salt-peter, and with Salt, for want whereof it suffer'd much; especially, since men being glad, for want of other meat, to eat the flesh of horses, this food eaten without Salt caused much sickness and mortality in the City: above a thousand of these Balls or Bullets were thrown into the City, which furnished the besieged with above 15000 pound weight of Powder. Thus did the besieged behave

have shut themselves, sparing their victuals by parsimony, and encreasing their Guard by Hand-mills; and provided for their defence by this new device of styling Bullets, comforting themselves with hopes of being one day freed from so many afflictions; amongst these adventures it fell out, that Monsieur *d'Argenson*, and Monsieur *de Goumy*, who was Governour of the Citadel, as they went from the Camp to *Rivarola* were taken prisoners by two Troops of Horse, carried to *Turin*, and were by order from the Governour sent to *Milain*. *Argenson* was President of the Senate at *Grenoble*, a Gown-man, but very well credited in Affairs both of Peace and War; and of such authority, as little of any moment was done without his approbation, not only in the Camp, but also in all *Piedmont*. The Prince and Governour were very well pleased with the taking of these two Gentlemen, for having it in their thoughts to surprize the Citadel, which was but weakly garrison'd, a good part of the Garrison being drawn out and placed (as hath been said) in guarding the inward Lines; they thought that the Citadel would be the more easily taken now that it wanted a Governour; and now the competition about the Garrison, which had formerly been the occasion of all the scandal, and of the ill Government of the present War, and which, as it were, spoil'd and disordered all the common designs, could be no longer an obstacle for the Prince having upon this occasion desired the Governour, that he would give over his pretentions. The Governour, who saw all things in so desperate and ruinous a case, was better content that it should fall into the Prince his hands, then into those of the French: he resolved at last, though too late, to please the Prince therein; but this too late remedy served but little to the expiring enterprise. The Prince, when he had obtain'd his desire, said (for what reason it is not known) that it was not now time to make the intended attempt; which made the Governour interpret the proposed enterprise in a sinister sence, as if the Prince, verily believing that he should have his desire denied, had intended to take some fair pretence of concluding the treaty of agreement with the French, which was never yet laid down: so the design of surprizing the Citadel vanish'd, diffidence and mis-understandings did daily encrease; all was full of jealousie, which discomposed all Negotiations: Yet the Governour took no notice of any thing, by reason of the precise Orders which he had from the King; he continually provided the Prince with all things necessary; and particularly with Powder, though not without great expence; he listned willingly to any thing that the Prince propounded touching the relief of the City, but he interposed such difficulties in all attempts, as retarded the execution till the occasion was over; nay, to seem no less desirous of relieving the Prince, then the Prince was of being relieved, he would sometimes propound other courses which might appear better and more convenient then those proposed by the Prince; which afforded matter of dispute between them, which of their opinions were the best; so as whilst the business was arguing, the opportunity of putting either of their opinions in execution was let slip: by which it might be conjectured that the Governour being unwilling to adventure more then he had done on the eleventh of *July*, entertain'd the Princes proposals more in words and appearance, then

in reality, not so much doubting the weakness of his own Forces, as distrusting the Prince his corresponding with him in the executing what should be attempted, as he had experienced in his assaulting *Valentine*. Upon these diffidences which past between the Prince and the Governour, a sad accident hapned in the City, which might easily have ruin'd the whole business, had not a sudden remedy been found. The Souldiers began to fall of their pay, and it was impossible for the Governour to pay them: so as the want of pay being added to their necessitous living, many began to speak big; the Grisons being more seditious then the rest gave apparent signs of Mutiny; and the other Nations were likely to have followed their example, had not the prime Authour and Head of this sedition been imprisoned by his Colonel, condemn'd to die, and presently made to pass the pikes in the presence of them all. The terrour of which example, though it did for the present quiet them all, yet the same necessity remaining, more universal sedition was likely to have arose: But the meer fame of Marquess *Serra*'s wealth, which won him credit thorough all the Towns of *Europe*, did the like in *Turin*, so as the meer news that he desired to take up mony upon interest, brought him all the ready mony that those of *Turin* had; who thinking it more secure in his hands, then in their own houses, lent it him, to secure them from the Souldiers sedition, and from firing the City. He having by this means borrowed about 150000 Ducates, did by making ready payment pacifie the Souldiers not onely for that time, but during the whole siege: but the jealousies did still encrease between the Prince & the Governour, who finding himself daily press'd by the Prince to new undertakings, and being threatened by him that he would close with the French, unless the Governour would do as he would have him; he bethought himself also of treating with the French, so to make the Prince jealous. He held the imprisonment of President *Argenson* to be a good expedient herein, in whose writings which he had with him, when he was taken prisoner, an instruction was found from the King of *France*, sufficiently contrary to both the Princes interests, and in particular, to *Thomaso*'s person. And this President being one who knew most of the secret practices belonging to *Italy* and *Piedmont*, the Governour sent Abbot *Vasquez* to treat with him in the Castle of *Millain*, where he was prisoner: The Abbot was wary and quick-witted, and very fit to carry on such a business, and a great Confident of the Governours; and (which was most requisite in this present occurrence) very ill inclined to the Princes, and to the House of *Savoy*; and it was known, that *Argenson* being in *Vallentine* the year before, when the last Truce was there treated on and concluded, and wherein *Argenson* was imploy'd on the behalf of *France*, and the Abbot on that of *Spain*; the Abbot in some familiar discourse which past between him and *Argenson*, said (were it in jest or in earnest) that it would do well for the two Kings, and for the preservation of peace and common union, if they would destroy the House of *Savoy*, and divide the Territory thereunto belonging between them, since it was found by experience, that the Princes of that Family were the fomenters of the continual Warr and Dissentions between the two Crowns. To which speeches though the President answered somewhat roundly, that his Kings intention was

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not onely to maintain, but to support and further aggrandize that Houſes yet it was thought that the Governour being encouraged by theſe inſtructions which were found with the Preſident, failed not to ſound the buſineſs, and to introduce ſome Treaty which might not be very good for the Prince; if for nothing elſe, yet that he might at leaſt deal with the Prince, as the Prince dealt with him. What the reſult thereof was is not known, the buſineſs being wholly conjectural, and which had no foundation but onely the Abbots going to the Preſident. But it may well be affirmed, that the Prince did contract no ſmall jealouſies by this expedition, which he thought tended much to the prejudice of his intereſts, which he did manifeſt by taking away the managing of the common concernments from the Nuntio, who was a great Confident of the Governours, which he put into the hands of thoſe that adhered unto the French, all things neceſſary for bodily ſuſtenance growing this mean while daily more and more ſcarce in the City; and the Forces in the Spaniſh Camp decreaſing, affairs were brought to great extremity to both of them: And though about 2500 Foot were come to the Spaniſh Camp from the Maritime parts, yet did this recruit laſt but a while, more falling ſick then were well; and the number of thoſe that ran away being added to thoſe that were ſick, the Camp was in a ſhort time much leſſened. On the contrary, the French Camp did daily increaſe in numbers and Forces; and though there was much mortality amongſt them alſo, yet was the arrival of new recruits greater then the mortality. The news of *Harcourt's* good and generous actions being divulg'd in *France* drew many noble men and Gentlemen from that Court to *Piedmont*; many Lords came nobly attended thither at their own expence, and many greater recruits came thither. Marqueſs *Villeroy* with 1500 Burgondian Foot, and 400 Horſe, Count *Tonnere* from *Dolphiny* with 400 Horſe, all of them of the nobleſt of that Country, which he commanded under the title of Conſtable; and Monſieur *di Caſtellano* from *Provence* with four Foot Regiments, and 400 Horſe. So as in ſo great a diſ-equality of Forces, it was thought impoſſible to relieve the City: And yet the Prince, who was indefatigable both of body and mind, and very vigilant upon all occaſions, having by ſeverall night ſallies found the Enemy to be dowſie and negligent in their guards, did likewiſe obſerve a woodden bridge, which was newly thrown over the *Po* by the French, between *Vallentino* and the Capuchins bridge. And judging it very convenient for his ends, he deſigned to bring in ſuccour by it; this bridge was guarded by onely two ſmall Forts, neer the foot of the bridge which was on the left ſide of the River towards *Vallentino*, the other end being totally unguarded. They therefore that would come thither from the City muſt make way by the lower Valley, and then take ſome little works not far from the aforeſaid petty Forts, and afterward the Forts themſelves. Theſe difficulties did not at all trouble the Prince, who thought they might all be overcome, if all the Forces which could be raiſed in the City would go out unexpectedly by night and fall upon them: He therefore deſired that when he ſhould have overcome all thoſe difficulties, and ſhould be maſter of the bridge, that the Governour ſhould be ready with all his Forces, on the other ſide, to paſs over the River by that bridge, and

joyn with him in suppressing the French Camp; wherein he did not doubt of success. And to the end that the weakness of the Governours Camp might not keep him from taking this resolution, he ordered Don *Silvio* to joyn with the Governour with 1000 Foot and 600 Horse, and that the Marquess *Bagnasco* should do the like with a thousand other Foot; by means of which recruits, and of 2000 Foot that were come from *Milain*, he thought the Governour could not under pretence of weakness refuse the proposal. He therefore acquainted him with his advice, with his reasons for it, and with the manner and form how it should be put in practice, desiring and exhorting him, that he would assist him on his side with all possible force and punctuality, and joyn freely in this attempt; which, as it might justly be thought to be the last, so he did promise unto himself it should prove the happy end of the siege and of the war. He also writ unto him what was to be done for the happy conduct of the enterprise, which was, that he was to come privately with all his men about the going down of day, and that he should be two hours before day at the foot of the hill, that was neareſt the Bridge, where he should tarry till he saw the six squibs fly, which he would give fire unto when he should be master of the bridge, that then he should advance to the bank, and joyn with him by the bridge; concluding that he should let him know sometime that day, whether he would do this or not; for otherwise he protested he could hold out the siege no longer, but was resolved to close with the French. This propoſal, to boot that general diffidences made against it, and the Governours wonted aversion to hazard more then he had already done, seemed full of difficulty and danger, and impossible to be effected, and destructive to what both the Governour and the Prince was to do. For as for the Prince, he being to fight by night against an Enemy, recruited by new and gallant Forces, and many of the Nobility, against several Trenches and Fortifications, the attempt would be more then rash; and as for the Governour, though fortune should so favour the Prince his bold attempt, as that he should make himself master of the bridge; yet the other misfortunes remained, which were to be met with in passing over the River; for the bridge by which they were to pass over was not made of sound timber, but onely sustained by small rafters, and so streight, as not above three foot could march over it a breſt, without sides or parapets, exposed on the one side to the Muskets of the bridge neer the Capuchins, and behind to the Artillery placed upon the Capuchins Covent. So as give it for granted that the bridge were both sound and firm, those that should pass pass over it must needs be torne in pieces by the Musket-shot and by the Artillery; and those few who by miracle should get to the other shoar, not being shelter'd by those very little Forts, they must necessarily be welcomed over by the Enemies Musketiers, who would undoubtedly be come thither and would kill them; so as they should not come to relieve others, but to be slain themselves. Out of these Reasons, the Prince his design which was carried on rather out of a great desire of freeing himself, then by any well weighed reason, was not approved by the Governour: But because the closing with the French, and surrender of the City, was added in case of refusal, the Governour

vernour resolved so satisfie the proposal rather in shew then in substance. The Prince was therefore inform'd, that he should be satisfied according to his own manner; and to this purpose the Governour moved the same night with his men towards the place appointed. The Prince believing in the Governours correspondency, betook himself cheerfully to the business; he gave order that a thousand Dutch, who guarded the Trenches opposite to the Citadel, should at the sign of going off of a Gannon assault the Citadel; to divert the Enemy in so important a place; he disposed of the Ecclesiasticks, and others of the weak vulgar, in defence of the Walls; he went out of the City himself with the rest of the Garrison, and with such Citizens as were fittest to manage Arms; and being full of hopes, he appointed several parts for falling on to his best experienced Commanders; he deputed others to defend those ways by which the Enemy might break in to disturb them: all these Commanders did their devoire; the line of the inward Circumvolution was broken, and the other Fortifications taken; then coming to the Bridge, they also easily mastered the other smaller Forts; so as the Prince seemed to have wholly performed his part. The last thing that was to be done was to give fire to the squibs, whereby to call in the Governour; but he came not; some said, because he was killed who was to fire the squibs; but this appearing to be too unlikely, others said, that the Prince knowing that the Governour was too far off to come in time enough with his men to his succour, thought it was superfluous to give fire to the squibs; which appeared to be less likely then the former alledged reason; the truth was, that the little Forts were not well taken, when all the French flock'd in so fast as they were abandoned as speedily as they were taken; those that defended one of them ran away; and those of the other, who made some resistance, were cut in pieces, so as there was no time to call in the Governour by firing the squibs, who had he been come to the Bridge which was recovered by the French; could not have gotten thereby over to joyn with the Prince. The whole French Camp moved at the first going off of the Cannon, which was the sign given by the Prince to his men to fall on; and General *Harcourt*, accompanied by a good body of men, hazarded himself in the business; but being entertained by Marquess *Serra*, who was appointed to defend that station, though he met with stout opposition, yet more men coming in unto him, he made his way thorow the Enemy; in which conflict *Serra* fought valiantly; but having lost his Serjeant-Major, six Captains, and many of his best Souldiers, he was forced, for safety of his life, to throw himself down head-long into a Valley that was below.

General *Harcourt* did at this time also run great hazard of his life, being shot with a musket-bullet thorow the brims of his hat, and thorow the lock of his hair; and yet having rid his hands of *Serra*, he hasted to recover the Bridge, whither at the same time came also Viscount *Turenna*, *Plessis*, *Pralin*, the Dowagers two Generals, Count *Tonniere*, and the chiefest of the Camp, from several places, who presently recovered the little Forts; and when it was cleer day, the Assailants being plaid upon by the Cannon from the Capuchins Covent, the Prince, after a long and stout resistance, got gallantly out of the Conflict, and

retreated

retreated with his men towards the City, having left behind him about 250 of his men, (whereof some were slain, some taken,) and having slain as many of the Enemy. Thus the attempt which was so orderly, so vigorously, and so hopefully made by the Prince, vanish'd. But the Prince not at all dismay'd by this unfortunate success, quitted not the Enterprise, he invited the Governour to make the same attempt the next night, either after the same manner, or how the Governour should otherwise please; but he foreseeing the unlikelyhood of the attempt, was further from it then before; wherefore the Prince not having received an answer suitable to his mind, seeing no hope of succour, but that his condition grew daily worse, to keep himself from being reduced to the utmost extremity, resolved not to defer surrendring the Town any longer, but yielded it up at last upon these Conditions: "That "on the 22. of *September* the Prince should put the City into Count "*Harcourt*'s hands, who was to receive it in the King of *France* his "Name, who would re-establish it in the Regency of the Lady his Si-"ster, under the Sovereignty of her Son the Duke of *Savoy*; That the "Prince should be permitted to go whither he would; and, That it "should be at the Infanta's will, either to tarry, or go out of the City, "and follow the Prince: That the Spanish Garrison might have leave "to return to the Governours Camp: That the City should enjoy her "Privileges; and, That Justice would be therein administred as for-"merly, in the Dukes Name: That the Citizens should peacefully en-"joy their Goods and Fortunes; and, That Hostages should be reci-"procally given for the performance of what was agreed upon.

Nothing was concluded touching the differences depending between the Dowager and the Princes, notwithstanding that during the Siege it was treated on by the Marquesses of *Pianezza*, and *Villa*, the Dowagers Lieutenant-General in *Piedmont*, and Abbot *Monduo*, General *Gansiro*, and by Count *Mazano*, in the Names of Prince *Thomaso*, and of the Cardinal: Nor was there any mention of the Princes their adherence to the Crown of *France*: But three moneths were appointed for the discussing and concluding of these things.

Cardinal *Richelieu* seemed not to be any ways satisfied with this Agreement, when he heard thereof, being desirous that *Harcourt* should never have consented that the Prince should have had his liberty, without obliging himself to joyn with the King of *France* his party: But *Harcourt*, were it either that he found his Army much weakned, or that he was transported with the greedinesse of Victory, or that, as a Prince of Noble descent, he commiserated the misfortune of a Prince as highly descended, and with truly generous and singular moderation, he thought it greater glory to use a mean in Victory, then to triumph fully, after the dangers and troubles which he had undergone in this Siege; he shun'd delay, and deferred the discussion of this point, which peradventure was of more importance for his Kings Affairs, till another time.

The Articles being concluded, such abundance of rain fell, as the Rivers overflowed the Campagnia, and hindred commerce; so as the delivering of the City was necessarily defer'd for two days: but it was resigned on the 24 of *September*, four moneths and fourteen dayes after the siege was begun.

The

The Prince march'd out of the City, if not gloriously, yet worthy of praise, being rather content to let fall so principal a part of his pretentions, then to dispute it further, to the manifest danger of his State, and of the Principality of his house, it being certain, and afterwards confest by the Prince himself, that though he might often have taken the Citadel, he cared not to do it, lest (as it was very probable) it might fall into the hands of others, whereby the exclusion of the Duke his Nephew and of his whole Family, might ensue; the Infantas, his sisters went along with their brother; who though they were very much desired by the Citizens, and by the Nobles of *Piedmont*, as also by the French, and particularly by *Harcourt*, to tarry in the City, with profers and promises to be honourably treated, yet they would, as they had still hitherto done, follow the Prince in his Fortune; almost all the Nobles that were in *Turin*, and an infinite number of Citizens, accompanied the Prince when he went out, witnessing the like obsequiousness and constant devotion towards him at his departure, as they had done during the siege. He went that night to *Rivoli*, and the next day to *Iurea*, where he intended to reside. The Spanish Garrison went to the Governour to *Cheri*, he being retreated thither with his men from the hills, who parted soon from thence to *Asi*, resolving to make a Magazine of Arms there: and he quartered his Horse, and part of his Foot, in the parts about *Montferrat*, to refresh themselves after their sufferings in the siege. Many of the French Nobility went into *France*, and part of the Souldiery were distributed in the Towns near *Piedmont*, and part kept in *Turin*, whereof some few Horse and Foot were sent to re-inforce *Cassale*. The City of *Turin* remained under *Harcourts* Government; who after having governed it two moneths with much equity, modestation, and satisfaction to the people, resigned it over to the Dowager, who coming from *Savoy* into *Piedmont*, made her solemn entry into *Turin*, on the 18. of *November*; where she was received not onely with triumphant Arches, and new Gates of Stone made in the Walls, but with unspeakable and universal applause of the People, who had not forgot the clemency and benignity of her Regency. A true example of the instability of popular affection, which feeding alwayes upon novelty are as exactly cloyed with the present Governours, as ready to embrace new ones: nor was the Dowager wanting to her self upon this occasion; she received them all graciously; and as if she had forgotten all that was past, she conferr'd her favours indifferently upon them all. The first thing she did after her return, was, to abolish the Decree of the Senate which was made in favour of the Princes their Regency, alleadging that it was extorted contrary to all right and reason, by the violence of the Spanish Forces; and the Cesarean Decrees were also declared null, as repugnant to the Sovereignty of the house of *Savoy*, which was never wont to receive Laws in the like case from the Cesarean Tribunal: and successively she was, by the joynt Vote of the same Senate, sworn Governess of her Children again, and Regent of the State. For the entire establishment of Affairs, it remained that the differences between the Princes and the Dowager, and King of *France*, should be agreed, which in the surrender of *Turin* was reserved to be treated of during

during the Truce which was then agreed upon, a little before the said forsaiden Monsieur *Fulio Mazzarini* was come from *France* with Title of the Kings Plenipotentiary; who having been often with the Prince and his Agents, in *Valentino* and *Borgo*, during the siege had indeavoured these Treaties long. The Embassadour propounded that the King of *France* should forthwith restore such Towns as were in his possession to the Dowager, as Regent, if the *Spaniards* would do the like with their Towns which they had taken of hers; and that if the *Spaniards* should not do this, the Prince should oblige himself to adhere unto the King of *France* his party, upon very satisfactory Conditions which should be given him, and this was wholly agreed unto by the Prince before he went from the City, upon condition that he should first give notice to the *Spanish* Agents of the offered restitution, and that he should desire them to restore what they had taken; which in case they should do, the Prince should not be bound to forgoe their party. He further protested, that he would first send to *Spain*, to demand his Wife and Children which were kept in that Court as Hostages of his fidelity; and it was agreed, that all this should be carried on with much secrecie; lest being known it might prove an impediment to his ever having his Wife and Children from that Court. The Prince going upon with this clog'd and conditional agreement inform'd the Governour of *Milain*, immediately, how ready the King of *France* was to restore what he had taken: and desired him that he would do the like on his Kings behalf: and he sent Count *Messerati* into *Spain* to make the same request for the restoring of the Towns, as also of his wife and children: the Agents in *Italy*, and the Spanish Court, were much troubled to hear of this restitution, and it was conceived that the Prince was absolutely agreed with the French, which it was always doubted he would do; Count *Sirvela* was sent by the Governour to speak with the Prince in *Inurea*, to sound his inclination, and to feel his pulse; who though he were greatly scandalized with the Governours, yet being moved by his loss of *Turin* he could not forget the great hopes which by reason of his former successes he had drunk in; not that he had already agreed with the French, but, though he appeared otherwise, was far from it; and could not think of foregoing his former hopes of so great a part of *Piedmont*, which he enjoyed whilst he adhered to the Spaniards, nor yield to the Dowagers absolute Sovereignty, as if he had agreed with the French he must do. The Embassadour was sure the Prince Cardinal would be of the same mind; who was possest of the so important places of *Nizza* and *Cuneo*, and of so large and fruitful a Country: he knew, on the other side, how highly the Court of *France* was offended with him, what Orders had been issued out from thence against his person; how Cardinal *Richlieu* had abused others; wherefore not holding it fit to confide in that Court, after several complaints past at the first meeting between the Prince and Count *Sirvela*, and much dispute touching their particular interests, it was not hard for *Sirvela* to induce the Prince to persevere in adhering to the Spaniards; but, because *Sirvela* would come to no agreement with the Prince, before he should ratifie the Writing which was subscribed in his name by his Wife at *Madrid*,

whereby

whereby the Prince put himself and his whole Family into the Kings protection, swearing fealty to him: The Prince made the said ratification; and for what concern'd his private interests, he was content to stand to what should be agreed upon by the Prince his Brother at *Nizza*. The Affairs of *Spain* went well by this Negotiation of *Sirvela*; for though the Princes did not assist much in the present War, but occasioned great expence by their adherence, yet by their union they kept *Piedmont* a friend to *Spain*: The Towns which were therein held by the Spaniards required lesser Garrisons, and (which imported more,) this Union kept the French Forces from the State of *Millain*. The Governour therefore sent Count *Riviera* to *Nizza* to treat with the Prince Cardinal; but *Sirvela* had not negotiated much, when the French Agents growing apprehensive, began to press hard upon Prince *Thomaso* to declare himself for their King, since the Spaniards were very backward in restoring the Towns they held; and the French accompanied these their pressures with threats. The Prince procrastinated this business as much as he could, pretending that he was to wait the resolution of the Court of *Spain*, as well touching the restitution of the Towns in *Piedmont*, as also the like of his Wife and Children; pretending likewise that to hasten this business too much was to ruine it: but two moneths and more being past, the French being impatient of longer delay would admit of no more words, but were so continually buzzing in his ears, as the Prince seemed enforc'd to yield to their importunities, or else to break with them; and being in a weak place, not provided to defend himself, and not finding the Spanish Forces in a condition to protect him, nor believing that the Governour would adventure any further in maintaining him then he had done formerly; and on the contrary, not finding any great certainty in *Sirvela's* propositals; he knew he was but in a bad posture to withstand the imminent thunder of the French, in case he should not yield unto their wills; whereupon not knowing what better course to take, he came to this agreement with them, about the beginning of *December*. 'That he 'would put himself into the protection of the Crown of *France*; that 'he would come himself in person to *Paris*, by the middle of *January*, 'at the furthest, to wait personally upon his Majesty of *France*, and to 'assure him of his readiness to serve him, with leave notwithstanding 'to return; That he would send to *Spain* to demand his Wife and Chil-'dren, and the restitutions of the Towns of *Piedmont* into the hands of 'the Dutchess, as Mother and Governess of the Duke her Son; which 'if the King of *Spain* should refuse to do, he would joyn with the 'Forces of *France* in *Italy* against the Spaniards; That if restitution 'should be made that obligation should cease, with a *salvo*, notwith-'standing, to his protection from *France*, and his adherence thereunto; 'The King of *France* should be bound to preserve the succession of *Sa-'voy* and *Piedmont* in the Male-line of the house of *Savoy*; That he 'should restore the Towns held by his Forces for the Duke under the 'Regency of the Dowager; so as the Spaniards should do the like with 'those Towns which were in their possession; That he would help to 'make a match between a Son of the Princes and a Daughter of the 'Duke of *Longueville's*, one of the richest Ladies of *France*; and that

'he would co-operate in composing the differences between him and 'the Dowager, together with many Pensions to be given to him the 'Prince, to his Wife and Children. Upon which account some moneys were disburst unto him in present to prepare him for his journey: moreover, some promises were made him, that he should have some Territories given him out of such Lands as should be gotten in *Italy*, whereby he might have wherewith to maintain himself and his posterity in a condition becoming their qualities; it was agreed, out of the same respects, that this Convention should be kept secret; and the Truce was prorogued for all *February* next. The Prince also promised (but not under his hand) that he would cause the Castle of *Asti* to be delivered up to the French; and he was not permitted to acquaint the Prince his Brother with any of these agreements, so severely did the French press him in this agreement; but his aversion to observe this agreement was as great as was their urging him thereunto, to witness which the Castle of *Asti* was not delivered up, though 500 Horse with men *en Croupe* came to it by night to receive it; who having told the Sentinels that they brought Letters for Don *Emanuel*, Brother to the Prince, and Governour of the Castle, were not admitted, but were bid to come when it should be clear day; when being discovered they were saluted as enemies by Cannon-shot both from the Castle and Citadel; and the Garrison of the Castle, which were Piedmontese, was recruited by the Spaniards. The Prince Cardinal having heard how great a blow he had received by the loss of *Turin*, and how little the Governour had done towards the preserving thereof, desired to find some way to preserve himself from ruine, which he saw was not far off: he therefore sent the Abbot *Soldato*, one in whom he did much confide, to the Court of *France*, to lay the foundations of an union there, which he thought to make with that King; offering to joyn with him upon some conditions. 'The chief whereof were three; That a Lieutenan-'cy might be permitted him, in the County of *Nizza*, and to keep the 'Towns thereof without any dependency upon the Dowager; that the 'Guardianship and Regency should be absolutely in the Dowager, ex-'cept in matter of Peace and War, Confederacies, Alienations, and the 'like; That his Majesty should be bound to restore all the Towns to 'the Duke which he held of his, within three years space, together 'with any others that he should recover. The other conditions were of lesser concernment, and such as reflected only upon the Prince Cardinals own occasions.

The King abhorring that the Princes should hold so principal places, whilst he should be prescribed terms of restitution, denied both the Articles, not without some disdain; so the Abbot return'd to *Nizza te infetta*; and the King having quickly notice of the Agreement made in *Piedmont*, not doubting but that they would be made good, was very well pleased therewith, as was the whole Court; and desired very much to see the Prince come; who sought nothing more then to evade the performance of those Agreements, which he profest he had unwillingly consented unto; wherefore the time prefix'd for his going into *France* being come, he did not much mind the taking of that Journey, though he was much follicited thereunto by the Embassadour *Mazzarini*,

ni, and by the other French Agents; but in lieu thereof, he paſt thorow the States of *Millain* and *Genoa*, to *Nizza*; where being equally diſtaſted, as was his Brother with the negative which was brought from *France*, they treated of the common affairs. This ſo ſudden departure of the Prince, and ſo contrary to the late made agreement, did, and not without reaſon, infuſe jealouſie into the Embaſſadour *Mazzarini*; who preſaging the ſiniſter influences, which that conjunction, as an ominous Conſtellation of ſo great Planets, would cauſe, went to *Nizza*, to ſee whether he might prevent the imminent influence which he foreſaw. But all was in vain, for the Princes were already almoſt agreed with the Spaniards; ſo as being preſs'd by *Mazzarini*, the one of them to perſevere in, the other to enter into convention with the French; they anſwered, that the Spaniſh Agents were at laſt perſwaded to reſtore the Towns; but that as the King of *France* offer'd to reſtore thoſe that he held to the Regency of the Dowager, ſo the King of *Spain* offer'd to reſtore what was held by him to the Regency of them the Princes. The King of *Spain* had not really done this, nor was there time enough paſt to have a poſitive anſwer in the point come from *Spain*; nay, it was at this very time agreed upon between the Princes and the Spaniſh Agents, that the Towns ſhould be garriſoned by the Spaniards in the ſame manner as they were at the preſent, till the general peace ſhould be made. The Propoſal was an artificial trick agreed upon between the Princes and the Spaniſh Agents; for that all of them believing that the French would not accept of it, the Spaniards might ſhun the odium which would be laid upon them for deſiring to keep what they were poſſeſs'd of; as alſo for that the refuſal might make the Princes adhere the more conſtantly to the Spaniſh party. And on the behalf of the Princes, to the end that the ſame refuſal might ſerve the one for a pretence of foregoing the convention which he had entred into, and the other from thereinto entring. The Embaſſadour as ſoon as he was come to *Nizza*, hearing the propoſals, perceived their ends in it; wherefore he immediately anſwered, that it was ridiculous, impoſſible, and a thing procured by the Princes themſelves. Many were the debates hereupon; the Princes endeavoured by fair words to perſwade the Embaſſadour to what he could not believe; and if the Embaſſadour ſhould not agree to the reſtitution out of his miſtruſt of them, they might have occaſion not to confide in him, who would not truſt them; but that if the buſineſs were rightly weighed, it muſt needs be very advantagious for the Duke, for thereby the Towns would be taken out of the hands of Forreigners, and put in thoſe of the Natives, and would ſo come to be poſſeſs'd by the Duke: A chief eſſential poynt, which ſo it might be done, the manner mattered not; for means would not be wanting afterwards to accommodate that touching which the form of reſtitution appeared now ſtrange. And therefore if he could think of any middle-way which might ſatisfie both the Crowns, they deſired him to propound it; for they would be ready to part with any thing that ſhould of due belong to them, ſo as the reſtitution might be made to the Duke; at laſt, adding intreaties to their reaſons, they endeavoured by all means poſſible to perſwade him not to give over the Treaty, which was almoſt already brought to a concluſion, ſhewing how much

the King did not onely study to preserve the Dukes Grandezza, but to encrease it. Wherefore the Embassadour, who was the King his Plenipotentiary, ought not, nor could not differ in opinion from his Majesty, but was bound to observe it; all these perswasions could not work upon the Embassadour, who knew that the King would not permit that the Princes should have any thing to do in any of the Dukes Towns. For this would not be to compose differences, but to occasion greater dissentions, to fortifie factions, which the King thought made against his Nephew the Duke, to foment discord, and rather to encrease then to appease War in *Piedmont*: To shun which inconveniencies, the King desired that the restitution should be made by himself, and by the King of *Spain*, into the Dowagers hands as sovereign Governess and Regent; which being the ground-work wherein the Dukes Grandezza and safety did consist admitted of no allay; much less of what was propounded by the Princes, and held to be diametrically opposite to the safety of his Nephews Dominions. Wherefore the Embassadour not thinking that the business would admit of a reply, said, that since the King of *Spain* would not restore the Towns into the Dowagers hands, according to agreement, the Prince was absolutely obliged to joyn with the King of *Frante*, in the recovery of them: He therefore parted from *Nizza* incens'd, and with but little hopes that the agreed capitulations should take effect. The Princes were not at all dismaid at his departure; but as if they had had the better end of the staff, and had justified to the world that the agreement had not been impeded by them, they made use of the Embassadours backwardness and departure, to justifie their inclination to peace; to which purpose they published Manifestoes, and endeavoured to lay the fault of breaking the agreement upon the Embassadour; alledging that when the Spaniards made no mention of restitution, the French were wholly for restitution; but that as soon as the Spaniards mentioned restitution, the French had nothing to say. At last the Princes seeing the State of their Affairs reduced to the condition they desired, thinking all Treaties broken with their advantage, and to their reputation, and all conventions made with the French abolished, they agreed, on the fifth of *May*, the year 1641. in *Nizza* with the Embassadour *Sirdera*, and drew up in writing what they had spoken of; the sum whereof was;

'That the King should keep all the Towns he had in *Piedmont* till the 'general peace should be concluded, which should not be made without including the Princes: That Prince *Thomaso* should have an Army 'raised for him of 4000 Foot and 500 Horse, whereunto he should be 'bound to adde 1500 Horse more, and 2000 Foot of his own: That 'the Prince should be General of this Army in the Kings name, to 'whom he should take the same Oath that Generals use to do: That 'this Army should be paid by the King, by the hands of his Officers: 'That the Prince should be bound with this Army to joyn with the Go'vernour in defence of *Piedmont*, the State of *Millain*, and *Montferrat*. 'That the Prince Cardinal should have a thousand Spanish Foot given 'him to defend the County of *Nizza*, and 7000 Crowns a moneth allowed him for the maintenance of another thousand, which the Car'dinal should raise of his own men. That neither of these Princes

'should

'should treat directly nor indirectly with the French, with the Dowa-'ger, or any others, without consent of the King or his Agents: Toge-'ther with many other Heads which concern'd their own private Inte-'rests.

This Agreement being confirm'd by Prince *Thomaso* with Count *Sirvela* in *Segli*, a Village five miles from *Genoa*, as the Prince returned from *Piedmont*, was afterwards ratified on the 15th of *April* in *Gaila*, a Town of the Novarese, by the same *Sirvela*, who was chosen Governour of *Millain*. The first point, concerning the restitution of the Towns, was moderated in a writing apart, in point of the time of retention; wherein it was agreed, that in case the general peace should not be concluded within six years, all the Towns except *Vercelles* should be delivered up to the Emperour, who was to keep Dutch Garrisons therein until the general peace. The change of the Governour of *Millain* did much good in the making of this agreement; for whilst it was in treaty, the Princes having made several complaints to the King of *Spain* against the Marquess of *Leganes*, the King sent for him into *Spain*, and had appointed Count *Sirvela* to succeed him in that Government; who was as great a confident of the Princes, as *Leganes* was the contrary; and the Princes confidence being much encreased by the change of the Governour, they betook themselves more heartily to the Spanish party; and the rather for that at the same time Count *Harcourt* return'd to *France*; and not long after Embassadour *Mazzarini* and *l' Argenson*, all of them the Princes chiefest Enemies; and after them many other Commanders; so as the French Army in *Piedmont* was not onely much lessened in Authority, but in Forces; so as that fear ceasing in the Prince which had compel'd him to that Capitulation, he thought he was now in a better condition of safety and liberty, and that he might dispose better of himself and of his affairs; he and his Brother being therefore resolved to joyn with the Spaniards who sustain'd them, and to part from the agreement made with the French, which reduced them to nothing; Prince *Thomaso* gave over holding intelligence with the French about the end of the Truce, who sollicited him to go to *Paris*, and declared that he could no longer stand to the Capitulation, out of many reasons; particularly, for that the things agreed upon were not kept secret, they themselves having divulged it in the Court of *Spain*, to the which he attributed the detaining of his Wife and Children; and to aggravate their omissions the more, he complained that that divulging was a trick used by them, to the end that he the Prince being the more irritated against the Spaniards, for that their denial, might adhere the closer to the French; but that the King of *Spain* being contented to restore the Towns, notwithstanding the publication of what was to be kept secret; as also to the restoring of his Wife and Children; so as he would still adhere to him, he could not forego such an occasion without offending the Laws of Nature, which obliged him more streightly to so dear pledges, then any thing else could oblige him to the King of *France*; that it would certainly be too mad a resolution, and for which he deserved to be for ever blamed, if when he might rehave his Wife and Children, and the Towns without any noise or trouble he should chuse to recover them by force of Arms, by a thousand

dangers

dangers and calamities, by the tedious dangerous and uncertain delays of War, to the irreparable prejudice of the Duke, and to the deſolation of the people, and of his Country, to the preſervation and welfare whereof, he as a Prince of the blood was bound by all Laws both Humane and Divine; that therefore there was no place left for the French Convention, ſeeing the King of *Spain* was ready to deliver up unto him his Wife, Children, and the Towns; and that if the offer'd reſtitution ſhould not, for ſome circumſtances, be liked of, there was place left for ſome accommodation; wherefore utter breach was not to be deſperately run upon: with theſe and the like reaſons the Prince endeavoured to honeſt his cauſe, and to juſtifie his foregoing the former Convention; he complain'd alſo that the Embaſſadour *Mazzarini* had way-laid him in his return from *Nizza* to *Piedmont*, to take him priſoner; which he alſo diſcover'd was plotted in the Court of *France*; not ſo much by what was diſcover'd in *Argenſons* inſtructions, as by the rumours raiſed by Cardinal *Richlieu*, when he heard that *Turin* was ſurrendered, with his the ſaid Princes freedom, and by many complaints which had thereupon been made againſt General *Harcourt*; the ſame Cardinal appearing to be more troubled at his the Princes freedom, then joyed at the taking of the City; for greater proof of his diſtruſt in Cardinal *Richlieu*, he alſo alledged that he had received advertiſements from many Princes that were his friends, at *Paris*, to be well adviſed ere he came thither; for that when he ſhould have put himſelf into other mens powery he ſhould not eaſily know how to get out of it. And, moreover, that he had found by the Negotiations had in that Court, touching his adherence to that Crown; that the Cardinal was abſolutely determined utterly to ruine his Kinſman, the Count of *Soiſons*, who was then accuſed of having plotted ſome novelties againſt the Government of that Kingdom; whereof the ſaid Prince being found neither conſcious, nor complice, he had reaſon to doubt, that ſince the Cardinal durſt dare ſo much againſt a Prince of the Blood Royal, he could not expect more ſafety for his own perſon, nor for the intereſts of his Nephew the Duke; for which reaſons he thought he had juſt occaſions not to go to that Court.

Amidſt theſe debates, Count *Turenna*, chief of the French Forces in *Piedmont*, and Marqueſs *Villa*, head of thoſe of the Dowager, fell both of them before *Montcalvo*; and having eaſily taken the Town, they betook themſelves to take the Caſtle, whither the Spaniſh Gariſon having forſaken the Town, had withdrawn themſelves: The taking whereof reſted wholly on Marqueſs *Villa*, for *Turenna* was retired to *Piedmont*; and though the enterpriſe was thought would prove long and dangerous, by reaſon of the ſtrength of ſituation, multitude of defenders, abundance of Ammunition and Victuals which were in that Caſtle, yet, contrary to all mens imaginations, Marqueſs *Villa* had it ſurrendred to him within a few days; which had it been a little longer held out by the Captain would have been relieved by the new Governour, who was raiſing men to that purpoſe: whilſt theſe things were adoing, the Governour took about a thouſand Foot from his own Army, to give a beginning to that of Prince *Thomaſo's*, that they might be at the Princes diſpoſal, they being to be defrai'd by the Governour;

vernour; part of these were sent to garrison *Inurea*, under the command of Count *Pancalino Visconte*, where it was thought the French would first fall on; the rest were sent to quarter in the State of *Millain*, for the ease of *Piedmont*; moneys were likewise given him for the increasing of his Horse, and for raising the 2000 Piedmontese Foot; and as, on the one side, the Prince turn'd the moneys given to this purpose to other uses, not making his obligation good; and did also refuse to take his Oath unto the King; so neither, on the other side, did the Governour supply the rest of the men which he was to give unto the Prince; were it either in respect that the Spanish Army was so small as that he could not make his word good to the Prince, without almost wholly disbandoning it, or for the Prince his breach of Articles, particularly in refusing the Oath; the Governour not thinking it safe to trust the greatest part of the Kings Forces in his hands, who refused to take the accustomed Oath. And yet each of them did bear with the other in their equal unobservance; and the Governour kept the Army ready to defend the Prince, and did apply himself to please him, as he could, in the carrying on of the Warr; yea sometimes to the prejudice of the common-cause. The thousand Foot were also sent to the Prince Cardinal, commanded by well experienced Officers, and the 7000 Crowns a moneth were readily paid him, for the raising and paying of the thousand Piedmontese which were to garrison *Nizza*, the Castle whereof, as all the rest of that Country, was abundantly provided with victuals, munition, and with all things necessary for their defence from *Naples*; with promise that they should, upon all occasions, be so still. Monies were paid to both the Princes, notwithstanding the present necessity thereof to keep the Courts, which they did in greater lustre then ever their Father had done.

The End of the Seventeenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ITALY.

Book XVIII.

The Contents.

THe Crown of France and French Commanders being but badly satisfied with Prince Thomaso, for his non-observance of the Capitulation made by him, go to drive him out of Inurea; which being better defended then assaulted holds out till the Governour sends succour: who going afterwards to before Chiavasso forces the French almost to quit the Enterprise, that they may relieve Chiavasso; and Don Vincenzo Gonzaga coming to the French quarters before Inurea, forceth them, much to their prejudice, to give over the Enterprise wholly; and the Prince enters joyfully into the City. The Dowagers Generals recover Ceva, Mondovi, and the Castle of Carru, and then joyning with the French go to before Cuneo, and take it. The Spaniards take Montcalvo. The Prince of Monaco drives out the Spanish Garrison, and introduceth the French, to the great prejudice of the Spanish Affairs; the misfortunes whereof are by a short digression related. Cardinal Richlieu dies. The Conde Duca falls from all authority and greatness in the Court of Spain. The differences between the Dowager and the Princes are at last composed. The Princes forsake the Spanish party and adhere unto the French. Prince Thomaso joyning with the French, after some small actions done to the prejudice of Spain, goes with the Duke of Longuevile with a strong Army to before Tortona, which after a long time is taken; but some months after is re-taken with much ado by the Spaniards: in which interim

terim Prince Thomaſo *recovers* Aſti, *and all the Towns that were held by the Spaniards in* Piedmont, *except* Vercelli.

THe not obſerving of the Agreement made with ſo much ſtudy and induſtry between the King and Prince by the Embaſſadour *Mazzarini* angred not only the French Agents and Commanders in *Piedmont*, but alſo the Court at *Paris*; which being held on by the long hope and deſire of ſeeing a Prince appear as a Trophy of the Kings Grandezza, who had been ſo totally alienated from him, and finding themſelves abuſed therein were much unſatisfied; and Cardinal *Richlieu*, who it was not known whether he would receive him graciouſly or not, was not only offended to be ſo baſely deluded, but thought it a great affront, to that he ſhould be ſeen by the world to be ſo much miſtaken in his truſt; and that he had thereby failed of removing that obſtacle which had been ſo repugnant to the happy concourſe of the Kings deſigns: Likewiſe the King not being able to tolerate that his favour and protection ſhould be ſo little valued, was ſcandalized, that a Prince who had neither Towns nor Territories, nor any Authority but ſuch as had been obtained by Treaties, and which was dependent ſhould ſo neglect him and his protection; when in all reaſon he ſhould have held it his greateſt happineſs to be received thereinto, as into a ſafe Harbour; he did alſo much reſent it, that the Prince in defence of his breach of word, ſhould alledge the anticipical publiſhing of the Agreement made in the Court of *Spain*; he termed this conceit an abortive product of the Intellect, and a ſhew of his ſiniſter affection who had formed it. The French Forces were (as hath been ſaid) much diminiſhed at this time in *Piedmont*; but General *Harcourt* was ſhortly expected to return from *France* with a gallant re-inforcement of Foot and Horſe: thoſe few French who were yet there were quartered about *Chiavaſſo*, not far from *Inurea*, at which their aim was; and though the Commanders, to cloak their deſign, feigned ſome other intents; yet the Prince being jealous of their neighbourhood, as conſcious of the wrong he had done them, went to *Millain*, and endeavoured to have from the Governour (upon whoſe favour he did much build) a certain number of men, which being added to his own Forces might be ſufficient to aſſault on the ſudden one of the French quarters, which lay in diſorder beyond the *Dora*, not far from *Inurea*, hoping, as he gave out, to rout it with a dry head.

Turenna, upon the abſence of the Prince, took occaſion to aſſault *Inurea*. To effect the which, he ſat down before it, not waiting for General *Harcourts* return, who was come neer *Piedmont*: it was generally thought that he was put upon this by the Embaſſadour *Mazzarini*, who having boaſted in his Letters ſent to *Paris*, that he had brought the Prince over to throw himſelf at the Kings feet, was troubled that he was cheated in his chiefeſt Negotiation. *Turenna* having paſt over *la Dora* at *Montalta*, about the midſt of *April*, 41, took up his quarters upon the neighbouring hill which commanded the Town; and the Horſe paſſing over not long after, and the reſt of the Foot, they took up another quarter towards *Vercelli*: Don *Silvio di Savoy* was Governour of the Town, who was left there by his Brother the Prince, when

he went for *Millain*; as ſoon as he ſaw he was aſſaulted, he gave notice thereof to the Prince; who was not then well ſatisfied with the Governour of *Millain*, who had denied to ſend him the men he had deſired, wherewith to fall upon the French quarters: but finding now how neceſſary it was to defend a place of ſuch importance to the Prince, he needed no intreaties, but was very ready to aſſiſt him; he therefore ſent for his men immediately from their quarters, which whilſt they were aſſembling, the oppugners having notice thereof cauſed ſome Cannon to come, and plaid upon the City for two days ſpace on three ſides; and having made 400 ſhot, they gave a fierce aſſault; there was but few of the Prince his Souldiers at this time in the Town; the chief burthen of the defence lay upon the ſtout Garriſon which was brought thither by Count *Vercelline Viſconte*, Camp-maſter, and a gallant Souldier; it conſiſted of Italians and Spaniards; the latter under Don *Pietro Gonzales*, Lieutenant to the Camp-maſter-general, a gallant and well experienced Souldier, ſubordinate to *Viſconte*; by whom the aſſault which was five times re-enforced being ſtoutly withſtood, it was five times more re-aſſumed in the ſpace of four hours, and as oft repuls'd; wherein there died about 600 of the aſſailants, amongſt which many of the Nobility; and about 100 of the defendants. The Governour advanced this mean while with the ſuccour; and the Van of the Army being come to *Bolegno*, three miles diſtant from the French quarters, *Harcourt*, who was now come to the Camp, hearing thereof, reſolutely reſolved to encounter it before the main body of the Battle and the Rere ſhould joyn with it; he therefore went towards them with the moſt of his men, and they being fewer in number, he would eaſily have ſcattered them, had not the Governour and Prince *Thomaſo* commanded Cavalier *Alazza* to go with four Troops of Horſe, and ſome Foot, from the Village *Birvolo*, whither he was come to fall upon the French on the flank, charging him to do all he could to entertain them, till the Artillery and the reſt of the Foot ſhould come up, who were not far off; but Marqueſs *Villa* coming out againſt *Alazza* charged him ſo home as he forced him to retreat to *Birvolo*, where through the advantage of the ſituation the Foot who were purſued recovered *Alazza*, whom *Villa* had taken, and the reſt of the Spaniſh Army coming in very ſeaſonably this mean while, the face of affairs alter'd; for the French being plaid upon on the one ſide by the Artillery, and fiercely fain upon on the other ſide by Prince *Thomaſo*, and the Marqueſs *Caracena* who was arrived with freſh men, they were forced to retreat to their quarters. The Fight was fierce and bloody, wherein above 400 of the French were ſlain, of which many Officers and Captains; about 50 of the Spaniſh Army were ſlain, and as many hurt, whereof four Captains; it was thought that if the French had aſſaulted the Van one half houre ſooner, they had certainly routed them; and had the day laſted but one half hour longer, the Spaniards would have gotten a famous Victory, and have ruin'd the Enemy totally; for they were in great confuſion when the night parted the Fray.

Governour *Sirvela* ſent a relief of 800 Foot into the Town; and being deſirous to make himſelf maſter of *Chiaverano* a Caſtle two miles diſtant from *Inurea*, and as far from *Colegno*, he ſent men to take it;

it; who beating down the gate with a petar'd met with ſuch reſiſtance as they were at firſt forced to retreat; but afterwards re-inforcing their aſſault they took the Caſtle; the Prince deſired, and preſs'd very much that they might go to aſſault the Enemy in their quarters; but *Strvela*, *Caracena*, and the reſt of the Commanders, were of another mind, intending to carry on affairs with more ſafety; but that ſomewhat might be done whereby the Town might be freed, and the Prince not ſeem to be abandoned, they reſolved to try whether it might not be done by diverſion; they therefore went to before *Chiavazzo*, the loſs whereof would be of greater importance to the Enemy then the getting of *Inurea*; ſo as it was likely they would give over the one to defend the other; this counſel was ſo well taken as that *Inurea* being reaſonably well relieved, they might ſpin out the defence thereof, and not endanger the loſs of it by their going to *Chiavazzo*; the deſign did not fail, though the Prince was not much pleaſed with it, being loath that the other Town which was of ſo great importance to him ſhould be endangered; but finding the Spaniards loath to hazard all upon one chance, he conſented to the diverſion; paſſing over the *Dora* therefore at *Rivarotta*, the Army marched to *Chiavazzo*, the Prince going foremoſt with 1000 Foot, and Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* with 1000 Horſe; being come to the Town, the Prince deſired to try the taking of it by Scaladoe, whereunto the Governour was hardly perſwaded, yet he gave way unto it, that he might not ſeem to reject all the Princes propoſals: but it ſucceeded not well, for the Aſſailants were repulſed, and many of them were ſlain, and wounded, to the number of above 400; ſo as the enterprize proving harder then was thought, they began to repent their diverſive reſolution; but knowing that if they ſhould give it quite over they would be laugh'd at, and that the enemy would not riſe from before *Inurea* when that Army ſhould be gone from *Chiavazzo*, they began to make approaches; whereby they came in three days to the Ditch; which being full of water, they found it tedious and troubleſome to paſs over it; yet they got over upon galleries and planks; and coming to two Bulwarks they fell to mining; the Defendants Sallyed out upon them ſtoutly, but were beaten back, leaving many dead behind them, and ſome Priſoners, amongſt which the Governour of the Town's Lieutenant, who led on the Sally; the Horſe were not this mean while idle, but ſcouring the Country they took the Victuals and ammunition which were bringing to the Camp before *Inurea*; as, on the other ſide, thoſe which were brought to the Spaniſh Camp were hindred by the Cavalry of *Caſſalle*, which paſſing over the *Poe* made inrodes oftentimes as far as to S. *Ia*, and *Vercelli*; when the Spaniſh Army was gone to *Chiavazzo*, the French being out of fear of being aſſaulted on the back began to make ſeveral aſſaults upon *Inurea*, and to play with their batteries upon the walls; but ſo valiant were the Defendants, as they rendred all their attempts vain; nor being content with defending themſelves they made out ſeveral Sallyes; one whereof was done ſo reſolutely as they paſt on even to a battery of three pieces of Artillery, which they had taken, had they not been aſſaulted by the French, whoſe Horſe was come up to them when they were come to the Battery: and then ſeeing it would be raſhneſs to oppoſe

pose so great a Force, they retreated to within their walls, still fighting, and in good order; whereby the French finding how hard the business would prove; and hearing that *Chivazzo* was very neer being taken, and that it would be assuredly lost unless it were speedily succored, *Harcourt* was forced to abandon the one, that he might not lose the other; so as after 35 days siege, wherein he had lost about 3000 men, he resolved to quit it, and to go relieve *Chiavasso*; the Prince and Governour perceiving that the French Army was marching towards them, and that they had therefore obtained all that they had pretended to by their diversion; they past over the *Po* upon a bridge of boats which they had purposely prepared, and retreated with their Artillery, baggage, and with all their men, cutting the bridge behind them, and dragging the boats to the other shore, to the end that they might not be pursued by the Enemy: all was done in good order, without the loss of one man through the great diligence & skill of Prince *Thomaso*, and of the Marquess *Caracena*, to whose care the retreate was committed; but understanding whilest they made their retreat, that *Harcourt*, when he went to *Chiavazzo*, had left the bridge over the *Dora*, before *Inurea*, well mounted, that he might return to his former quarters, when he should have freed *Chiavasso*, and reassume the intermitted siege; or else that he might withdraw his baggage and ammunition which he had left in his quarter, to the end that he might the more speedily relieve *Chiavazzo*; to keep him from doing either of these, Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* was sent with 500 Horse towards the bridge, that fording over the *Dora* at *Verolengo* he might get speedily into *Inurea*; nor was this in vain; for *Gonzaga* was not well come to *Inurea*, when he might see the enemies Van upon return, and make towards the bridges; part whereof being already past over was assaulted by Don *Gonzaga*'s Horse, which were enforced by many choice Foot of the Garrison, and after a long and stout dispute, he forced the Enemy to give back, and to forsake their quarters, with the loss of much victuals, munition, and instruments of War, which were found there; which being brought into the Town, *Inurea* was well furnished with what they wanted most, at the cost of the Enemy; wherefore *Harcourt* thinking it impossible to reassume the siege, gave order that the bridge should be broken, and retreated to *Visea* and to other neighboring Towns; the Spanish Camp passing over the bridge at *Verua* went to *Livorno*, where hearing of *Harcourts* retreat, the Prince went joyfully to *Inurea*, and the Governour, with Cardinal *Trivultio*, and other Commanders, to *Millain*: whither being come they sent their Army to their quarters: *Harcourt* being gone from before *Inurea*, though his Forces were weak by reason of the men that he had lost there, and because the recruits which were usually sent from *France*, every spring, were not yet come, he applied his mind to the surprisal of *Alessandria*, which was proposed unto him by Seignior *Covegne*, Governour of *Cassalle*, as an easie enterprize; and which now that the Enemies Army was sent to their quarters, might be effected with a few men, and maintained by small Forces; he therefore sent Marquess *Villa* towards it about the end of *June* with the Dowagers Horse, which amounted to about 800, and with 1000 French Foot

which

which *Harcourt* gave him of his men: and *Harcourt* to back him went to *Battiglire* a Town in the territories of *Asti*, and from thence to *Cerisola*: where hearing that the busines was not to be attempted, for that Cardinal *Trivultio* was entered that City with a good body of men, and that therefore *Villa* was gone towards the parts about *Alba*, he fell to consider what was next to be done; he aspired after great actions, and such as might equal his former; but he wanted Forces equal to his desires: Marquess *Pianezza*, General of the Dowagers Foot, propounded the taking of the Fort of *Ceva*, alleadging that it would requite but a few days, and small Forces, and was notwithstanding of great consequences, to pursue the rest of the Campagnia, with more considerable progress; and that notwithstanding *Harcourt* self might be free with the whole body of his Army, fit to oppose any attempt of the Enemy, and to secure the Country the mean while, till supplies might come from *France* whereby when he should be recruited, he might betake himself to more important enterprizes; he said moreover that Marquess *Villa* would approve of it, by reason of the great advantage that would thereby redound to the Dowagers affairs; and for that being already upon the way to *Ceva*, he would advance thither the more easily with his Horse, and with the French Foot which were with him; and lastly, he profer'd to go thither himself in person with 1500 of the Dowagers Foot; desiring only one Regiment of French, and three small pieces of Artillery, assuring him that without further incommodating his Army, he and *Villa* would speedily dispatch the business. *Harcourt* was pleased with the proposal, and gave way unto it; so *Pianezza* went towards *Alba* to joyn and settle the business with *Villa*; who approving of the design took upon him to go with 800 of the choicest Muskeiers, and with the greatest part of the Horse, but without baggage, to prepossess himself of the Town, and of the victuals that were there, and to block up all Avenues from the bringing of any succour to the Fort, whilest *Pianezza* should advance with the Foot, Artillery, and Munition; *Villa* at his first arrival made himself master of the Town, and of some neighboting places, which might have been a hindrance to him in taking the Fort: and *Pianezza* having overcome the difficulties of the ways which were bad enough for the bringing of Artillery, came within three days to the Town of *Ceva*, and joyning with *Villa* the next day, which was the fourth of *July*, began to attach the Fort; their men were divided into two parts: *Villa* placed himself with one part under a certain Tenaglia which had been abandoned by the Enemy; and *Pianezza* with the other part, on the right side of the said *Tenaglia* against a bulwark which was neer the gate; and ordering their Cannon they betook themselves to take away their defences, and then to fall upon the wall, and to make mines; whilest these things were doing, *Harcourt* kept about *Alba* to oppose any succour which should be brought to the Fort, or to prevent any design that the Spaniards might have, of falling upon any other place: but it was more then needed: for the Governour keeping still in *Millain*, and the Prince in *Inurea*, though Cardinal *Trivultio* was gone to *Alessandria*, where the chief Heads of the Army were met, and where the people of those parts being met

were

were ready at any beck of the Commanders; yet the many provisions which were there taken proved to no purpose; they being to expect resolution from *Millain*, which not being according to the Prince his Genius, the time for action was spent in sending & re-sending the consultations, answers and replyes, between *Millain*, *Alessandria* and *Inurea*. Wherefore the siege continuing without disturbance, Marquess *Pianezza* had been very diligent in working the Mines on his side; and though he had met with some obstacles, yet he overcame them and went on. So as his Mine being perfected, before that of the other side, he feared lest the Enemy might blow it up; he summoned them to surrender, threatning that otherwise he would give fire to his Mine, which when it should be once done there would be no more place for parley: And answer being made that they desired first to see some effects, *Pianezza* drew up his men immediately that they might fall on, as soon as the Mine should have play'd; which having made a breach of 25 paces broad, the besiegers made a furious assault; which being manfully with-stood by the Defendants, order was given for redoubling it with greater vigour: But the Defendants having done their best at the first, they feared what might ensued if they should be re-assaulted. Wherefore seeing all things ready for giving a new assault they did beat a parley, and articled to surrender; whereupon about 200 Spaniards and Piedmontese march'd out, and were according to Articles convoy'd to *Bagnasco*. This business was of great consequence to the Dowagers affairs; for to boot with the great advantage she got from that whole County, the taking of this place drew after it the like of the City, Citadel, and County of *Mondovi*: For the Fort of *Ceva* being taken, and afterwards the Town of *Mulasana*, the Marquesses resolved to go to the taking in of *Carru*, a strong Castle in those parts which held still for the Princes; and *Pianezza* marching thitherward, with some squadrons, advanced towards the City of *Mondovi*, intending rather to frighten it, then out of hope to take it; nor did this prove amiss, for those Citizens being terrified when they saw the victorious Forces advance towards the City they feared they were come to take it; they therefore threw open the Gates, and willingly surrendred it. He pursued his march afterwards towards *Carru*, which despairing of relief surrendred within twenty fours. *Ceva*, and the City and County of *Mondovi* being taken, all the neighbouring Country return'd to the Dowagers obedience, together with the Fort *Carru*: Whereby the City of *Conio*, being almost quite separated from all the other Towns of *Piedmont*, which were held either by the Princes or Spaniards, it was thought it would not be hard to take it; especially since it could not be succor'd by the County of *Nizza*, on which it confined; not so much for that the Prince Cardinal had no Forces to draw into the field, as though he had had any, or that he should be furnish'd with any from *Spain* by sea, yet the ways were so bad which led from the sea side to *Piedmont*, and the passages so difficult, as it was impossible to convey men thither: So as no Forces were to be feared from that side; and *Harcourt* being willing to make use of the occasion threw himself immediately before it, with his own and with the Dowagers men. The enterprize was very hopefull, nor of less advantage and consquence, by reason

ſon of the ſcituation, which being placed at the foot of the *Apenine*, where being cut off from the *Alps* it divides the County of *Nizza* from *Piedmont*. *Conio* is ſeated in an eminent place, encloſed between two Rivers, which falling down by two Valleys, formed by the *Apennine*, and running ſome few miles by the plain which lies beneath, encloſe that Town between. Of theſe two Rivers, the one, which is called *Ghez*, runs ſo cloſe by one ſide of the Town, as it ſerves it for a ſafe and deep ditch, and by the height of the ſteep banks makes it unacceſſible; the other, which is called *Stura*, being about a bow ſhot from the Town, is not of ſo much ſafety to it; wherefore the Fortifications are the ſtronger on that ſide. Theſe Fortifications, according to the ancient cuſtom, were very great and good; but being much ruin'd by time, they were well ſecured by many Rampiers, with ſome half moons and out-works, after that the Duke of *Longueville* (as hath been ſaid) had been before it: So as, at the preſent, it was ſufficiently well fortified. In the uppermoſt part of *Conio*, there ſtands a Citadel, which is well munited by the nearneſs of the two Rivers, which joyn together a little beyond it, and by Fortifications; the Garriſon conſiſted of 1400, part whereof were paid by the Prince Cardinal, part by the Spaniards. The firſt were commanded by Count *Broglio*, the others by Leiutenant Colonel *Cattaneo*; to theſe were added all the Citizens, and many of the Country people who were fit to bear Arms. Count *Jovan Baptiſta Vivaldo* was Governour of the place, which was ſufficiently provided of Ammunition and Victuals; it was much eſteemed for the opinion which was held of it, that it was not to be taken; this Fame it had gotten, not onely by the ſcituation thereof, but for its having withſtood four Royal Armies, led on by excellent Champions. Wherefore *Harcourt*, who thought the glory he had won in his former action, ſomewhat eclips'd by his unfortunate ſucceſs in the ſiege of *Inurea*, aſpired not onely to regain his former reputation by this action, but to purchaſe much greater, if he ſhould effect that which many famous Commanders had failed in: He ordered Marqueſs *Villa* to prepoſſeſs himſelf of the avenues, taking with him 1500 of the Dowagers Horſe, and 1500 of the Kings Horſe; who at the very firſt routed a Corps de guard of Carbines, commanded by the Commendadore *Pagliero*; then going to St. *Dalmatio*, to block up the wayes which lead from *Nizza*, and paſſing within Cannon-ſhot of *Conio*, 300 Horſe from the City fell upon his Rere; which facing about, and being led on by Count *Camerano*, Son to General *Villa*, a young man, but of great expectation, beat them back to beyond the River *Ghez*. The like befell 400 Country people, who as they arrived at the Town fell upon them behind; but being purſued by the ſame *Camerano*, they were routed, ſo as *Villa* quarter'd ſafely in *Borgo* St. *Dalmatio*; the next day as he would have paſſed over the *Stura*, ſo to go to *Noſtra Lignora del l'Olmo*, he found the Bridge prepoſſeſs'd by about 400 of the Country neighbours, who broke the bridge and defended the paſſage; but *Villa* cauſing the bridge to be re-made before their eyes, made his Horſe paſs over thorough a foord not far off, and his Foot over the bridge, and fell upon the Country people, ſlew many of them, and went to quarter at *Noſtra Lignora d' Olmo*, and at the old Town. The mean while General

neral *Harcourt* advanced with the whole Army, and within ſight of the City; where he taking up his quarters before he began his ſiege, he heard that the Prince had muſter'd all his men together in the *Canaveſe*, and the Governour his in *Aleſſandria*, whereby they cauſed apprehenſion in *Chiavaſſo*, *Turin*, *Carmagnuola*, and in the neighbouring Towns; wherefore he ordered Marqueſs *Villa* to go to the parts about *Turin* with the Dowagers Horſe, and ſome French Foot Regiments, not ſo much to oppoſe the Enemies attempts, as for the ſafer and eaſier conduct of the Artillery, which were to be brought from thence to *Conio*; which when they came to the Camp, they began to make Trenches. The firſt was drawn on againſt the Baſtion *di Noſtra Signora d' Olmo*, where *Caſtellano*, Camp-Marſhal, was to fall on, the ſecond againſt the Baſtion *del Caraglio* under Count *Pleſſis Pralin*; againſt whom thoſe within the Town made a fierce ſally, which proved very bloody, and prejudicial to the beſiegers, and wherein they loſt many men, amongſt which two prime Gentlemen, *Leva* and *Fauſone*. *Harcourt* cauſed a third Trench to be afterwards opened againſt the Baſtion St. *Anna*, whilſt *Pleſſis Pralin's* men were already got to the Counterſcarf of the Ditch to lodge there, but he was valiantly repulſ'd by the Defendants. Wherefore *Motta's* men joyning with *Pralin*, after a long and bloody fight, they took the place, where Seignior *della Moretta* was ſlain; yet the Defendants loſt no Courage, nor the oppugners; They ſprung ſeveral Mines in ſeveral places, and many ſallies were made by both parties, to hinder each others works; wherein the Defendants ſhew'd much valour, particularly Count *Broglio*; the buſineſs was very doubtful on both ſides, and dangerous; which was increaſed on the beſiegers ſide by news of Prince *Thomaſo*, who preſs'd the Governour of *Millain* extraordinarily for ſpeedy ſuccour, and who, it was ſaid, would ſpeedily appear with powerfull Forces. Treaties of Agreement were therefore willingly liſtned unto, which were introduced by *Ripa*, Biſhop of *Mondovi*, with the Prince Cardinal, whom by Letters, and by the means of Abbot *Soldato*, he advertiſed what danger *Piedmont* was likely to run, if the French ſhould become maſters of that place. He therefore moved that the Town might be ſurrendred upon fair condition to the Duke, under the Dowagers Regency; which would be much better for the Family of *Savoy*, then to ſuffer it to fall into the French hands. The Cardinal was not averſe to the Propoſal, he therefore ſent Abbot *Boſchetti* immediately away from *Nizza* to *Limone*, the furthermoſt Confines of the County, to hold on and to conclude this Treaty, which could not but be very acceptable alſo to the Dowager; ſince thereby the Princes and the French ſhould be excluded from poſſeſſing the place, which without any hazard ſhould fall to her and to her Son. Wherefore ſhe ſent Inſtructions to her Referendario *Philippo*, who was in the Camp, to haſten the concluſion thereof; and not onely the Dowager, and Prince Cardinall, but *Harcourt*, without whoſe conſent the Dowager would do nothing, gave way willingly thereunto; thinking that the caſe being ſo doubtful, much glory would redound to him by the ſurrender of the Town, though it ſhould not fall into the Kings hands, ſince by his means it ſhould be taken from the Prince Cardinal, and be put into the Dukes hands.

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Many were the debates and many the Propoſals which were made to the Prince Cardinal, to make him condeſcend to the ſurrender; but he would accept of none, being aſſured by the beſieged, and by many of his Court, that the ſiege would finally prove vain: *Harcourt* therefore wiſhed it might ſpeedily be concluded; for when the Town ſhould be ready to ſurrender, he would hear of no Treaty, but his threats were in vain; for the Prince Cardinal was reſolved not to admit of any treaty, not ſo much out of the ſtrength and impregnability of the place, as out of the great hopes he had of powerful ſuccour. Prince *Thomaſo*, who was as deſirous to preſerve the Town, preſs'd the Governour of *Millain* exceedingly for forces to relieve it; but could never get him to come directly to the relief of *Conio*; for the Spaniſh cautiouſneſs would not permit him to hazard ſo great a ſtrength of men ſo far within *Piedmont*, and leave ſo many of the Enemies Towns on his back; eſpecially being to paſs over ſo many Rivers with Artillery, Baggage, and Victuals, to overcome difficult paſſes, to fight continually, and to defend himſelf from being infeſted by Marqueſs *Villa*, who beating the Campagnia with his Horſe, would gaul him, now on the one ſide, now on the other, and would continually incommodiate him; and, which was of greater conſideration, he was to affront an enemy, ſtronger then himſelf, and who was intrench'd; wherefore the Governour and other Captains, not thinking it fit to hazard themſelves in ſo dangerous a buſineſs, they reſolved to try whither they could free *Conio*, or no, by diverſion, as they had done *Inurea*; they therefore gave the Prince a good ſtrength of Horſe and Foot, who went from *Aſti*, together with the Marqueſs of *Caracena*, to *Ceri*, whereby they infuſed jealouſie into *Carmagnuola*, and *Chiavaſſo*; but Marqueſs *Villa* mar'd theſe deſigns, who either foreſeeing, or fearing theſe drifts, put forces into both theſe places; ſo as the Prince being fruſtrated in his intention, turned back upon *Chiraſco*, a place of greater concernment, and fitter to relieve *Conio* by reaſon of the neerneſs thereof. *Cheraſco* is one of the ſtrongeſt places of *Piedmont*, not ſo much by nature as by art, but not equally on all ſides, and which had been long neglected, as being no frontier Town, and wherein was at this time but a weak French Garriſon, it being one of thoſe Towns which were aſſigned over by the Dowager to the King of *France*, in the year 39. ſo as the Prince thought he might ſecurely take it, but Marqueſs *Villa* did here alſo deceive him; for fearing that the Prince being kept out of the other two Towns, would come before this, he ſent word immediately to Seignior *di Savigni*, who was Governour thereof, that he might call in all the Country people thereabouts; and he alſo ſent him a Troop of Dragoons, and 500 foot were ſent to him from the Camp; nor did *Villa*'s diligence ceaſe here, for fearing alſo *Savigliano*, and the quarters of the Camp, in caſe the Prince ſhould adventure to fall unexpectedly upon either of them, he ſent men into *Savigliano*, and went himſelf at the ſame time into the Campagnia with the reſt of his men, advancing ſo neer *Conio*, as he could not be kept from thence, if it ſhould be needful for him to go to the Camp: the Prince, going from *Ceri* with 1500 choice Foot, and with all the Cavalry of the Camp, except the *Neapolitans*, marched to-

wards *Chiraſco*; and not having notice of the new recruits ſent by *Villa*, he betook himſelf with much courage and hope to the enterpriſe; he divided his Foot into two parts, and making the greateſt part of his Cavalry get off Horſe-back, he ordered aſſaults to be given by night on ſundry parts; but all the Squadrons which were ſent met with ſuch hinderances as they could not fall on at the ſame time; ſo as they did but little good, and gave the defendants opportunity to make the greater reſiſtance where they were aſſaulted, and the Towns-men who ſhew'd themſelves faithful to the Dowager took up Arms, and ran couragiouſly to make defence; ſo the Prince being repulſt, not without much loſs, retreated to *Sommariva*, where he tarried ſome days; but being egg'd on by honour, and by the prejudice which would redound to their party if the Town ſhould be loſt, he would try his fortune once more, which, the place being newly re-enforced, did not favour him; yet both parties fought valiantly for many hours, the aſſailants mounted the Walls ſeveral times, and were ſtill beaten back: they ſometimes entred the Town, and were repuls'd; and in theſe interchanges of fortune, the defendants having the better of the buſineſſe, about break of day the Prince was forced to retreat having loſt above four hundred men: The more unfortunate theſe diverſive attempts proved, the more ſucceſsfully did the Siege of *Conio* proceed; for *Harcourt* not being at all diverted by theſe the Enemies attempts, and joy'd that *Chiraſco* was out of danger, which otherwiſe might, peradventure, have made him forego *Conio*, to relieve it, he continued more conſtant in the Siege; he therefore laid aſide all treaties of agreement, and betook himſelf more roundly to the taking of *Conio*: but neither were the Prince nor Governour diſcouraged for their bad ſucceſs, nor did they forbear attempting to relieve the Town by diverſion. The Governour ſent Don *John Vaſquez*, Camp-maſter-general with the Foot, and Don *Vincenzo Gonzago* with the Horſe to aſſault *Roſtignano*, who when they were come neer it, hearing that above 200 Montferrians were entred the Town, forbare doing any thing there; and went by Order from the Governour to *Montcalvo*, where whilſt there was fair hopes of doing good, the Prince, who was with almoſt all the Horſe, and with 600 Foot, in the parts about *Villanova*, adverti'ſed the Governour that he heard there was not above 600 Foot in *Chievaſſo*, wherefore he thought it fit to attempt the taking of it; for it being a place of almoſt as great concernment as *Conio*, it was not unlikely but that the Enemy might forego the one, not to loſe the other; but the Governour who had oftentimes found the Princes Forces to be more forward then fortunate, was not willing to yield to the propoſal; the rather for that he was very neer taking *Montalvo*: yet being much ſollicited, he (though much againſt his will) bad the Prince take up his quarters about *Chievaſſo*, and that if he ſhould hear that no new recruits were entred the Town he ſhould ſend him word, and he would come in to his aſſiſtance with all his men; hoping that in the mean while he might take *Montalvo*. The Prince upon the Governours promiſe went with 600 Foot which he cauſed to come from *Inurea*, and together with him went the Marquels of *Caraccna* with the Horſe, and took up their quarters; and finding that the Town was not re-enforced, he

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advertised the Governour thereof, desiring him to joyn with him in the Enterprise. The business of *Montcalvo* was not yet perfected, though it advanced prosperously every day; wherefore the Governour, who that he might not prefer the certainty of the business of *Montcalvo* before the uncertainty of that of *Chiavasso*, had against his will permitted the Prince to go to before *Chiavasso*, the more he saw the Siege of *Montcalvo* draw neer to end, the less he thought it to abandon the one, for the uncertainty of the other, wherefore feeding the Prince with delays, he entertained him so long with words, with sending and re-sending Messengers, till he might see *Montcalvo* taken; but the Prince being frustrated of all hopes, and finding that the Governor continued his delays, arose from before *Chiavasso*, and retreated to *Inurea*, being sufficiently scandalized that the Governour should rather suffer him to rise from before *Chiavasso*, then *Vasques* from before *Montcalvo*, which he alledged did not only redound to the prejudice of his the Princes honour, but to the like of the whole present War; for he said that the streightning of *Chiavasso* would certainly have forced *Harcourt* to abandon *Conio*, whereas the loss of *Montcalvo*, being of much less importance, would have contributed nothing thereunto. The Prince being gone from *Chiavasso*, the Marquess of *Caravena* foorded over the *Poe* with his Horse, and went to *St. Sebastiano*, were he quartered his Horse in the Towns of *Monferrat* neer *Verrua*. The Siege of *Conio* was not in this interim at all intermitted, but continued with more vigour on both sides: Sallies, Assaults, Mines, Galleries were made use of; great were the endeavours of the Assailants, and great that of the Defendants; neither yielded to other in courage nor valour; their vigilancy and diligence were equal; every one was so ready to die, as death it self being afraid at their countenance seemed for very terrour to shun them; but *Harcourts* singular fortune, which appeared averse unto him in the enterprise of *Inurea*, and which was not undertaken by his advice, would make him an amends in this, which was done by his consent: being therefore very much gladded that neither the business of *Chiavasso* nor of *Chirasco*, had necessitated him to forego the Siege of *Conio*, he endeavoured the more to put an end to that enterprise, that he might come time enough to relieve *Montcalvo*; he therefore placed a Battery on the edge of the Ditch, ordered a Mine at the *Bastion del Ulmo*, sollicited Count *Plessis* to finish another Mine which was begun against the Bastion of *Madonna*; which when they were perfected, he caused a parley to be beaten for the surrender of the Town; but the defendants being resolved to see the effect, 25 Foot of Wall was presently blown up; and yet the besiegers could not come conveniently to the breach, for the Bastion was Plat-form'd wit sand and stones; so as it was not without blood that they quartered themselves at the foot of the Wall that was blown up. *Harcourt* not being herewith dismaid, would gain the top of the Bastion by a new assault; and the other Mine at the Bastion *del Olmo* being ready to play, the defendants resolved to parley; and after some debates Articles were drawn up, and Hostages were given; and after 53 days Siege, on the 15th of *September*, *Harcourt* entred the Town triumphing and victorious. The Victory was the more singular, for that this Town had not been taken in

many agent it was surrendered upon honourable conditions, and the Garrison marched out, which was reduced to the number of 400 Foot and 100 Horse. *Harcourt* having dispatch'd this enterprise went speedily to relieve *Montalbo*, which he would without doubt have done, had it not been surrendered two days before his arrival. *Coni* being taken, the Dowager ordered Marquess *Pianezza* to go with all speed to recover *Revello*, a strong Town, and held by a Garrison of the Cardinal's as *Coni* was. This place confined upon the County of *Pinarolo*, and it was very convenient for the French interests, by reason of their desire to dilate that Confines; and the Dowager thought it necessary to the prevent the French from throwing themselves before it; nor was she therein deceived, for Orders being come from the King that *Coni* should be restored to the Dowager, *Harcourt*, knowing how desirous *Richlieu* was of getting that Town, detain'd the Kings Order, and used several pieces of cunning that the Siege might not succeed, or that it might be defer'd; but *Pianezza*'s diligence prevailed, who made himself master thereof, and put a Garrison of Piedmonteses into it; so as the restitution of *Coni*, as it was ordered by the King, was not disturbed: by the demolition of this Castle, it was assign'd over to the Dowager the next year by the Duke of *Bullion*, who succeeded *Harcourt* in the place of General; and not long after *Demont* was likewise assign'd over to her, a Town in those parts, which was possest by the French; which actions being glorious to that King, who shared not therein in what his Forces had done, not in the arbitrement of fortune, but did all out of his goodness and Royal Magnanimity; it is incredible what gladness it caused in the Piedmonteses, and in all the Italians; and these actions serving as a testimony, that he would restore all the other places which were held by his Garrisons, in *Piedmont*, there was none that doubted but that he in his own time would restore all the rest.

Coni, and the two other adjacent Towns, being taken, the Princes authority was totally excluded from out this side of the Mountains; and their power being confined to the County of *Nice*, it was thought it would not be of any long consistence; not long after the Armies were retreated to their quarters, the Prince of *Monaco*, having driven the Spanish Garrisons out of that place, brought in the French; and deprived the Spaniards of that station situated in the utmost Western *Liguria* upon a Rock, which thrusting out into the Sea shapes a kind of Haven which is of great consequence and conveniency to the Spaniards: The occasion of so great a novelty and alteration is diversly related. The Prince thereof complain'd of the subjection he was held in by the Garrison, of the little account that the Spanish Agents made of him, of the losses which he suffer'd by adhering to that Crown, not having received those emoluments from the Kingdom of *Naples* which were assigned unto him for his adherence to the Spaniards, which he formerly was used to receive; and, moreover, that when the Garrison wanted their pay, he was sometime forced to appease them by satisfying them out of his own purse, and to shun the plunder which was threatned by the Souldiers, as also to avoid the danger of the place, which being by occasion of the present Wars much diminished in the

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Garriſon thereof, the Kings Agents minded not the re-inforcing thereof, nor the putting a ſufficient number into it for neceſſary defence; eſpecially at this time when the King of *France* his Fleet lorded it over the Mediterranean, and lay not far from *Monaco*; and whereby he found the deſigns which the French had upon that place, it being ſo weakly Garriſon'd; ſo as out of theſe reſpects he was forced to free himſelf from theſe apparent injuries and dammages at home, and from the imminent dangers threatned from abroad; on the contrary, the Kings Agents, partly, denying the blame that was laid upon them, partly leſſening it, and excuſing it, partly by the calamities of the preſent times, pretended that all this had hapned by the Prince of *Monaco's* own inſtability; they complained that both he and his predeceſſors having enjoy'd priviledges and revenues for above 120 years from the King of *Spains* liberality very punctually; that he, now when he ſaw the Crown reduced to ſuch ſtreights, ſhould without any occaſion abandon it, and betake himſelf to the French, meerly to better his condition; and that when in reaſon he ought to bear with ſome inconveniencies of the preſent time, conſidering what great affluence he had formerly received, and ought to ſhew himſelf more conſtant in his devotion to that Crown, he was paſt over to the Enemies party, not without prejudice to the Crown of *Spain*. But theſe are things, the verification and diſcuſſing whereof would require more time, and the deciſion thereof not appertaining to the Author of this Hiſtory, it will ſuffice to have lightly touch'd upon the accuſations and excuſes. Yet the ſame Agents who had ſome knowledge of the fact before it was done endeavoured to prevent the danger; but the ſucceſs was ſo ſudden, as all proviſions and remedies came too late; and truly the more unexpected this blow came, the ſoarer and more inſufferable was it: But greater blows then this, which the Crown of *Spain* received at theſe times, both in *Italy* and elſewhere, made this appear the leſs; for the Kingdoms of *Spain* were ſo ſhaken, firſt by the Inſurrection of *Catalonia*, and afterwards by that of *Portugal*, as they never were the like ſince that Crown arrived at ſo much greatneſs. The Catalonians after their Inſurrection had recourſe to the King of *France*, and by ſubmitting to that Crown had got aſſiſtance againſt the King of *Caſtile*, whoſe Forces were entred *Catalonia* to reduce it: So as the French Forces entring that Province alſo, they often routed the Caſtilians, and having finally made them almoſt all retreat to the neighbouring Kingdom of *Arragon*, they rendred the recovery of *Catalonia* very difficult, which was almoſt wholly loſt; and the King not being well provided of men to quell the Catalonians, and to drive the French out, who had almoſt made themſelves Maſters thereof, he was forced to make uſe of the Portugal Garriſons to ſubject the Catalonians. So the Portugueſes being quite rid of the Caſtilian Garriſons, made uſe of this occaſion to withdraw themſelves from the Caſtilian Empire, which was to them ſo hateful and ſo inſufferable. They thereto made Don *John*, Duke of *Braganza*, their King, who was deſcended, by the Mothers ſide, from the ancient Kings of *Portugal*; and the Caſtilian Forces not being able to ſubdue both theſe Inſurrections, they were neceſſitated to inſiſt firſt upon that of *Catalonia*, whereinto the French poured in men at their pleaſure;

pleasures; wherefore the *Portugal* Insurrection was but weakly withstood, so as it grew daily greater. The new King was better established in his new Kingdom, as well by reason of the peoples love, as of the friendship and favour of other Princes; who out of Emulation to the Spanish Grandezza fomented the Insurrection of the Portugueses: So as what by the natural Forces of *Portugal*, and by what he received from forreigners, the new King kept the Castilian Forces conveniently from the Confines of *Portugal*. To the loss of the Kingdom of *Portugal* was added the loss of all the Kingdomes and Provinces of the *East Indies*, and of all the Seas and Islands belonging to that Crown; and in the Western parts of *Brasil*; for being govern'd and garrison'd onely by the Portugueses, and none but Portugueses being suffer'd to saile towards those parts, nor to tarry there by the way of Traffick; as soon as the news of the new Kings exaltation to the Crown, who was of the Royal lineage, was come into those parts, they all joyntly & with great applause acknowledg'd him for their King, and readily swore Allegiance to him. The Spaniards also at this time lost many considerable places, and battles, of no small consideration in *Flanders*; the Fleets of the said Crown were almost dissipated by naval Conflicts, by contrary Winds, and by other casual disasters; their Forces being afflicted by several misfortunes in *Lombardy* and *Piedmont* had lost their former lustre The Austrian Empire suffer'd also very much in *Germany*; and not being able to hold that mutual correspondency, nor to receive such aid as had wont to pass between it and the Crown of *Spain*, both those Crowns lost much of that Authority and Grandezza whereby they had made themselves so considerable, and so formidable with the greatest Princes of Christendom, for almost one whole age; and because *Germany* being lacerated by continual Wars, and impoverished in people, could not furnish the Wars of *Italy*, and the State of *Millain*; with Souldiers, as it had wont to do; nor *Spain* whose Exchequer was exhausted could subminister that quantity of monyes to the Germane Empire as it formerly had done, nor take order for great Levies of *Dutch* for *Italy*; the Spanish forces in *Lombardy* and in *Italy* were necessarily reduced to great vveakness and discredit; insomuch as the Potentates of *Italy*, to vvhom they vvere so formidable before, as doubting nothing more then to be over-run by them, they vvere vvholly bent upon pulling them dovvn: being novv totally free of that fear, and as much terrified with the apprehension of the French forces, which they saw were gotten to a fatal greatness in *Spain* it self, in *Flanders*, in *Italy* and in *Germany*; they studied how to maintain that Spanish Empire which they endeavoured to suppress so much before; all of them holding it for undoubted, that the lessening thereof would prove the lessening of their ovvn States; amongst these the Venetians, who formerly had always been more averse to the ends and interests of the Crown of *Spain* then any others, changing their counsels with the alteration of affairs, began to be their first and most zealous protectors; they being the onely bank which could keep out the flood of the French fortune from overflowing and drowning *Italy*, and their own Dominions; which they willingly hazarded some few yeats before, when the Duke of *Rohan* falling down by the Valley

of

of *Sarfina* from the *Valteline* into the State of *Millain*, when the Duke of *Savoy* and Marſhal *Crequi* being paſt the *Teſsino* infuſed ſuch terrour into the State of *Millain*; the ſame *Rohan* being now to paſs over a little patch of the *Venetian* State of not above two miles long, before he could come to the State of *Millain*; the Commonwealth which had been ſo favourable to him before in the getting and keeping of the *Valteline*, were ſo averſe unto him, upon this occaſion, as they would by no means permit him to come over that very ſhort ſpace of Ground; which had they done it would have much increaſed the danger of that State; not onely the Spaniſh Agents, but all the Potentates of *Italy*, were very well ſatisfied with this action; who knew not ſo much by her preſent, as by her paſt, nay, contrary carriage, how intent and watchful that Commonwealth was over the well-fare and preſervation of the publick peace, and liberty; the ſame reſpects made the Governour of *Millain* more wary in engaging themſelves in battle, finding that by the want of ready leavies of men in *Germany* they wanted the conveniency of ſupplies to their armies, when they ſhall by any accident be routed, or otherwiſe worſted; to this was added, that *Spain* it ſelf by reaſon of the Wars that were then very hot there, required men both from *Germany* and *Italy*; ſo as not being able to ſend men into *Italy*, the *Spaniards* were doubly weakned in *Lombardy*; both by the want of thoſe Souldiers which they could not expect neither from *Germany*, nor *Spain*, and by thoſe which they being to ſend into *Spain*, could not employ them in the Wars of *Italy*.

Let us return to the affairs of *Piedmont*, where the Armies being retired to their quarters, the ceſſation of Military actions afforded opportunity to the concluding peace between the Dowager and the Princes, which had been often broken before, and often reaſſumed: but the occurrences of affairs having taken away many difficulties which had formerly obſtructed it, both parties grew weary of the War; which the Dowager ſaw grew daily more prejudicial to the people, and to the Duke her ſons State; and the Princes likewiſe found that their hopes grew daily leſs; the Prince Cardinal who was naturally more inclined to peace and quiet then to the troubles of War, deſired daily to marry, out of the great deſire he had of iſſue, whereby he might continue the Principality in caſe of ſucceſſion, which appeared not to be far of, if not by the conceived weakneſs of his Nephew, at leaſt by frailty of humane condition; and not knowing any Princeſs in thoſe times more conducible to his ends, then his Niece, he deſired very much to have her for wife; and the Dowager, who had formerly promoted the treaty thereof, forbare not to allure him to peace and union by this alliance. *Conio* being loſt, and therewith all that part of *Piedmont*, from whence he received ſo much revenue, and ſeeing himſelf confined to within the confines of the County of *Nizza*, he doubted he could not maintain himſelf long in that State, notwithſtanding that he was poſſeſs'd of the impregnable Fort of *Nizza*, and of thoſe of *Villa Franca*, and S. *Soſpiro*; all which were ſufficiently provided with Warlike proviſions from the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that he might hope they might daily be ſupplied therewith from thence; yet the preſent Agents being very ſlow in furniſhing him with monies, (which

he wanted more after the loss of *Conio*, then before) he began also to fear, that he might want provisions when he should need them: and which was of more concernment, he being to introduce forreigners into them in case they should be assaulted, and particularly Spaniards, there was such reciprocal distrust between him and the Spanish Agents, that he held the Forts to be as good as lost, if ever he should be compelled to bring them in; wherefore to free himself from the imminent danger that he foresaw both he and his family was in, and to obtain his ends, which were inclined to peace and marriage, he earnestly desired agreement; on the other side Prince *Thomaso*, who knew the Genius and inclination of the Prince Cardinal, feared lest the marriage might be made, whereby he should be excluded from all pretentions: which if it should so happen, he could have no pretence of taking up Arms against the Dowager when she should be united to his brother; so as he had but small certainty of his present condition, and was very doubtful of the future; Moreover he was ill satisfied with the assistance of Forces which he received from *Spain*; but he was chiefly terrified at the prosperous success of the French, and the contrary of the Spaniards; who failing in all mens expectation, as much as the French bettered, did prognosticate the unfortunate fall of those who thought to better themselves by them; these auguries and prognostications did so work upon the Prince, as the dangers, and ruines which were yet far off seemed to him to be present; he therefore thought it better to secure his fortune on that side which was uppermost, and to get at last free from the slavery and danger which he foresaw he must undergo by adhering to the losers; it was also thought that an accident which hapned at this time in *France* weighed down the balance of the Prince his resolution; some Princes of *France*, who were not well pleased with the present Government of that Kingdom, and consequently not with Cardinal *Richlieu's* Authority, were gotten into *Sedan*, a very strong Town of the Duke of *Bullion's*; the first whereof was the Count of *Soisons*, a Prince of the blood, betwixt whom and the Cardinal there had been great disgusts; this Prince thought to kindle such a fire in *France*, by the union of other discontented Princes, and by the assistance of the Spanish Forces who were to come from *Flanders*, and joyn with him in this enterprize, as that thereby the Cardinals authority should undoubtedly be laid in the dust; the business which had been long a framing there broke out at last, and a battle insued thereupon in open field between the Counts Forces and those of the King; those of *Sedan* had the better of the Kings men in the conflict, and by a very famous victory the conspirators were likely to have compassed their ends, had not the King, and the Cardinals fortune exceeded the Victory, by Count *Soisons* death who was slain in the battel by a Musket shot which defeated the *Collegues*; for the rest of the Princes of that faction wanting that leaning stock, and being dismay'd at his loss who was their Chieftain, and of the Blood royal, stood no longer to the business, but running, some one way, some another, abandon'd the Common cause, and every one endeavoured their own safety.

Count *Soisons* was Brother to Prince *Thomaso's* wife, and leaving no issue behind him, the succession fell to his sister; wherefore the Prince

was

was thought to be conscious of *Soissons* conspiracie, and that he expected what the event thereof would be, and accordingly would dispose of himself in his adherence either to *Spain*, or *France*; and that it had been the Counts perswasions which had prevailed with him to forego the Capitulations made with *Mazzarine*; wherefore when he saw the unfortunateness of the success, and that his brother in Law was slain, he was forced to take new resolves; either because he could build no more upon the conspiracy of *Sedan*, so to joyn with the Spaniards; or else for that his half-brothers estate being fallen to his wife, he could not forsake so great a Fortune, but close with *France*, from whence he continually received great offers; nor was the Dowager wanting in promoting the business; but making use of what had hapned in *France*, she represented unto the Prince with what opportunity to advantage his interests with that Crown, and desired him that he would not injure his wife and Children by refusing it; to this was added, that the Spanish Agents, either for want of mony, or by reason of the ne wes they saw, & gave out, that the Princes who were ready to conclude with *France*, were somewhat slow in disbursing monies, fearing that they might not onely be ill imployed, but to the Kings prejudice; the Princes were therefore forced to agree with the Dowager, not being able to maintain the Towns they were possess'd of from being taken either by the French, or Spaniards, to the irreparable loss of their Family: and, which was worse; if the French, whose fortune they feated, should become masters of the Towns which were possess'd by the Spaniard in *Piedmont*, they saw they must be exiles from their Country, and rely upon the Spaniard for maintenance: Prince *Thomas* being out of these reasons resolved to agree, made his mind known unto the Dowager by the Protonotary *Bergera*, who was after Archbishop of *Toledo*, desiring that the City of *Ingres* might be assigned to him for the security of his person, and that he might be Leiutenant General of that Province, and of that of *Biela*; upon which he promis'd her to remit the Dukedom of *Aosta* freely unto her; and for what concern'd the guardianship, and Regency, he would not differ from what he had agreed unto, and that he would absolutely joyn with the French; the treaty was readily resumed with the Dowager, and with *France*'s President *Leone*, the Count *di Moffano*, and *el Patriarcha de Mauri*, were chosen Deputies by the two Princes to treat thereof at *Turin*, and *Menesi* was chosen President; the businesses as far as concerned Prince *Thomas*'s interest, were as good as adjusted: greater and almost insuperable difficulties arose touching the interest of the Prince Cardinal, who though he desired agreement more then his brother, who being unwilling to dispossess himself of the Towns in the County of *Nizza*, persisted in his pretentions to the Lieutenancy of that County totally, and wholly independent upon the Dowagers Regency, together with the retention of all the Towns therein, and particularly of the Castle of *Nizza*, a place of great consequence; which pretentions being too repugnant to the Dowagers Regency (whereunto she would not by any means consent) there was much a do to save all. At last, but after many months debate, the Princes condescended to the Dowagers Regency, so as all things were accord-

accorded upon these Articles; that the Dowager should be Governess of the Duke, and sovereign Regent of the States of her Son Don *Charles Emanuel*: That she should choose a Council of State, consisting of such persons as were worthy and capable of such an honour, wherein the Princes might intervene when they pleased: That in the Letters Patents wherein it was wont to be said, with the opinion of our Councell, it should be said, with the assistance of the Princes our Brothers, and with the approbation of our Councill: That in business of great concernment the Princes should likewise subscribe, that the Prince Cardinal should be the Dukes Lieutenant General in the County of *Nizza*, and Prince *Thomaso* in that of *Inurea* and *Biella*: That the Governours and Officers of Justice, War, and of the Finances, should be chosen by the Dowager, such as should be Subjects to the House of *Savoy*, and capable of those employments; but those of the County of *Nizza*, such as the Prince Cardinal might confide in: That those who were already chosen by Duke *Vittorio*, by the Dowager, and by the Princes, should be confirm'd or removed as the Dowager should please; but so as the Princes should be therewith satisfied. And to this purpose, there was a writing made a part, declaring that all those who had adhered to the Princes should be provided for, excluded, or changed: That the Oath of Allegiance to the Duke should be renewed, with an expression, that if the Duke should die without issue Male, the Prince Cardinal should succeed, and so successively the Heirs Male; and that the said Princes should take the Oath of Allegiance to the Duke: That for what concerned the order of the Annuntiata, and of the religious orders of St. *Mauritio* and *Lazaro*, the accustomed constitutions and rules should be observed: That the goods and reprisals should be interchangeably restored, and that all the Subjects should be received into the Dowagers royal favour, and into the grace of the Princes: That to boot with what hath been said, two thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, should be allowed to Prince *Thomaso*, for the Garrison of *Inurea*, and for the defence of the Provinces allotted him; to boot with these Capitulations made between the Dowager and the Princes joyntly, there should another agreement be made, in particular, between the Dowager and the Prince Cardinal; the Articles whereof contained in a writing a part were; the Marriage between the Prince Cardinal and his Niece the Princess *Maria Lodovica*: That the Dowagers Governours should come into the Towns of the County of *Nizza*, with a competent number of Souldiers: That the Governours who should enter should be permitted to dismiss as many of the old garrison as they should please: That the new Governours should, notwithstanding, swear unto the Prince that they would not admit of any successour in the Government of the Town, who should not be a Subject of the royal House of *Savoy*, and that the successor should do the like in the charge committed unto him, before he should enter the Town, and so should those do in the Government of the Town, that as well the Governour, as his successors, should swear not to restore the Town to any but him the Prince, or to the Heirs Male of the House of Savoy, in case the present Duke should die without Heirs Male lawfully begotten. The Prince Cardinal not contented with all this, demanded 30000 Ducates

of the Dowager, to distribute amongst the Spanish Souldiers, whom he was to cashiere, and many other advantages for those Officers who were to go out of the Forts. The Dowager, though she were reduced to great streights by the present time granted all unto him readily; not onely out of Princely Liberality, but out of singular Wisdom, as not ayming at any thing, but at the assuring those so important Towns to her Son upon any whatsoever conditions, and to reunite the House of *Savoy*, which was so divided within it self, to real peace and agreement. The same day the agreement made by the Princes with the King of *France* was confirm'd and subscribed by the Princes, and by Monsieur *d' Aque Buone* the Kings Embassador; whereby the Princes were received into the favour and protection of the Crown of *France*. And the Marriage being approved of between the Prince Cardinal and the Princess *Maria*, and the Princes gratified with pensions and donatives, the King of *France* upon the making of a generall Peace was to cause Prince *Thomaso*'s Wife and Children to be restored unto him, and to approve of the allowing Prince *Thomaso* the 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, provided that he should be obliged to serve the King therewith. And that the King should assure both the Princes of his assistance in their succession, in case the Duke should die, and keep his promises made to the Popes Agents, and to the other potentates of *Italy*, touching the restitution of the Dukes Towns wherein he had any Garrisons. On the other side, the Princes promised and obliged themselves to dismiss the Spaniards which were in their service, that they should openly declare themselves to be of the Kings party, and to renounce all treaties with the Spaniards, and that the Prince Cardinal, in particular, should renounce the protection of the Empire, and that Prince *Thomaso* should be bound to serve the King in person, in War, against the Spaniards, as his Majesty should be pleased to appoint. All the other Articles which were to be agreed upon, on the 14th of *June*, the year 42, together with many other writings which were signed the same day, were forthwith sent to *France*, that the King might approve of those which related to the agreements between the Dowager and the Princes; and ratifie those that were made between the Princes and his Embassador. By these Capitulations (which were afterwards perform'd with satisfaction to all, as shall be said) an end was put to the Wars of *Piedmont*.

In the Articles which were made between the Princes and the French Embassadour the Princes were bound to dismiss all the Spanish Souldiers that were with them; but it was not expres'd when; whereunto they thought themselves engaged after Ratification made with the King. But this was the hardest point of all others to execute, and which caused much trouble, especially since the whole Garrison in *Inures* were Spaniards; yet Prince *Thomaso* found means how to be easily rid of them.

At the same time when these Affairs were upon concluding, instead of General *Harcourt* the Duke of *Bullion* was made Commander in Chief of the French Forces, he who had hatched the aforesaid Rebellion in the Town of *Sedan*; but after the Battle, and death of the Count *Soisons*, upon humbling himself to the King he was pardoned, and was

taken into the Kings favour, who when he was come into *Piedmont*; and had joyned with the Dowagers Forces, march'd into the field, and paſsing into *Aleſſandria* was come as far as *Filizzano*, and *Corniente*; Don *John Vaſques*, who was Governour of *Aleſſandria*, and who was retreated with his men into that City, fearing that he would paſs over the *Tanaro*, ſent all his Cavalry, and 1000 Foot, under Don *Vincenzo Gonzago*, toward that river to oppoſe the Enemy; ſome skirmiſhes paſt between theſe and the Enemy on both ſides the river; but *Bullion* making as if he would goe ſomewhere elſe, which was ſaid would be either to *Ponteſtura* or *Trino*, the Governour went from *Millain* to *Vercelli*, to hinder any deſign of the Enemy, and to keep him from ſitting down before either of thoſe places. Upon this occaſion, Prince *Thomaſo* adviſed him to take up one quarter before *Ponteſtura*, wherein he might put 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, offering him his Spaniſh horſe and foot, which, as he ſaid, lay idle in *Inurea*: The Governour accepted his offer, being unwilling to diſfurniſh other places; wherefore the Prince ſent both Horſe and Foot from *Inurea*, towards St. *Ia*, but ordered the Horſe that when they ſhould be come to ſuch a certain place, they ſhould hault, and ſuffer the Foot to advance. But it being quickly known that *Bullion* was retreated from *Tanara*, the Governour ſent back the Foot to *Inurea*, and the Prince refuſed to receive them, under pretence that there was a Truce made between them (the Princes) and the Dowager, and that to ſhun that this reception might ſeem a novelty, he did not think fit to let them in: They therefore retreated to *Vercelli*, ſo that by this cunning trick the Prince quitted his hands of the Spaniſh Garriſon. Nor did the Prince Cardinal want means to free himſelf from the like incumbrance; for either having received, or ſeeming to have received notice, that Don *Franciſco Tuttavilla*, Captain of the thouſand Spaniards which were granted him for the defence of himſelf, and of the County of *Nizza*, had treated with the Garriſon of the Caſtle to his prejudice; he ſent for him into the Caſtle, and ſeeming to reſent the action he commanded him to go immediately out of the Caſtle, together with his men, who were there ready to depart, and that he ſhould go out of *Piedmont*; which being done, both the Princes were maſters of themſelves; and might the better make good their agreement. This diſmiſſion was done very ſeaſonably; for had it been longer delaid, it had hindred not only the execution of this ſo important buſineſs, but had hazarded the whole agreement, by reaſon of a ſudden accident which hapned in *Caſſalle*. *Bullion*, who after he could not get over the *Tanaro* was returned to *Montferrat*, had quartered his men in the Towns thereabouts, and going himſelf for paſtime to *Caſſalle*, out of a deſire to ſee that Citadel, which was held to be impregnable, when he was come into the Citadel, contrary to his own expectation, and the like of all others, was by order from the King ſeized upon by the Governour of the Citadel, and ſent back well guarded into *France*. This hapned juſt ten days after the agreement made by the Princes, and five days after they had caſhiered the Spaniards; which made it be generally conceived that this was done by way of reſenting what had hapned at *Sedan*, notwithſtanding the Kings pardon; this ſeemed to be an example to the Princes, who did always diſtruſt that the Articles made with the Court of *France* would

would not be made good unto them; and it was commonly conceived that had not the Princes declared ſo abſolutely in the behalf of *France*, by diſmiſſing thoſe men, they would have demurred upon thoſe Conventions; but being quite deprived of the Spaniſh aſſiſtance, though they knew not what might ſucceed, they were forced to reſt contented, and to expect from whence this blow proceeded, and what it aimed at; but all doubts and apprehenſions ſoon ceaſed, it being known that the Dukes impriſonment proceeded not out of any old account, but out of new jealouſies, that he was complice in a new conſpiracy made againſt the Cardinal *Richlieu*, by Monſieur St. *Mark*, *Grand Eſcuyer de France*, and favorite to the King; ſo as all occaſions of diffidence ceaſing, and the Kings ratification being come from *France*, with ſatisfaction to all, they fell to do what was at the preſent to be done; but there was a knot found in the Prince Cardinals buſineſſe which was hard to be untied, which proceeded from whether the Marriage ſhould precede the reſignation of the Towns in the County of *Nizza*, or the reſignation the Marriage; whereof there being great diſtruſt on both ſides, ſome ſolution muſt be found for it; which after much diſcuſſion, was; that the Marriage ſhould be celebrated in *Nizza*, by a Proxey to be of purpoſe deputed by the Princes; which Proxey was to ſwear, upon pain of life, that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated as ſoon as the Towns ſhould be reſigned; and that the Governours who were to receive them in the Dowagers behalf ſhould ſwear unto the Prince, before they entred the Towns, to re-deliver them to the Prince, if they ſhould find the Princeſs her Proxey backward to celebrate the Marriage. Things being thus adjuſted, the Prince Cardinal ſent *Jovan Dominico Doria*, Marqueſs of *Caria*, to *Turin* with ſufficient authority to celebrate the Eſpouſals by words, for the future, between him the Prince, and the eldeſt Daughter of *Savoy*; after which celebration, the Marqueſs *Pianezza* was choſen Proxey by the Princeſs to celebrate the Marriage by words in preſent; and the Dowager deputed *Carlo Vittorio Scaglia*, Count *di Verrua*, to receive the Caſtle of *Nizza*, and *Jovan Baptiſta Solaro*, Count *di Menaſtervolo*, to receive that of *Villafranca*; and Count *Aleſſandro Borgarello* that of St. *Soſpiro*. The Proxey and the Deputies went from *Turin* towards *Nizza*; and with them went Monſieur *Zecchinelli*, the Popes Nuntio, who carried the Popes diſpenſation with him, for the celebration of the Marriage, and power to receive the Cardinals-Cap from the Prince; when they were come to *Nizza*, they all took their ſolemn Oaths to obſerve what they had ſworn to in the Capitulations; and ſubſequently the Towns were deliver'd up, and the Marriage was celebrated on the 21 of *September*, the year 1642, with infinite ſatisfaction to all parties concern'd, with incredible applauſe of the people, who being over-joyed to ſee the Princes joyn'd in a good peace and hoped that being freed from the calamities of War they ſhould enjoy the fruits of peace. Count *Verrua* being entred into the Port and Caſtle of *Nizza*, and the others into the others of that County, they diſmiſt all the old Garriſons which they found in them, ſo as they remained in the full and abſolute power & dominion of the Duke & Dowager; and the Princes when they had diſmiſt the Spaniards, before they publiſh'd the agreement which they had made

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with the Dowager, and with the King of *France*, they ſent to the Governour of *Millain*, demanding the reſtoral of the Towns that had been taken to their Nephew the Duke; and the Governour being deſirous to know from them, before he gave his anſwer, if when reſtitution ſhould be made, they would continue in Peace, or in War, with the Duke, he could receive no clear anſwer, but one that was uncertain, and very dubious; and the Princes thinking that if he ſhould not be ſure of peace he would make no reſtauration, and that he would be hardly brought to do it when he ſhould be aſſured of it, without waiting any longer for anſwer from the Governour, nor from the Court of *Spain*, from whence reſolution was to come, they publiſhed the agreement; and Prince *Thomaſo* marching into the field as a Souldier of the King of *France* began to manage thoſe Arms againſt the King of *Spain* which before he had managed for the King of *Spain* againſt *France*; he therefore headed the French who remained in thoſe parts after *Bullions* impriſonment; and being followed by Marqueſs *Villa* with the Dowagers men he fell to recover the Towns which were held by the Spaniſh Garriſons: he began with *Creſcentino*, where he met with greater reſiſtance then he expected; for the Governour ſeeing that the French Army after *Bullions* impriſonment was retreated into *Piedmont*, and that being divided into ſeveral quarters it lay about *Verrua*, feared *Creſcentino*: wherefore he ſent the Marqueſs of *Caracena* with all the Horſe, except thoſe of *Naples*, to recruit it with Men and Munition; which *Caracena* having very well performed, paſſing over the *Poe* at *Ponteſtura*, he went by Orders from the Governour to St. *Salvadore*. Serjeant Major *Alonſo Vaſques* was Captain of the Garriſon, who did not only vigorouſly ſuſtain the Siege, but troubled the Enemy with many ſallies; and though the place were not much fortified, nor very hard to be taken by him who ſhould be maſter of the field, yet it held out ſtoutly for 15 days, in which time the Governour doubting *Trino*, and St. *Ia*, he had time to put good Garriſons, and other neceſſaries into them, the charge whereof he committed to Marqueſs *Caracena*, who ſtealing ſecretly out of *Vercelli* re-enforced *Trino* twice by a way which leads not far from *Creſcentino*, whilſt the Prince was hotteſt about it: The like he did in St. *Ia*, where he found no oppoſition. Theſe proviſions were very ſeaſonably made; for the Duke of *Longueville* appearing at laſt, after mid *Auguſt*, in *Piedmont*, who was appointed to ſucceed *Bullion* in the place of General of the French Forces; and having brought many men with him, wherewith he was to carry the War into the State of *Millain*; now that the Princes were paſt over to the French, it behoved the Governour, who had not equal Forces to face him in the Field, to munite the Towns of the State, and thoſe of *Piedmont*, with good Garriſons; and yielding the Field to the French, to watch where this great cloud would ſettle at laſt: it was generally conceived that Prince *Thomaſo* was drawn to ſide with the French, by ſtrong promiſes that they would get him ſome Territories in the State of *Millain*, which ſhould be peculiar to him and to thoſe that ſhould deſcend from him; and the ſequel ſhewed that the County of *Tortona*, and peradventure that of *Aleſſandria*, together with all on this ſide *Poe*, towards the State of *Genoa*, was promis'd him; that, moreover,

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he was intended to be made General of all the French Forces in *Italy*: but that Court not thinking it fit to beſtow upon him a charge of ſo great importance at the very firſt, eſpecially the Hoſtages of his Wife and Children being conſidered which were in *Spain*, it was judged more convenient to give that imployment to the Duke of *Longueville*, who was joyn'd by affinity and correſpondency to the Prince: wherefore that Court thought fit to mitigate the Prince his pretentions by that choice, whereby they had ſufficiently provided for his intereſts; eſpecially the Orders being conſidered, which, as hath been ſaid, were given unto *Longueville*, to carry on the War according to the Prince his deſigns and ends; but the Prince not being content with theſe proviſions, and expecting better ſatisfaction, to the end that the Souldiers might not lie idle in the interim, in a time proper for War, the Duke whilſt the Prince remain'd in *Inurea*, went with his own men only, to the taking of *Nizza* and *Acqui*; to the end that when thoſe places ſhould be taken, way might be made for the intended deſign upon *Tortona*; which when it ſhould be effected, the State of *Millain* was to be aſſaulted, according to the Prince his ends and inteteſts. *Nizza* was not much ſtronger then *Creſcentino*, and whoſoever was maſter of the field might eaſily take it; nor was it very well garriſon'd: Wherefore Baron *Batteville* was ſent to recruit it with 200 Souldiers, who entring the Town, after the places thereabout were taken, the Garriſon was encreaſed to the number of 450, an inſufficient number to defend it, and yet *Batteville* did all that was to be done therein; but a greater breach being made in ſix hours ſpace then the Enemy intended, by reaſon of the bad condition of the earth, and ſeveral Mines being ready to play, they began to treat of ſurrender; and *Longueville* being reſolved not to yield to any other conditions, then thoſe that were granted to Count St. *Paul*, by Marquels *Leganes*, when he took it the year before; the defendants were enforced to accept of ſuch conditions as the Enemy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them; which were, that the Garriſon ſhould be ſent thorough *France*, to the County of *Burgondy*, which was under the King of *Spain*. The Governour had intended to relieve this place another time, by ſending 100 Horſe, and as many Dragoons, thither before the ſurrender; but the reſolution being divulged, and the Conductor, who was no friend to *Batteville*, carrying the buſineſs but ill-favourdly, it ſucceeded not; for the relievers being come neer the Enemies Camp, they found the Enemy ready to repulſe them; ſo they returned to *Aleſſandria*, from whence they were come, not having done any thing: a greater diſaſter befel a Regiment of Horſe which were ſent to *Montaldo*, (a Town within ſix miles of *Nizza*) to incommodate the Enemy in their Forrage; for being fallen upon by a greater number of Horſe, it was routed with loſs of ſeventy Horſe, and the Captain had much ado to ſave himſelf. Not long after *Nizza* was taken Don *Mauritio* of *Savoy* went with a good Body of Horſe, and ſome Foot Companies, by night, from *Inurea* to *Arbo*, a Town in the Territories of *Biela*, neer the *Seſia*, whither 500 Horſe were ſent to be quartered, under the Lieutenant General of the *Millain* Horſe, whom he aſſaulted three hours before day on two ſides; the quarter was put into great confuſion; and though the Lieutenant Gene-

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ral, with some of his best men, made head against them, yet the rest fled away, and saved themselves by foording over the *Sessa*: The Lieutenant having but few with him, and being abandoned by the rest, got over also by the same foord into the State of *Millain*, leaving all his baggage, and many of his Horse, behind him to the Enemy; there were not many slain, for the foord being neer the quarter, saved many of them. Don *Ferdinando Salvaterra* was taken prisoner, and Don *Diego Benavida*, both of them being wounded; and if Don *Manrike* had been aware to have placed some to have guarded the foord, the victory would have been much greater: The Marquess *Caracena*, who was then in *Vercelli*, thought to have served the Enemy with the like sauce; for hearing that the Princes Horse were quartered in five places above *Biela*, he rallied the Horse that were run from their quarters, and joyning them to those that were in Garrison in *Vercelli* and St. *Ia*, he marched with them and with 400 Foot about Sun-set, thinking to fall upon the Prince his Horse which lay about *Biela*. But he fared not as did Don *Manrike*, by reason of the disparity of the Countries through which they marched; for *Caracena* marched through an Enemies Country, and *Manrike* thorow his friends quarters. Wherefore the latter past with great silence and secrecie, whereas *Caracena* found the Country up in Arms, and the bells of the Towns by which he marched ringing aloud; so as not being able to get to the place he intended before noon day, his resentment proved vain, save onely that he light upon 60 Horse which were given to *Biela*, which he routed, and took some of them prisoners. *Nizza* being taken, *Longueville* sat down before *Acqui*, which he within a few days took, and went to quarter at *Asi*, intending, as was imagined, to go to the taking in of *Tortona*; but he was dissuaded by Prince *Thomaso*, who thinking to succeed in the surprisal of *Novara*, as he had plotted it, invited the Duke to joyn with him in the enterprise. Wherefore the Duke returning to *Cassale* joyn'd with the Prince, who staid for him at *Balzola* and *Morano*; and passing together over the *Sessia*, they marched towards *Novara*: But whether it were that he could not come at his appointed time to the Gates of *Novara*, by reason of the excessive rain which had fallen for two days, or that they had heard that the Marquess of *Caracena*, fearing what the issue of this march would be, was entred *Novara* with above 500 Horse, and a great many Foot: And that the Governour of *Millain*, who was then in *Alessandria*, had sent some foot from Garrison to Garrison by *Valenza* and *Mortara*, so speedily as that these recruits coming before the Enemy arrived, the Prince began to doubt his design; he and the Duke retreated to *Confienza*, and passing over the *Sessia* distributed their men in *Constanza*, *Dezana*, *Carenzana*, and in other Towns thereabouts. Where having tarryed a few days, and moneys being sent from *France*, they went to the former designed enterprise of *Tortona*. The French Forces, and those of the Dowagers in this Camp, rose to the number of 5000 Horse, and 10000 Foot: Marquess *Villa* led on the Van, *Longueville* followed with the Body of the Battle, and Prince *Thomaso* brought up the Rere, and passing over the *Poe* to *Cassale*, and over the *Tanaro* to *Filizzano*, *Villa* advanc'd presently to possess himself of all the places neer the City, to keep out Men, and Munition; which when it

should

ſhould be done; this ſo important City would undoubtedly have been reduced within four dayes: For *Tortona* being far from *Piedmont*, none could imagine that the Enemy ſhould leave the Towns unrecovered, which were held by the Spaniards in the heart of the State, and advance to this, eſpecially ſince the winter drew on, and by the difficulty of bringing relief which was to be brought ſo far through an Enemies Country; wherefore as if it had been out of all danger, it had in it a Garriſon of only 100 Souldiers, and no Commander of note. But the enemies diligence was prevented by the Governor *Siruela*, who not knowing what to think of the haſte which the Enemy made, and not being able to comprehend where they intended to go, though he wanted Foot to ſecure ſo many places, ſubject to be aſſaulted by ſo great Forces; yet after having ſent ſuccour to *Alleſſandria* from *Valenza*, he ſent 800 Foot to paſs over the *Poe* at *Baſſignana*, and to keep in *Piovera*; and ordered Don *John Vaſques Coronado*, who was in *Alleſſandria*, that if the Enemy ſhould tarry in thoſe parts, he ſhould ſend for thoſe 800 Foot, and with them ſuccour *Annone*, *Rocaurano*, and *Aſte*; but if he ſhould ſee them make towards *Tortona*, he ſhould forth-with ſend them to aſſiſt that City; which was wiſely foreſeen by the Governour; and being punctually obſerved by *Vaſques*, excellent effects did thereby redound to the Kings Affairs. For theſe 800 Foot being luckily got into the City before *Villa*'s arrivall, ſome few of them onely who were neer in the Rere, not being able to eſcape *Villa*'s diligence who took them, the Town was inabled to hold out the ſiege long, which conſumed more then the moiety of that flouriſhing Army; which if they had quickly taken, they might eaſily have made themſelves Maſters of all on this ſide the *Poe*, towards the *Apennine*; and would, (their Forces being entire) have had opportunity to have effected the Prince his vaſt deſignes: Not long after *Bernardine Galeotti* a Neapolitan, and *Preſtino*, who was an excellent Enginier, being ſent by the Governour, ſtole into the City; paſſing over the Mountain which was not as yet guarded nor poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, and were both of them a great help to defend the City. The Army being drawn neer the City, and having at the very firſt taken the Suburbs, they planted their Artillery againſt the walls, trying if the Citizens would willingly ſurrender, which they not doing, they began their battery; wherewith having made a breach, *Galeotti* found the City was not to be defended, wherefore they retired ſo haſtily to the Caſtle, as they had not time to carry their victuals along with them, nor to break down the mils which were neer the walls, things which did afterwards much accommodate the enemy, who entring the City the fifth day, when the Garriſon had abandoned it, and the City by the Biſhops interpoſing, ſurrendred upon condition: So as the Enemy began immediately to begirt the Caſtle with Trenches, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Church & Monaſtery of S. *Dominico*, which ſtood between the City and the Caſtle, the Garriſon not having fortified it; to keep from employing men in the defence thereof, having hardly enough to defend the Caſtle: And yet either foreſeeing, or already finding how prejudicial the taking of that Convent would be unto them, they endeavoured to recover it the next day by a ſtout ſally, but were forced to retreat. The Duke ſent the Horſe afterwards to ſcour the Country, who without reſiſtance took the Caſtle

Nuovo di Scrivia, which Prince *Thomaſo* choſe for his quarters, and having placed a quarter alſo in *Pontecurone*, he took *Voghera*, which threw the Gates open; then turning upon the Towns and Villages thereabout, he got good ſtore of Victuals, and brought it together with much more booty into the City: but thoſe who dwelt upon the hills reſiſted, and preſerved their goods and perſons, with much prejudice to their oppoſers; the firſt and moſt important reſolution of the oppoſers was to take *Serravalle*, a Town ſcituated upon the way that leads to the Sea, which being a place of great conſequence, whereby commerce with the State of *Genoa* was either block'd up, or maintained, the buſineſs was committed to Marqueſs *Villa*, who going from the Camp with the *Piedmont* Horſe, and five French Regiments of Foot, which in all made 1500 Horſe, and 3000 Foot, he marched thitherward; and took firſt *Staſono* which did willingly ſurrender, and came afterwards to *Serravalle*, where taking the Town without reſiſtance he betook himſelf to the Caſtle, whither the Garriſon was retreated, and where there was not any proviſion; and yet it held out, and afforded the Governour *Sirtela* time (who was very deſirous to preſerve that place) to get together as many men as in ſo great ſtreights he could from the Garriſons of the State of *Millain* and of the Towns in *Piedmont*, having called Count *Galliazzo Trotti* from *Aſti*, and Don *Vincenzzo Monſurio* from *Vercelli*, who by reaſon of the neighborhood of the State of *Millain* got into *Alleſſandria* without any hinderance, with all their men: *Fra. Jovan Pallavicino*, Camp-maſter, met with more difficulty, and danger, who was ſent for by the Governour from *Villa nova*, vvith order, that leaving men and munition ſufficient to keep that place from ſurpriſal, he ſhould come into *Alleſſandria* vvith the reſt, vvhere the Governour ſtay'd expecting him: to vvhich purpoſe he ſent him 200 Horſe to be his convoy.

Villa nova is neer upon 40 miles from the City of *Aleſſandria*, in the midſt of *Piedmont*, neer to Towns ſtrongly Garriſon'd by the Enemy; ſo as he was to march through the Enemies country; which *Pallavicino* did with much valour and ſpeed; and though he paſt very privatly to keep from being diſcover'd by the Enemy, yet was he purſued by the Garriſon of *Carmagnuola*, which overtook him at the bridge of Villa Franca, and ſtrove to keep him from paſſing over it; hoping to effect their deſire by reaſon of 200 carriages which he brought along with him laden with warlike ammunition, and alſo one Cannon, ſo as they promiſed themſelves clear victory, with the ſlaughter of all his men, and the getting of all his munition; but *Palavicino* not at all abaſh'd at their approach placed himſelf with his ranks in order before the carriages, and facing about made head againſt the Enemy, and held them play till the Carriages and the Cannon paſt over the Bridge, after which his men began to march in good order, with their faces ſtill towards the Enemy, and ſtill fighting; who paſſing over after them did ſtill purſue them, till *Pallavicino* being come with his men to *Gombino*, a Town two miles diſtant from the Bridge, made himſelf maſter thereof, and fortifyed himſelf in an advantagious place, where he ſtay'd with his men in order, expecting that the Enemy ſhould advance; but they not daring to aſſault

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him upon ſuch diſadvantagious tearms, left purſuing him, and retreated towards *Carmagnuola*, ſuffering *Pallavicino* to paſs freely into *Alleſſandria*, whither he came ſafe with his men and carriages; this ſo great recruite being ſo luckily come to the Governour was of great conſequence; for with them, and with ſome other men that he had, he made up a body of 5000 Foot, and 300 Horſe; with the which marching into the field on the eighth of *October*, he came to *Fregarvola*, a Town neer *Boſco*, intending to go from thence to *Serravalle*, whither he had ſent ſome Foot already, that they might endeavour to get one after another into the Caſtle; and though his men were fewer in number then the Enemy; yet the Enemy being diſtributed into ſeveral quarters, the Governour doubted not, but that he being more in number then any one of the Enemies quarters, his deſign might take effect: Nor was he therein deceived, for it fell out better then was expected; the Duke of *Longueville* who was before *Tortona* with but a few men, hearing of this expedition, and fearing that the Enemy might fall upon ſome part of the Trenches which were ill provided of Defendants, and might enter into the Caſtle, and ſo into the City, and cauſe ſome important miſchief, ſent ſpeedily back for all the Horſe which were diſpers'd abroad in ſeveral parts; and brought them neeret *Tortona*; and moreover ſent for Marqueſs *Villa* from *Serravalle*; who writ back that he thought it better to quit *Tortona*, and be maſters of *Serravalle*, then to abandon *Serravalle*, and come to before *Tortona*; for that the way by Sea being block up on that part to the State of *Millain*, *Tortona* would not be able to hold out long, and way would be made to further progreſs; he therefore adviſed him to give over that Siege, and to joyn with him in the taking of *Serravalle*; but *Longueville* perſiſting in his own opinion, redoubled his order with more efficacy; Wherefore *Villa* leaving *Serravalle*, though unwillingly, forewent that Caſtle, and the Town which he had already taken: So the Governour having by the meer fame of his march luckily freed *Serravalle*, which was held as good as loſt, he ſent a ſufficient Garriſon thither to guard it, and furniſhed it with munition; keeping afterwards in the Town of *Boſco*, he ſtay'd there, to keep the victuals and munition from coming to the enemies Camp, which were ſent from *Piedmont* by *Monſferrate*; believing that the Enemy not being able to maintain that ſiege long for ſcarcity of victuals and munition, muſt of neceſsity give over the enterprize; and to this purpoſe, he acquainted the Commonwealth of *Genos*, how unjuſtly they intended to invade the State of *Millain*; and how prejudicial that would be to the *Genoeſes*; wherefore he exhorted that State not to afford any conveniencies to their enemies; the Commonwealth hereupon took into conſideration, how that all the Caſtles which ſhe held beyond the *Apenine* were open, except it were *Novi*, which was onely inviron'd with old weak walls; and that ſharing more of the ſterility of the neighbouring mountains, then of the fruitfulneſs of the valleys of *Lombardy*, they are of themſelves not onely unable to feed Forreign Armies, but even not onely to provide for themſelves, and that they needed to be provided with victuals from their neighbouring Towns. Wherefore ſince they were more furniſh'd with victuals from *Novi*

then from home, the inhibition desired by the Governour would be superfluous, and no ways helpful to his pretended end, but would be very prejudicial to those people, who would be thereby provoked to Military Licentiousness, by the pillaging and plundering the whole Countrey in resentment of the affront; nor would the mischief cease here; for the King of *France* would be offended with the Commonwealth for this action, which peradventure he would esteem little less then Hostile; wherefore the Commonwealth having acquainted the Governour with these reasons sent a competent number of Souldiers to *Novi*, under *Philip Palavicino*, one well vers'd both in Civil, and in Military affairs; and enjoyned him that he should endeavour the quiet of those confines, and to keep them from the inrode of disbanded Souldiers, and not to suffer any innovation whereby the liberty of that market might be prejudiced; so the French whose quarters lay neer that Market, coming thither to buy victuals at any rates, the prises rise to such a heighth, as it drew great store of Victuals from the State of *Millain*, which was no little ease to the French Army; which the Spaniards not being able to suffer, who were for the most part quartered beyond *Tortona* towards the *Poe*, could not make use of that market, as the French did; they complained of the Commonwealth, as if she had favour'd the French more then them; not seeing, nor being willing to see, that almost all the victuals which were brought to *Novi* came from the State of *Millain*, and that they not being able by any means their own scouters of the Country could use, to keep their own subjects from bringing victuals to *Novi*, they were cause of that mischief to themselves which they pretended to receive from the Commonwealth; thus the French Army, without loss of any time, continued to besiege that Castle, about which having taken up their quarters, and drawn a line about it, they made four approaches toward it: two towards the City, and two towards the Mountain and *Turenne*'s Regiment being quartered over against a certain half moon, he was forced by a gallant sally which was made to quit it; the like to which befel another Regiment which was quartered upon the edge of the Ditch, it being beaten back by another fierce sally: several other sallies were likewise made with various Fortune, but for the most part with advantage to the opposers. And *Basco* being inconvenient to the Governour *Sirmela*, by reason of its far distance; for he could not from thence hinder a convoy of powder which was sent from *Cassalle*, though he had sent the Marquess of *Caracena* to intercept it; he thought he might keep out reliefs better by removing to *Pozzole*, which lay upon the rode way to *Tortona* from *Novi*, and *Montferrate*, not above six miles from *Tortona*, which was divided from thence by the *Scrivia*; he therefore went thither with all his men; but not being able to tarry there long by reason of the scarcity of waters and forrage, and because he thought the Castle could not hold out long, he thought it necessary to give over the thought of beleaguering the Enemies Camp, and to relieve it by open force, he therefore resolved to go from *Pozzuole*, and to march towards *Sale*, which lies a little lower towards the *Poe*, on the left hand of *Scrivia*; he marched in battle array, in case he should be assaulted by the Camp from before *Tortona*, as he was threatned to

be;

be; he was also moved to remove his quarters, hearing that Marquess *Villa* was gone from the Camp, and having past over the *Scrivia* was marched towards the *Tanaro*, to receive there a good quantity of powder, which he knew was to be brought from *Cassalle*; which the Governour hearing of, he had before sent order to *Valenza* that they might be careful to intercept it; and those of *Valenza* were not negligent in observing his Orders; for having assembled both Horse, and Foot from the neighbouring parts, they went in pursuit thereof; and lighting upon the Convoy, they fell so furiously upon the Convoyers, as to save their lives, and not being able to save the Powder, they threw a great part of it into the *Poe*; and being come neer *Basignana*, they left the rest upon the banks of the *Tanaro*; and Marquess *Villa* being come to that River, and seeing the Country people busie in sharing the rest, he set Musketiers along the shore, for fear of whom the Country people fled, and left the Ammunition; and *Villa* spying a Barque which lay hulling in the River, without any Boat-men, he made some of his men swim towards it, who took it, and brought over the Ammunition in it; and laying it upon carriage-horses which they had brought to that end, they brought it safe to the Camp before *Tortona*, whither *Villa* came safe also before the Governour of *Millain* got from *Pezzuolo* to *Sale*; who since he had mist of meeting with *Villa* in his return, as he intended to have done, he sent some of his men to recover *Castel nuovo di Scrivia*; from whence a Troop of Horse that lay there in Garrison going out to discover the Enemy, they skirmished with them, and were repuls'd by them; and the keeper of the Castle at his return found the gates shut upon him by the Towns-men; so as failing of that refuge, he went to *Pontecurone*, to joyn with the Horse which were quartered there; and the Governour passing over the *Scrivia* with the rest of his men, went to *Castel nuovo*; which made all the Country towards *Tortona* on this side the River be abandoned by the Enemies Horse and Foot which were quartered in those parts, who came all to the line of circumvolution about the Castle: whereupon the Governour went to *Pontecurone*, and finding it empty he made there a Rendezvous of Arms, and placed some Troops of Horse there which were newly come from the State of *Millain*; and hearing that there were only 100 French in Garrison in the Castle of *Voghera*, he sent Forces to drive them out; which was done without any difficulty; for the French at the very sight of the Spanish Colours surrendred the place, and retired, as the rest had done, to the Trenches about *Tortona*: all on this side the *Scrivia* towards *Tortona* being taken, and the Governour being master of the Field, he betook himself wholly to relieve the Castle, the Condition whereof he could by no means hear, so diligently were all the Avenues guarded; which made him much doubt the preservation thereof, not knowing how long it could hold out; and it was given out by the Enemy that it would soon be surrendered: And yet because he would not be failing to himself, nor leave any thing undone which might make for the preservation of so important a place, he was very diligent in getting provisions, whereby to keep the Castle from surrendring; wherefore he hasted to relieve it; he knew he could not effect his design by any way but by that of the Mountain,

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wherein he was to meet with two great difficulties; the first, that the Enemy foreknowing it, would fortifie the Trench on that side the more strongly, and would place his whole Forces there, since he could not apprehend fear in any other place: The other difficulty proceeded from the inconveniencies which were found in the scituation of the Mountain. The Castle of *Tortona* stands upon the top of a Hill, which being severed from higher Hills declines gently for the space of three miles on the East side of the City, which lies just at the Foot thereof; so as the Governour, if he would relieve the Castle, was to begin from the highest and furthermost tops of the Hills, and by the ridge thereof approach the well munited Trenches which shelter the Castle on the Hills side: Nor was this all the difficulty; about a mile before you come to the line of Circumvolution, the Hill declining by degrees shapes out a gutter, which falls into a Valley, whither he who will advance must fall down, and then climb up again to the opposite top: This gutter or slit was very incommodious and dangerous, if the Enemy should have munited the edge thereof, as it was probable they had done; therefore the resolution of bringing relief was fuller of danger then hope: But the Governour, who thought the loss of this Castle to be the worst of evils that could befal, was resolved to try his Fortune; he therefore took up two quarters on the very top of the Hill, and possessed himself of *Montgualdone* and *Sarzano*; and falling down from thence, he came without any opposition to the Gutter or Slit; where he found *Longueville* and his men on the opposite height well prepared to defend that Pass; nor herewithall content, he fortified himself with a good Trench, and with Artillery, upon the edge of the top of his hill; so as from thence he commanded all the Enemies Troops, and all the avenues by which he might be assaulted: The Governour being come to the slit, began also to fortifie the top of his hill; and contemplating the Enemies advantagious position, he began to find, that he could not send to assault it, but by ways which by the fall of waters were made slippery, and which were so a row, as but a few could march on front; so as to attempt an assault against a long, stour, well munited row of men, would be a great piece of folly; there remained but one thing to be done, that he might not seem to have moved in vain, and to have done thus much to no purpose; which was, to send some men to try an assault upon some *Corps de guard* which were without the Trenches, placed upon the hanging of the slit, neer a little solitary Chappel which was there, to see whether the Enemy being provoked thereby would forego his advantages, and fall rashly down into the Valley, whereby fighting in an equal place, way might be made for the intended succour; as this conceit was idle, so proved it unuseful; for though Marquess *Villa* came out of the Trench with his Horse, back'd with some Squadrons, and falling upon the assaulters, beat them back to a certain little house which they had formerly possest themselves of, and which stood in the middle between the two Camps; yet no more was done; but all the *Corps de guard* being sent for back, returned to the Trench; and the French Commanders shewed themselves more wary in maintaining the advantage of their station, then ready to hazard the uncertainty of Battle either upon equal or unequal terms; and therefore the Governour finding

finding that the Enemy was not minded to forego his advantage, he attempted, but in vain, to put 300 men by night into the Caſtle. Both the Armies kept their ſtations that night, the next day the rain increaſed; ſo as the Spaniſh Army not being able to convey in their Victuals, and their Souldiers being expoſed to the rain, the Governour was forced to think of retreating; he therefore made his Horſe advance, and left Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* with a good ſtrength of Horſe and Foot, to keep the ſtation where his Army was quartered till his Souldiers might be march'd off: who met with many great obſtacles in their retreat; for being to paſſe over the *Gru*, (a little rivulet at other times, but which ran now with very much violence being much ſwollen by the fall of waters,) they were fain to climb up a hill beyond it, and to draw up their Artillery by it, which by reaſon of the rain was become hardly paſſable; wherefore they reſolved to march both Horſe and Foot by the current of the *Gru*; wherefore the General of the Horſe, Marqueſs *Caracena*, ſent ſome Horſe that night to guard the lower part of that rivulet, to defend the Army in its march, by whom he was afterwards informed, that many Horſe were come out of the City of *Tortona*, marching towards *Vighizvolo*, by which the Army was to paſs with their Artillery; wherefore the Marqueſs doubled the aforeſaid Guards, charging them to mark well the Enemies way, and to give notice of every the leaſt proceeding: The Guards returned, averring their former advertiſement, and, moreover, that the Horſe and Foot marched toward the ſame ſtations that the Spaniſh Army had left; whereupon the Spaniſh Army haulted, to conſult upon what was to be done: the joynt opinion was, that they ſhould continue their begun march, for that the advertiſement might be falſe; and if otherwiſe, they might by continuing their march get to *Vighizvolo* before the Enemy; only *Caracena* oppoſed the general reſolution, averring that the Horſe which marched in the Rere ſhould be ſo long held skirmiſhing by the Enemies Horſe which advanced by the Valley, as the reſt of the Enemies Horſe which marched by the hill might come up unto them, and fall upon them, and that not being able for want of Foot to defend themſelves, they the Spaniards would be routed, that the Enemy would purſue their Victory, and advancing forwards would alſo rout the Foot: he concluded therefore, that it would be better to bring all their men into one body, and keep in that ſtation which was very ſtrong, as being between two hills, which were higher then thoſe on which the Enemy was; and that keeping the *Gru* before them which ran between the two Armies, it was impoſſible they could fight them upon ſuch advantage without paſſing over the *Gru*, which he deſired the Enemy would dare to do; for by ſo doing their utter ruine would undoubtedly enſue, and the loſs of all their men, whereby they the French might obtain a ſignal victory; and if, as it might be believed, the Spaniards might think this too dangerous, and ſo keep idle where they were, they might draw up their Artillery; which might be done in one day or two, and the Baggage might march ſecurely in the Rere. This advice was generally diſliked, all of them perſiſting in their former reſolution of marching along the *Gru*; but the Marqueſs knowing the certain danger they ſhould run into by that

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march, said resolutely he would not go that way, and gave order to the Horse to march the way he should direct them; and was so resolute therein, as the rest changed their minds, and came over to his opinion; and ere long, by an accident that hapned, his opinion was clearly found to be the best, and the only safe one; a thick cloud arose upon day-break, which took away the sight of the Campagnia and of the hill; which vanishing away a little after *Caracena's* opinion was approved of, several Troops of the Enemies Horse and Foot were discovered on the hill; which made them all aware, what imminent danger the Army would have incur'd had not *Caracena* persisted in his opinion; wherefore the whole Army very much applauded the Marquess, as their deliverer from so great a danger, and acknowledged themselves infinitely obliged to him; and not long after they might see the French Troops which lay towards *Vighizzolo* joyn with those upon the hill, by which *Caracena's* counsel appeared to be the sole safety of that Army, which was at that time of such importance for the preservation of the State of *Millain*. Both the Armies kept their stations, not acting any thing: the French not daring to assault the Spaniards began to retire towards the Camp, two hours before Sun-set; which the Spaniards perceiving they also removed, and went towards *Pontecurone*, whither it came without any encounter, but weary; the Artillery was drawn by the Dutch of Prince *Borso's* Regiment, and by some others of the same Nation, by strength of Arms, up the hill, and safely brought to *Pontecurone*, for which they had good store of drinking money given them: a retreat, which the fuller it was of danger and difficulty, the more praise-worthy was it. The Besiegers thinking that the Castle would immediately be surrendered, now that the relieving Army was gone, whereby they were deprived of all hopes of relief, sent to demand the Castle; but it was manfully answered, that affairs were not yet brought to terms of surrender. In this interim a great supply of Victuals and Ammunition was brought to the French Camp by the way of *Acqui*; nor was *Piedmont* content only to send considerable succours to the enterprise of *Tortona*; but the Dowager making use of this occasion design'd to take such Towns from the Spaniards as they were possest of, and to free *Piedmont* absolutely, whilst it was unprovided of requisite Garrisons. To this purpose she got together a considerable body of men, composed of the Military remainders in *Piedmont*, and drawn out of the Garrisons thereof, and of *Montferrat*; to whom she added those that were sent by Marquess *Villa*, when he parted from *Serravalle*; and this was approved of by the French and Piedmonteses; for by sending of these men into the field, one of two things was likely to result: either the recovery of the Towns, or the withdrawing of the Spaniards from defending *Tortona*; and because the recovery of the Towns was the thing chiefly intended by the Dowager, her opinion was approved of by Marquess *Pianezza*, who propounded the enterprise of *Verrua* first, and next that of *Vercelli*; not so much in consideration of their slender Garrisons, as for the safety and conveniency which would redound to *Piedmont* thereby, and for that nothing else would more divert the defending of *Tortona*. And the manner of effecting both these enterprises being discuss'd, the French Embassadour who could hear

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no more acceptable news then the recovery of *Vetrua*, which opened the way to *France* for the relief of *Caſſalle*, joyn'd willingly with *Pianezza* in his opinion: Wherefore ſome Horſe were ſent to *Vetrua*, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Avenues thereabouts, that they might keep out the Spaniſh ſuccour which might be ſent thither from the confining Towns of *Trino*, *Penteſtura*, or *Villa-nueva*. The good ſucceſs of this enterpriſe conſiſted in expedition; wherefore *PianeZZa* having ſent men by the *Poe* to this intended enterpriſe, and ladders and other neceſſary inſtructions along with them, he marched towards the Town; where he applyed ladders that very night, by which he forced the Defendants to fly unto the Caſtle, ſo he eaſily became Maſter of the Town, which did facilitate the taking of the Caſtle. But before he would attempt it, he would try how the Defendants minds ſtood; he therefore beat a Call, ſummoning them to ſurrender: whereupon they parlied, and the next morning yielded upon honourable conditions, by which the place was reſtored by the Spaniſh Governour to *Pianezza*, who received it in the name of the Dowager and the Duke. *Vetrua* was a place of great conſequence, by reaſon that it commanded the *Poe*; which when Marqueſs *PianeZZa* had ſo eaſily gotten, he bethought himſelf of greater enterpriſes, as to recover *Vercelli*, where the Garriſon was much diminiſhed, by reaſon of the neceſſary defence of *Tortona* the Marqueſs caſt his eye upon two Tenaglias, that of Sr. *Andrea*, and that of the Citadel; which not being guarded anſwerable to their greatneſs, ſeemed eaſie to be taken, if they ſhould be attempted by night; and when they ſhould be taken would be a ſafe quarter againſt the City. But this buſineſs required more men, wherefore it had been formerly thus ordered in *Turin*, that all the French ſhould joyn with *Govognes*, Governour of the Citadel of *Caſſalle*, who coming from thence with part of the Garriſon ſhould take the Tenaglia of the Citadel; and *Pianezza* with his Piedmonteſe was to take that of Sr. *Andrea*; but whilſt this enterpriſe was in hand, it was interrupted by no ſleight accident: The French Embaſſador hearing that *Vetrua* was ſurrendred to *Pianezza*, who held it in the Dowagers name, began to complain, pretending that ſince the French concur'd in the enterpriſe as well as the Piedmonteſes, the French were to have entred there in Garriſon; wherefore he much reſented that *Pianezza* ſhould do ſo great an injury to the King of *France*'s Forces: Whereunto the Marqueſs anſwered, that he was the Duke of *Savoy*'s Souldier, not Souldier to the King of *France*, that the Town appertained to the Duke, that the Spaniſh Governour had ſurrendred it to him, as to a ſervant of the Dukes, as he had done in other the like caſes, particularly in the recovery of *Ceva*, which was recovered by the joynt Forces of *France* and *Piedmont*; wherefore he ought not have done otherwiſe upon this occaſion; but ſome diſtaſts falling out hereupon, the Embaſſador ſent Monſieur *di Malici*, Marſhal of the Camp, and Governour of *Pinarvolo*, to command the French that were with Marqueſs *Pianezza*; who being diſguſted at this affront, turn'd over not onely the French, but the Piedmonteſes alſo, to *Malici*, and returned himſelf to *Turin*: For which *Longueville* was angry with the Embaſſador, and told him that this change of Commander was contrary to his inſtructions. *PianeZZa*

before he departed, acquainted *Malici* and *Covegni*, with what was resolved upon *Turin* touching *Vercelli*, who being advanced with their men to within five mile of that City, suddenly altered their minds; the cause not being known, and turn'd upon St. *Ia*, hoping to take it by a Scalado; but they failed therein: for *Monsurin*, Camp-master and Captain of the Garrison, having had notice thereof, was vigilant and defended himself manfully, not only against the Scalado, but against several assaults, and repuls'd the Assailants much to their loss of blood: Who not knowing whither better to go, marched towards *Tortona*, to bring that real help thither, which they could not do by diversion, being sent for thither, as they said, by *Longueville*; which resolution though it proved not so prejudicial as the assaulting of St. *Ia*, yet it did no good; for being come to *Acqui*, where they heard that Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* was come from *Bosco* to oppose them, and to keep them from going to *Tortona*, they halted, waiting for an answer from Duke *Longueville*, to a desire made unto him by Marshal *Malici*, that he would send him a Convoy which might conduct him safe thither. *Longueville* and Prince *Thomaso*, were not well pleased (as was said) with their coming, for they despaired of good success in this enterprise, which proved every day more difficult; and therefore desired any just occasion of quitting it with honour: They therefore were no sooner acquainted by Marquess *Pianezza* of what was resolved in *Turin* concerning *Vercelli*, and with what ease they thought they might take it; but they thought they had light upon the occasion which they wish'd for, of changing their languishing hopes of taking that Castle, with the recovery which they for certain promised themselves of the Citadel of *Vercelli*, upon which they pitch'd their thoughts, and were resolved to fall upon it when they first heard the City was taken; and they were troubled that the others leaving *Vercelli* were coming towards *Tortona*: Wherefore they writ to the Marquess, wishing him to keep still at *Acqui*; the Governour *Strada* growing apprehensive of that City, by reason of what had hapned in *Piedmont*, and by the advancing of the French and Piedmonteses towards *Vercelli*, he sent some Forces from *Pontecurone* to strengthen it; he had also sent Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga*, with a body of Horse towards *Bosco*, to fall upon the succour and munition which past from *Montferrat* to the Enemies Camp; who when he was come to the place intended, and heard that Colonel *Manzino* was past over the *Scrivia*, and that he was gone with some Troops of Horse to seek forrage, went to meet him, and lighting upon him at *Bazzalucca*, gave order to assault him; which Don *Diego di Villarel*, Captain of the Horse, who marched in the Van, presently did. And the Governour coming after with the rest, a fierce skirmish ensued, wherein many of those that were assaulted were slain, many fled, and many were taken prisoners; amongst which Colonel *Manzino* himself, with many Officers and Souldiers, to the number of two hundred; few of the Assailants were slain; but Don *Carlo Caracciola* a Captain of Horse, whilst he was fighting valiantly according to his custom, was shot in the head by a Carabine, and kill'd. The Castle of *Tortona*, this mean while, was streightly besieged, and the besiegers being falne into the ditch, and got to the wall, fell to make Mines, and the workmen were very much

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preſt by the Commanders, fearing leſt being much leſſen'd in men, & deſpairing of ſuccor from *Piedmont*, by reaſon of oppoſition made by *Gonzaga*, they ſhould be forced to give over the enterprize; and the approach of Winter, againſt which they had no defence, made them deſpair the more; another no ſmall inconvenience befel them by *Serravalle* Garriſon, which fell by night upon the neereſt and greateſt of the mills which furniſh'd the Camp with Griſt; and though they were play'd upon by a neighbouring company of Musketiers, yet they at laſt wan the Mill, and ſlew all the Musquetiers, ſet fire upon the Mill, and retreated with little loſs to *Serravalle*; the ſtrong defence which was made by the Defendants made the raking of the Town be much doubted; and the Governour not being able to make the Enemy remove, did what he could to incommodate them by keeping away ſuccour, by turning the water from their Mills, by ſending in ſlender ſuccours ſecretly to the beſieged, that they might hold out the longer; hoping in what the Enemy feared, that the approaching Winter which began to be very bitter, it being now the midſt of *Novemb.* would keep the enemy from working; but the beſiegers diligence did much obſtruct the ſtealing in of ſuccour into the Caſtle; ſo as though ſome relief was ſtoln in, yet being diſcovered by the Scouts they were forced to flee; at laſt, the Mines being ready to play, the enemy were wiſhed to yield before fire ſhould be given to them: who returned no anſwer, but that they expected commands from *Spain*; fire was therefore given to the Mines; ſome of which, particularly thoſe which were towards the City, wrought good effect; ſo as a ſtrong aſſault being given, wherein many of the aſſailants periſhed, they at laſt lodged in the breach which was made in the Bulwark by the Mine: yet the Engeneer *Preſtino*'s diligence rendred that advantage vain; who cauſed a defence of boords and rafters to be made, which cut off the Bulwarks on which the enemy were lodged from the Caſtle; and the Defendants having munited that work on their ſide with a trench began to ſtand man for man, and to fight the oppughers upon equal terms; which they might the better do, for that the Mines on the outſide the Caſtle did but little hurt.

Three hundred of the choiceſt Foot that were in the Spaniſh Camp were at this time convoy'd into the Caſtle, conducted by Don *Diego Alvarado*, Serjeant Major of the *Neapolitan* Brigade; by which recruit the Defendants being encouraged, and furniſh'd with ammunition, which every one of thoſe that came in brought in a Wallet tide about their necks, ſallyed ſtoutly out upon the enemy, and forced them to abandon the breach whereon they were; the oppugners ſeeing ſo good a ſuccour got into the Caſtle began to deſpair of the enterprize, gave over mining, which they ſaw did but little good, fell to their batteries again, more out of rage, then out of any good they expected thereby; but it ſo hapned, that as they had got but little good by all their attempts which they had hitherto adviſedly made; ſo by this, from which they expected little or no advantage, the whole victor was occaſioned; for they made one ſhot againſt the Keep of the Caſtle, which beat down part of it, and the ruines thereof fell upon the remainder of the victuals, contrary to all expectation; ſo as the Defendants

having loſt all their victuals, nothing but ſurrender was to be thought upon; thus forced by neceſſity they parlyed, which ended in a ſurrender upon honorable conditions, having leave to carry away five piece of Cannon; a thing not heard of upon the yielding up of places furniſh'd with greater ſtore of Artillery; and it was alſo expreſly covenanted, that they might have five days allowed them to expect if any relief or ſuccour ſhould be ſent them; which time being expired, and no relief appearing, they march'd out in number above 1000 Souldiers, with Arms, Baggage, Colours Flying, Match lighted, and with their five piece of Cannon, which ſerved to trumpet forth their valour, and they were attended to the Confines of *Alleſſandria*, being very well received in all places, and much praiſed for the reſolution they had ſhewed during the whole Siege; *Galleotti*, in reward of the great valiour he had ſhewed in defending the Caſtle, was made Camp-Maſter; which honour he did not long enjoy; for he was unfortunately ſlain not long after with a Muſket ſhot; the Spaniſh Garriſon marching out, the French entred on the 26 of *November*, which was the day of ſurrender; who found the walls ſo torn and rent by the Mines and batteries, as not being eaſily able to mend them, they made what ſhift they could to defend them, with fagots, rafters, and other things; the Conquering Army retreated to the neighbouring Towns, where having tarried ſome days, they at great rates got all the victuals they could from the neighboring parts, wherewith they furniſh'd the Caſtle, and departed to *Piedmont*, but were much waſted and conſumed; and as they marched through *Monferrat*, they were yet more leſſened by the great ſtore of rain that fell, and by other ſufferings; a good part of the Horſe being gone to the Confines of *Montferrat*, were ſtrucken with a pannick fear at the meer fame that the Governour of *Millain* was with an Army upon their backs; So as running directly away they light upon a path that led to the *Orba*, a little rivulet, which being ſwoln by the fall of waters ran very ſwiftly, thoſe who came firſt to the water ſide, not being able to go back (ſo faſt were they followed by thoſe that came after) were forced into the water, where entangled amongſt themſelves, both the firſt and the laſt were miſerably drown'd; the foot fared no better for being diſpers'd, ſome here, ſome there, they were pillag'd, and ſlain; the few that got to *Piedmont* were quartered in ſeveral quarters, and rallied; ſo as, were it not for the getting of a deſerted City, and a Caſtle which was half beaten down, the buſineſs prov'd prejudicial to both ſides, and reciprocally ruinous. But it is true, that the taking of this City, and the recovery thereof by the Spaniards, was the occaſion of the Piedmonteſes recovery of many places which the Spaniards had taken in the former Wars; which was no little advantage to the French and Piedmonteſes; for otherwiſe it would have been more troubleſom and chargeable for them to have done it: The Governour of *Millain*, though he had done all that was poſſible for the preſervation of the Caſtle that was loſt, ſo as the loſs the eof could not be aſcribed to any default of his; yet being very much troubled that it ſhould fall out in the time of his Government, and that that had befaln him which had not hapned to any of his Predeceſſors, ſince the State of *Millain* was joyn'd to the Spaniſh Empire,

Empire, he was grievously vext, and being desirous to repair so great a loss he minded nothing but how to recover it; he therefore thought every hour a year till the Winter were over, that he might wipe away that stain which he thought lay upon him for that loss; which he the rather hoped to do by the death which befel in *France* to the Cardinal *Richlieu*, whose Authority and Counsel, as they had kept the Enemies of *France* in terror whilst he lived, so they ceasing with his death, every one thought that so excellent an Architect failing to the good Government and prosperous conduct of the Affairs of that Kingdom, they would decline apace from that height to which they were brought whilst he lived. He died about the end of *November*, in the year 42, of a natural death, after a long and noisome or troublesome disease; he was very stiff for the advancement of the Regal Sovereignty, as also of his own Authority; and this to that degree, that so he might arrive at any thing which might advance either the one or the other, he did not abhor doing any thing, though it were not clad with honesty nor justice; so as he knew, better then any other, how to make use of that saying of *Julius Cæsar*; That if reason were to be violated, it were to be violated for reason of State; and therefore he was termed by some the new *Tiberius* of our times: he rose to such authority in the Court, and had so great a power over the Kings genius, as he was to have many encounters, and to shock not only with the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom, and with the Queen Mother, but with the Kings only Brother, who was then Heir to the Kingdom: insomuch as the Queen Mother not able to tolerate such preeminence and authority, which did even out-do hers, went out of the Kingdom, and would never return, unless the King would remove the Cardinal; which the King not doing, she lived an exile from *France* many years, and died in *Cullen*, a little before the Cardinal; whither, having run through many Countries, she at last retired her self; and the Brother, having gone several times out of *France*, for the same Reasons, and severall times return'd, not able to bear with so great a predominancy in the Cardinal, conspired often against him; and how much the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom were distasted with this transcendent authority, was shewn by frequent Conspiracies against it, and against the Government of the Kingdom; not without danger sometimes to the Kings person. The people also, and the Provinces of the Kingdom, not able to bear with the many grievances which were laid upon them, for maintaining the immoderate expences of War abroad, did often rebel; but all these Conspiracies and Seditions did rather encrease, and confirm his greatness, then any ways lessen it; and the King himself was not able longer to endure it; because all the Lords and Officers of the Kingdom, as well Gown-men, as those of the Sword, either dazled with the Cardinals so great splendor, or attracted by hopes of favour, or drawn by fear of hatred and revenge, which they saw they could not shun, followed the Cardinal, and did, as it were, worship him; it was thought, that the last Conspiracy of the *Grand Escuyer de France* was not plotted without the Kings tacite consent, as being desirous to be rid of that over-shadower of his Regal Majesty; and though the vanity of this opinion may be convinced by how easily the King might have suppress him

him, if he had liſted, and by that the Conſpirators held intelligence with the Crown of *Spain*, & had been promiſed aſſiſtance from thence; yet it is very certain that the King being weary of ſuch a Miniſter of State would, have been well enough contented to have had his wings clipt, had not the managing of the great affairs which paſt at the preſent through his hands made his ſervice too neceſſary to his Majeſty at this time; however it was, the Cardinal died, if not in the greateſt voluntary and free favour of the King, which he had ſo abundantly enjoyed before; yet in his forced and neceſſary favour, which did the more authorize it; Forreign Princes alſo, who were Friends and Confederates with the Crown, had no leſs reaſon to complain of his rigorous actions, then the French: he having made them prove the acrimony of his genius, which was inclined by all means to his Kings advancement and greatneſs, as if not fully, may, in ſome ſort, be comprehended by the context of this Hiſtory; and yet all things ſucceeded ſo proſperouſly both within and without the Kingdom, as that though he entred into the conduct of publick affairs when they were ſufficiently full of trouble, variety of Religions, Factions and Contumacies, as well of the Princes as People; and conſequently in a tottering and dangerous condition, he reſtored the Catholick Religion fully, and ſuppreſt Hereſies, and reſtored the Kingdom to perfect peace; won credit to Military Diſcipline; and re-ordered the publick Government excellently well in order; he kept all Enemies not only out of the Kingdom, but aſſaulted them vigorouſly at their own homes: he did not only ſecure the Confines of the Kingdom, but did much dilate them by the acquiſition of conſiderable Provinces; and finally, he rendred the name of *France* glorious, and remarkable above all other Nations; he died full of glory, and worthy to be honour'd for his ſingular ſervice done unto the Crown, with the glorious Title of

Pater Principis, & Patriæ.

Many attributed the felicity of ſo many actions to his extraordinary good fortune; but becauſe her wonted inconſtancy repugns ſuch continual good ſucceſs, we muſt needs confeſs, that Cardinal *Richlieu*'s actions were not carried on by the will of Fortune, but govern'd by a more then humane wiſdom. The King, not without reaſon, bewail'd the death of this great Miniſter of State; for he ſaid well who ſaid, that the bounds of the Forces of the Kingdom conſiſted in the Authority of his every where credited and feared Counſels; and doubtleſly, the effects of ſo great a loſs would ſoon have been felt, had not the ſame Cardinals providence, whilſt he was yet alive, repaired ſo imminent a danger, by leaving a new ſucceſſor to that Government which was like to be vacant after his death; which was *Julius Mazzarini*, whom we have often mentioned, who being at the Kings interceſſion created Cardinal not long before; and brought by the ſaid *Richlieu*, whilſt he was yet alive, into the Government of the moſt important buſineſs of the Kingdom; which ſhewed that he knew him to be the ableſt man, and moſt capable of all others, to enter upon the conduct of Publick Government; and therefore preferring the publick good before his private conveniences, and before the intereſts of thoſe that were neereſt

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to him in blood and alliance, he propounded him to the King for his ſucceſſor, though he were a Forreigner, and an Italian by birth; who after *Richlieu*'s death, having by the Kings good will, taken the Reins of Publick Government into his hands, with fortunate preſage, and more fortunate ſucceſs, gave proof that the Kingdom wanted not Government neither at home nor abroad, nor found it any change of Governour; ſo uniform do the Affairs of the Kingdom run now, as they did before (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) and, if it may be lawful to ſay ſo, not onely equally well, but advantagiouſly better.

Two moneths after Cardinal *Richlieu*'s death, the *Conde Duca* fell from his grace of being Favorite in the Court of *Spain*; wherein he had continued for the ſpace of 22 years in abſolute authority, but with univerſal hatred: which hatred, added to the great misfortunes with befel that crown under his conduct, was the occaſion of his fall; for the King, moved by the exclamations of ſo many people, who were diſcontented with the Government of this Favorite, and with the blame laid upon his publick and private comportments, from whence they profeſſed all their diſorders and misfortunes had proceeded, reſolved at laſt to remove him; and taking from him the management of publick and private Affairs confined him to *Lorches*, not far from *Madrid*; but not long after he was confined to *Thoro*, a City in old *Caſtile*, where after ſome years he died. Truly it cannot be denied, but that this Gentleman was very zealous of his Kings greatneſs, and was extraordinarily accurate in ordering publick affairs, wherein, foregoing all Sports and Paſtimes, he was very aſſiduouſly diligent and careful. Moreover, he was not to be bribed; nothing in him was vendible; he ſeemed wholly intent upon the Kings grandezza, and upon the good Government of publick Affairs; but theſe excellent gifts were, I will not ſay, corrupted with as many vices, but diſtemper'd by the exceſs of the ſame vertues; for he, taking the advancement of the Kings and the Crowns Prerogative to be the moſt refined Maxime, and the end of all good and perfect Government, ſeemed ſo intent thereupon, as not at all minding the peoples ſatisfaction or intereſt, he cared for nothing elſe: not knowing that the peoples ſatisfaction is the true baſis and ſureſt foundation of Principality; and that no Empire that is violent is long lived; ſo as this, which he thought to be the true and perfect Rule of Government, did degenerate into manifeſt Tyranny. Hence proceeded his immenſe deſire of extinguiſhing the Liberty and Franchiſe which the Spaniards call *Fueros*, by which the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Spain*, under pretence of liberty and exemption, have always been willingly obedient to the Crown of *Caſtile*; whereof they do boaſt much, and have been always careful exactors: but this State-miniſter not caring to diſtaſte them in this which was the foundation of their ready and willing obedience, as Vaſſals to his Majeſty, endeavour'd to annul thoſe their Cuſtoms or *Fueros*, and to reduce the people of *Spain* into the form of meer Provincials, abſolutely as ſubjected to the Crown of *Caſtile*; which did ſo embitter their very ſouls, as made them fall into rebellion. Many have ſaid, and it is generally believed, that this Miniſter of State did uſe the Catalonians

ans with all extremity of rigour, purposely to make them rebel, to the end that upon that pretence he might deprive them of all priviledges as guilty of High Treason, and reduce them to meer subjection, till by his continual vexations he wrought his ends upon them, and gathered the bitter fruits of his Tyrannical Counsels. The like befell the Kingdom of *Portugal*, which being by rigor and bitterness compell'd to rebell, chose the Duke of *Braganza*, the only branch of Regal blood in *Portugal*, for their King which when the *Conde Duca* heard of, he hasted joyfully to the King, as rejoycing at this rebellion, and craved thanks from him for the good news he brought him, that he was now become absolute King of *Portugal*, and Master of all the Tetritories and Fortunes of the Duke of *Braganza*, which were very great in that Kingdom.

Nor did this his tyrannous Tallon confine it self only to the people and Provinces which were subject to the Crown, but it extended to confederate friends and Princes; who having been treated by the former Kings with all Love and Respect, and allured by benefits and honors largely confer'd upon them; he began in an imperious manner to distaste, and afterwards to whip them soundly: His Government was grown so hateful to the very Castilians themselves, as he grew detested and abhor'd by them all; the Grandees of *Spain* being in several sorts distasted and ill treated from the Court, and retired themselves were not able to endure it, went voluntarily to their own jurisdictions, so as the King was almost left solitary alone at Court; it was observed that the two greatest Princes of Christendome were, at the same time, and by severall wayes, deprived of their chiefest favorites, and almost rob'd of that lustre and splendor which Princes use to receive from the numerous attendance of the greatest Personages of their Kingdomes. One of them by the excellency of Vertue, which drew them after her possessour, and with drew them from the King; the other, by the hatred which all men bore to the Favourite, which made the great ones keep far from Court: Wherefore when the Favorites fall was heard of, as the King returned from the *Escurialle* to the Court, he was met by ten Grandees a league before he came to *Madrid*, which caused the King who had not for a long time before been so attended, ask what the matter was, and if any strange accident had hapned at *Madrid*? to which Don *Melchior di Borgia* answered, in all their Names; that now the time was come wherein his Majesty should know the true devotion which the Grandees *Spain* bore to the Crown and to his person; and that if they had not waited upon him formerly as they ought, it was out of those reasons which were well known to his Majesty. Nor were they the Grandees onely that were distasted with the greatness of the *Conde Duca*, but the Nobility and all other inferiour persons lived discontentedly, by reason of their hard usage; and those few who enjoy'd any favour at Court came so hardly by it, as they thought it hardly thanks worthy. So as the Fountains of Regal bounty being shut up, and those of hardship and rigor only open, the publick Government was become nothing but severity, which made men only not dissatisfied, but mad and desperate; and though he were not ignorant of all this, yet did he not alter his way of proceeding; but being sure that all this hap-

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ned for his being wholly intent upon the Kings ſervice, he did rejoyce and glory in it; and if the Caſtilians fell not into rebellion, as did the Catalonians and Portugueſes, or into conſpiracies as did the French, it muſt only be attributed to their great continency, and to their obſequious devotion towards their King, which made them, by a ſingular example of Love and Loyalty, rather ſuffer the indiſcretion and unbridled Will of the State-Miniſter, then under pretence of reforming the publick Government venture upon diſturbing the publick Peace, to the prejudice of all men. All men, and himſelf acknowledged that fortune croſt all his undertakings; and juſt as he was far from favouring other mens deſires, ſo fortune appeared to delight in thwarting his. But though it may be true that his unfortunate Genius had a great part in ruining his deſignes, yet it cannot be denyed that much of his miſcarriages proceeded from his choice of thoſe whom he deputed to work his own and the publick ends; for he alwayes prefer'd his own confidents before thoſe that underſtood more then they; and depriving himſelf and the Kingdom of their worthy parts, he commonly committed the carriage of the moſt important Affairs to the hands of unexperienced men, as may be ſeen by ſome unfortunate ſucceſſes by us related. And ſo faulty was he herein, as having not long before his fall, declared one *Juliano* to be his natural Son, and Heir to his County of *Olivares*, and Dukedom of St. *Lucar*, whom, as if he had been born again, he called *Henry* by his Fathers name; and never having made any the leaſt account of this *Juliano* before, had ſuffer'd him to live a Vagabonds life in Taverns and Bawdy-houſes, expoſed to all thoſe miſerable adventures to which men that are ſo given are ſubject, even till by good fortune he had eſcaped an ignominious death, to which for enormous faults he was adjudged by Law; this his declaring of his Son-ſhip was publickly confirm'd by Regal Authority, to the loathing and deteſtation of all men, but more particularly, to his neereſt of Kin: Which hatred and deteſtation grew the greater, for that this new *Henry* having gotten nothing by his formerly led life but cuſtoms anſwerable thereunto, he had nothing in him of gentile or handſome, but a ruſticity of manners, and an incapability not only of what was Lord-like, but even of what was civil, or like a Gentleman. To this his Declaration that this *Henry* was his Son, was added the undoubted ſucceſſion of his Paternal Inheritance, which contain'd very large Territories and Titles, deriving from the ſupream dignity of Grandee, together with an infinity of riches. So as this new *Henry* was raiſed to the higheſt pitch of greatneſs in *Spain*; and being deſirous to match him nobly, he endeavoured to marry him to one of the prime Ladies of the Court, to the Daughter of the Conſtable of *Caſtille*, a chief Lord of *Spain*, who boaſts himſelf to be deſcended from the race of five Kings; & not being able to effect his deſire, by reaſon of the Conſtables deteſtation of the match, not thinking that the immenſe wealth, nor the great titles honours, which this new perſonage had accumulated, was a ſufficient recompence for the ſordidneſs of his paſt life, and of his unhappy inclination, by which his blood and thoſe that ſhould deſcend from him ſhould be contaminated; which the *Conde Duca* perceiving, he got the King to command the Conſtable to conſent to the Marriage without

reply; which the Constable would not give way unto, unless it were absolutely declared in the Matrimonial Covenants, that he was compell'd thereunto by the Kings Command. Nor did *Olivares* his vast ends and desires cease here, for he was ambitious to introduce him into the management of the principal Affairs of the Crown, albeit that his said sordidness, and the incapacity of his Genius was unfit for any imployment: So as at the very first step, he destined him to be President of the *Indies*, removing the Count of *Castriglio*, a worthy Gentleman, and meritorious State Minister, of much Power and Trust, from that place. He aspired also to procure him the honour which the Spaniards call *Alo del Principe*, to whom the Government of him that is to succeed, to be King of so many Kingdomes, and the instructing of him in noble and generous Sciences, belongs. Thus he by degrees aimed at the making him his Colleague, and to succeed him in his place of Favourite, which he could not believe that himself should ever fore-go, no not when he was even upon his downfall; an example very unlike to that of Cardinal *Richlieu*.

This Favourite being removed, the King would take the Government of the Kingdom upon himself; which though all men were infinitely glad of, yet did not the change prove very happy, but the remedy came too late apply'd to the malady with which it was already gangren'd, and become almost incurable.

Let us now return to the Affairs of *Italy*, which we have left off by so many digressions of Affairs in forreign Courts. *February*, in the year 1643. was not well begun, when the Governour of *Millain* marched into the field with his Army, which consisted of 5000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, and going out of *Alessandria* went to quarter in *Figarvolo* and *Bosco*, and sent the Marques of *Caracena* from thence, with 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, by *Pozvolo*, to possess himself of the passe above *Tortona*; who coming before day to the *Scrivia*, over against *Tortona*, advanced two files of Musketiers, whereby he made himself Master of the Capuchins Covent, which stands a little without the Gate that leads to *Serravalle*; the French not being aware of him, by reason of the thick mist which kept them from discovering the Enemy, but finding, when the mist was over, that the place was taken, they presently endeavoured the recovery thereof, but in vain; for *Caracena* advancing with 200 Horse, and with some Musketiers, drove them back into the City; whither Don *John Vasques Coronado* being come by the way of *Castelnuovo* with the other 3000 Foot and 1500 Horse, he possess'd himself of some houses neer the opposite Gate which looks towards *Millain*; and not long after, the Governour came thither with his Guards, and Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* with the Neapolitane Horse: here they called a Councel of War, whither *Caracena* was called for from his quarter, which was on the opposite side: in which councel they took not onely into consideration how they were to carry on the enterprize, but whether they should begin it or no; in both which points the Captains of the Army did disagree: but the Governours desire prevailing, and for that they had already proceeded so far as there was no away left to avoid it, all other considerations were laid aside; the rather for that Marques *Caracena*, opposing the difficulties

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and delayes which were objected, touching only the taking of the Town, cleared all that could be ſaid, by aſſuring them that he would give the City into their hands within leſs then two days. The quarters were therefore diſpoſed of; that of the Capuchins which was already taken was aſſigned to *Caracena*, and to *Vaſques* that on the oppoſite ſide over againſt the Gate that leads to *Millain*, to which two Spaniſh Brigades were added. *Caracena* was alſo appointed to chuſe a place for battery; which being choſen he began to batter; and a great part of the Wall being beaten down within two hours, the City capitulated. The Garriſon which was left in the City by *Longueville*, and Prince *Thomaſo*, were fifteen hundred Foot; amongſt which were many good Officers; Monſieur *di Frolenville*, Governour of the City, commanded over them; a Gentleman well experienced in Warre, who not finding himſelf able to defend the City with ſo few men, abandoned it; and keeping the Covent of St. *Dominico* in his hands, retreated into the Caſtle: four Batteries were immediately erected by the Governour againſt this Covent; from which the defendants not being well able to defend themſelves, they tried to free themſelves of that trouble by ſallies; in one of which the aſſailants had well nigh taken that ſtation of St. *Eufemia*, from whence the Covent was moſt annoid; but the frequent ſallies did not incommodate the oppoſers ſo much as the ſeaſon. The Country was laid deſolate by the former Siege, from which no Forrage was to be had for horſe, for the ſpace of twelve miles, and there was great ſcarcity of all things neceſſary for humane life; and, moreover, the ſtore of rain that fell, and the earth being cover'd with Ice and Snow, hindred the making of proviſion; and the exceſſive cold weather made the Souldiers unable to work; they ſeemed to be more beſieged by the ſeaſon of the year, then the enemy was by them beſieged. The Governour had foreſeen theſe difficulties, and had in a great part provided againſt them, having made all things neceſſary be brought to the neighbouring places, and brought them commodiouſly to the Camp by Mules, which were provided on purpoſe; he ſhelter'd the Souldiers from the cold by ſtore of clothes which were already prepared for them; he had made great proviſion of Hay and dry Straw for the Horſes, of Bread and Ammunition for the Souldiers; and what was wanting in theſe proviſions was ſupplied by the conſtant ſuffering of hardſhip, which could not laſt long. The Army was not a little comforted by proviſions of Victuals, and other things which they had from *Novi*, from whence and from the State of *Millain* victuals were ſent in more abundance then formerly, as alſo from the State and City of *Genoa*; which did much pacifie the anger of the Spaniſh Officers, who complain'd of the Commonwealth, for not keeping the like aſſiſtance from the French Army the year before; and ſerved to let them ſee that the Commonwealths good will was not leſſen'd towards that Crown: Wherein the dexterity and diſcretion of *Gaſpare Franzone*, ſent in Commiſſion at that time thither from the Commonwealth did much good, who behaved himſelf to the ſatisfaction of all parties, for the Spaniards were ſufficiently provided with all things neceſſary from *Novi*; and the French were alſo the like upon many occaſions which they had of ſtealing ſuccour into the Caſtle; and upon ma-

ny other occurrences, they found the Commiſſary not averſe to their Intereſts. The Enterpriſe therefore (though with many and infinite difficulties) was continued till a better ſeaſon, which they might proſecute more commodiouſly, according as the ſeveral inconveniences leſſened; and this the rather for that they were comforted in theſe their ſufferings by being certain that they ſhould not be diſturb'd by any conſiderable ſuccours: they knew that there were no Forces in *Piedmont* to draw into the field; and the laſt years Army (as hath been ſaid) was almoſt quite extinguiſhed; and the ſame rigour of the ſeaſon withſtood bringing of new ſupplies from *France*, to boot with the urgent occaſions of Wars in *Catalonia*, *Flanders* and *Germany*, wherewith that Kingdom was oppreſt. Moreover, the Governour judging that the Caſtle was not over-well provided with Victuals, thought rather to take it by Famine (after the firſt ſkirmiſhes and batteries) then by the ſword; and the defendants were of the like mind; who being left by the Duke of *Longueville*, and by Prince *Thomaſo*, in great hopes of being relieved, and wanting Ammunition wherewith to maintain fight they held it better to ſpare thoſe few that yet were left, till ſuch time as the undoubted ſuccour ſhould come; to the end that they then might aſſault the beſiegers on their backs, and facilitate the ſuccourers approach to the Caſtle; ſo as the Governour forbore batteries, and they forbore ſallies. Thus a kind of tacite truce and ſuſpenſion of Arms ſeemed to be agreed upon between them. The Governour when he firſt reſolved upon this enterpriſe, though he could not be diſturb'd by new ſuccours from without, for the aforeſaid Reaſons; and therefore though he had begun the line of circumvolution on the outſide, yet thinking it better at the preſent to ſtreighten the Caſtle with Trenches, ſo to keep them from ſallying out, he gave over the line, and applied himſelf wholly in muniting, and fortifying himſelf againſt the Caſtle: but he failed in his account; for the Governours falling upon *Tortona* being known in *Piedmont* and in *France*, both thoſe places reſolved to prepare for defence of that place which they had gotten; wherefore they began to make ready a great and gallant ſuccour: Men and Moneys were ſent by Sea and Land from *France* for this enterpriſe; thoſe which were ſent by Sea landed in *Oneglia*, that they might go from thence to *Piedmont*, where in a ſhort time there was a ſtrong and well munited Army put together, which cauſed the Governour to alter his mind, who thought that the Victory would conſiſt chiefly in keeping out ſuccour; wherefore he began to re aſſume the working of the other line of circumvolution which was already commenc'd (as hath been ſaid) about the Walls of the City, which was full four miles in compaſs, and was begirt with Ditches, flanks, with Forts munited with Stoccadoes, and Fortifications both within and without; the Work ſurrounded both the Caſtle and the City, ſerving to keep the City from being aſſaulted from without, and the Caſtle from relief, if any ſhould be brought: the outermoſt houſes of the City towards the Caſtle were well munited, and the Streets mouths which led unto the Caſtle were ſtop'd up with earth, which ſerved for a fence againſt the Caſtle on the inſide; and not content with all this diligence, and proviſion, the Governour ſtrove to keep ſuccour as far from the Caſtle as he could. To this purpoſe

pose he sent 500 Horse towards the Frontiers of *Montferrat*, not only that they might keep back the succour which might come by *Piedmont*, but also that by laying the Country waste, they might keep the relievers from accommodations, if they should advance by that way; nor did these diligences prove vain, for Monsieur *Plessis Pralin*, the King of *France* his Lieutenant General in *Piedmont*, and the Marquess *Villa* appeared together about the midst of *March*, in the year 43, with 2500 Horse, and 5000 Foot, and advanced to St. *Salvadore*, within five miles of *Alessandria*; and Prince *Thomaso* passing over the *Dora* with 1000 Horse, and 2000 Foot, threatned *Novara*, and the adjoyning parts; wherefore the Governour, for the better security of those parts, had sent the Marquess *Caracena* thither, with a good strength of Horse and some Foot, most whereof were taken out of the meaner sort of people of that State, that he might observe what way the Enemy went, and cross his designs; but the Prince returning quickly to *Cassalle*, and joyning with the French and Piedmontese Army, told them they must cast a Bridge over the *Tanaro*; wherefore *Caracena*, by Orders from the Governour, went from the *Novarese* to *Alessandria*, to open that way, and to keep the Bridge from being cast over; but the Prince finding himself opposed by *Caracena* desisted from his design; and passing back over the *Pot* at *Cassalle*, he went with the joynt forces towards *Palestre* and *Vespolano*, and *Caracena* went to *Mortara*, where some skirmishes past between the Horse of either party, in one whereof *Cavaglieve Aiazza* being engaged with 150 Horse was taken prisoner; but *Caracena* fearing lest the Prince, to relieve *Tortona* by diversion, might fall upon some Town in that *Marca*, past back into the *Lomelina* and the *Novarese*, in pursuit of the Prince, to oppose his proceedings in those enterprises, whereunto he saw him most inclined. The Prince knowing that he was followed and observed by strong Forces approached sometimes neer *Novara*, sometimes neer *Bremi*, sometimes neer *Mortara*, as if he intended to fall upon all, or some of these places; but durst not fasten upon any: but fell to over-running the Country, where plundering and pillaging the best things that were there, he much prejudiced the Inhabitants, and took away much Corn and Cattle, which for the most part he sent to *Cassalle*. *Caracena* being somewhat inferior in Forces, durst not face the Prince, who having more men was master of the field, and seeming as if he would march along the left side of the *Pot* to *Giarvola*, threatned to pass his men over there to the other side; and so to go to the relief of the besieged Castle; which the Governour having notice of, he got as many men as he could from *Serravalle*, and other places, dissolving the quarter at *Pontecurone*, and sent a great body of men, with six pieces of Artillery towards the shore over against *Giarvola*, to resist the Prince, if he should venter to pass over the River: which the Prince perceiving, he retreated again to *Cassalle*, intending to make way for relief by the *Tanaro*: which the Governour doubting, he sent *Caracena* and *Gonzaga*, with almost all the Horse, and between three and four thousand Foot, to defend that River; wherefore the Prince resolving not to venture upon that Pass, threw himself at last before *Asti*, imagining that the Governour would either quit the Siege of the Castle, and come with all his Forces to defend *Asti*,

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or elſe would not at all move from the Caſtle: if he ſhould not move he aſſured himſelf he ſhould take *Aſti*, by reaſon of the weakneſs of the Garriſon, and the Inhabitants inclination to love him; and if he ſhould move, he ſhould certainly relieve the Caſtle, and City of *Tortona*, and might peradventure take *Aſti* alſo; there were but 1000 Foot, and 200 Horſe in *Aſti*, under the command of Captain *Pietro Gonzales*, a valiant Commander: the Governour fearing the loſs of that City, left a competent number of Souldiers before the Caſtle of *Tortona*, and recommending the care of that Siege to Don *Jovan Vaſques Coronado*, went with the greateſt part of his Forces into *Aleſſandria*, that he might offer at relieving *Aſti* at a neerer diſtance; the Prince at his drawing neer that City endeavoured to ſteal over the *Tanaro*; and to this purpoſe having got a barque which ſerved to paſs travellers over the river, and a Mill which was fitted to the Haven, he by means of theſe paſt ſome Souldiers over to the Abbey of S. *Bartholomew*; that they might raiſe a little Fort to guard that ſhore, where he left four Companies in Garriſon: the Governour having notice thereof ſent Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga* that way with 3000 Foot, and 200 Horſe; who when he came to the Abbey ſlew ſome of the Defendants, and drove other ſome away, took and deſtroy'd the Fort, and made himſelf maſter of the Barque, and of the Mill; and the next day the Governour came to the ſame Abbey, and clim'd up a hill together with the ſame *Gonzaga*, and the Marqueſs of *Caracena*, and *Serra*, from whence he diſcovered the City, and the Prince incamp'd before it; and having by the conſent of his companions ſent 400 Horſe over the Foord of *Tanaro*, to relieve *Aſti*, giving the Captain expreſs order, that as he went towards the Foord he ſhould obſerve what ſigns ſhould be given him from the hill; and perceiving that the Prince marched with all his horſe to withſtand their paſſage over the Foord, the Governour made ſigns immediately to the Captain of the Horſe, that he ſhould retreat, who obeyed him; the Governour by this unfortunate attempt loſt all hopes of relieving the Town; and not daring to forgo *Tortona*, wherein he was ſo much concern'd, for the preſervation of *Aſti*, which he could not poſſibly effect without coming to a battle; which *Gonzales* foreſeeing, or as ſome others ſay, being adviſed by the Governour ſo to do; and finding it impoſſible for him to defend ſo great a circuit of Wall with ſo few men, after ſome ſhot was made, he agreed with the Prince to abandon the City, retaining the Cattle, and the Citadel, ſo as 200 Horſe which he had with him might be ſuffer'd to paſs ſafely into *Aleſſandria*; which being agreed upon, and performed, the City came into the Prince his power, who preſently fell to make Mines under the Caſtle, and Citadel; ſo as the Caſtle being play'd upon by the Artillery, and moleſted by Mines, and ſome aſſaults, which were valiantly withſtood, ſurrendred after three days ſpace, upon condition that *Gonzales* might go with 200 men which he had with him into the Citadel; whereupon the Prince got the Caſtle, and fell to beſiege the Citadel, which not being able to hold out for want of Victuals did ere long ſurrender upon honourable conditions, by which *Gonzales* with the Garriſon went ſafe into the City of *Aleſſandria*, and the Prince by the full victory of that City became alſo maſter of the *Tanaro*; the

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Governour foreſeeing that *Aſti* being taken the Prince would preſently fall to relieve *Tortona*, and to that purpoſe that he began to ſend quantity of proviſion into *Nizza*, and *Aſti*, ordered Marqueſs *Caracena* to go with Horſe and Foot to the taking in of *Acqui*: whereunto *Caracena* thinking that it was needleſs to uſe Cannon by reaſon of a breach that was in the wall, which though it were fil'd up with earth and bavins, he went to give an aſſault on that part: but not being able to force it, he tarried there till Cannon were brought from the City of *Aleſſandria*, which as ſoon as the Citizens ſaw they ſurrendered *Acqui*, their lives being ſaved, the womens honours preſerved, and reſpect being born to Churches: that the Citizens might ſuffer leſs prejudice, onely the *Spaniards* were ſuffer'd to enter, who ſent much of the meal that they found there into *Annone*, and much whereof during the Siege was carried into the Caſtle: about which *Caracena* not willing to buſie himſelf, eſpecially ſince he had ſent back the Cannon into *Aleſſandria*, he ſent Colonel *Stox* with great part of his men, to oppoſe a body of Horſe which was ſent by *Pleſſis*, and *Villa*, to relieve the beſieged place; which relief being repulſ'd by *Stox*, *Caracena* paſt on to *Rivalta* in *Montferrate*, where he fell to lay the country waſte, as well to feed his Horſe with the unripe corn, as to incommodiate the ſuccorers in their march, as much as he could: 800 *Neapolitan* Horſe were at this time come unto the camp, which the Governour ſent to *Pozzuolo*, and the parts adjacent, that they might keep off whoſoever ſhould come to relieve the place beſieged: he moreover cauſed deep ditches to be digg'd about the line of circomvolution, and, finally, ommitted not any thing that was neceſſary for the obtaining of the victory, which he ſo much deſired. Souldiers came alſo daily to within the line from the States Militia, and many Millaineſe Lords, amongſt which Prince *Trivultio*, who in the ſiege the year before came to the camp with 1500 Foot and 200 Horſe, all of them being his own *Vaſſals*, and at his own charge conducted; and not at all wearied with ſo great an expence, he was one of the firſt that came now to the recovery of the loſt City: Prince *Thomaſo* came alſo with ſo numerous a ſuccour, as was thought could not be withſtood; and foording over the *Scrivia* four Miles beneath *Tortona*, he came to within four Miles of the City; and kept his men in the Towns of *Alverneo*, and *Caſtellari*, which are at the Foot of the hill; the next day being accompanied by Marqueſs *Villa* he went up the hill with four hundred Horſe, to diſcover the moſt convenient ſtations, which when he had done, he cauſed his men to come up the hill with the Artillery, and placed them in Ranks, together with the Artillery againſt the Line, and made as if he would preſently fall to an aſſault, but did not; the Spaniſh Army was ranked on the other ſide, with in the Line, with their Artillery, ready to receive and repulſe the threatened aſſault, but reſolved not to ſtir out, nor to forgo their advantage, nor to hazard that victory which they thought they were ſure of as long as they kept within the Trenches; at laſt after four days, the Prince drew off, and foregoing the thought of relieving the City, and conſequently the victory which he had ſo much ſtriven for, he came down the hill on the ſame ſide that he had come up, making his Rere his Van, & his van his rere; being come upon the plain, he made ſome ſhot towards the

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Caſtle, which ſerved for a ſign to the Defendants to wiſh them to ſurrender; which they did the ſame day upon Honourable conditions, of carrying with them four pieces of Cannon; they marched out to the number of 1300, and were convoy'd to *Rivatella* whither the Prince was retreated. The Prince retreated ſome days after towards *Aſti*, and in his paſſage much prejudiced the parts of the State of *Millain* through which he went; the Souldiers ſack'd the Noble rich temple and Covent *del Boſco*, erected formerly by Pope *Pius* the fifth, who was born there, and had endowed it with many rich revenues, and had furniſhed the Veſtry wonderful richly; The Prince lay idle with his Army ſome days in *l'Aſtigiana* to refreſh them; and finding how prejudicial it would be to make any acquiſition in the State of *Millian*, he thought it would be better to recover the Towns of *Piedmont* which were yet held by the *Spaniards*; and to joyn with other Forces which the Dowager then raiſed to recover her own Towns: for when ſhe ſaw Prince *Thomaſo* gone with the Army to relieve *Tortona*, ſhe gathering together all thoſe that remained to defend *Piedmont*, ſent them under Count *Broglio*, together with her own guards, and thoſe of her Sons, to recover *Villa nova*; which was reinforced, by orders from the Governour, by two hundred Horſe, which were ſent thither from *Trino* and *Ponteſtura*, as ſoon as he diſcovered the Dowagers intentions: ſo as it ſeemed to be ſufficiently ſecured; wherefore the Dowager, as ſoon as the Prince was return'd with the Army from *Tortona*, ſent Marqueſs *Villa* thither with his own Cavalry onely, to keep the French from concurring in the enterprize; *Villa* when he was come to the camp weighed the condition of the place, which being ſeated in a plain, far from any woods, from whence onely he could have bavins to make Trenches, that place appeared unrakable; being therefore content to beſiege it at a diſtance, he imploy'd himſelf in keeping out ſuccour, and in laying the Countrey waſte, ſo to bring the Towns-men to ſurrender; and the Commander of the Town coming within a few days to Parly, the ſurrender was agreed upon, on condition that the Articles ſhould be allowed of by the Governour of *Millain*; and being commanded by the Governour to make good the Town, for that he would come quickly to relieve him, the treaty broke, and the ſiege continued; during which time the French Army was recruited with new men brought by the Viſcount *Turin*; ſo as thoſe being added to the Dowagers men, the Army was made 15000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe. Prince *Thomaſo* was to command them all, for *Longueville* was already returned to *France*; wherefore the Prince, hearing that for certain there was but 600 Foot in Garriſon in the City, of *Aleſſandria*, and his own recruites conſidered, thought it not fit to let ſlip the opportunity of making himſelf maſter of that City either by Scalado, ſecret intelligence, or by ſtorm; for he thought his Forces ſo far ſuperiour to the Garriſon, as he ſhould meet with no reſiſtance; and hoping that when he ſhould have taken it, it being almoſt upon the confines of *Piedmont*, he might keep it more eaſily then *Tortona*, which was far from thence, he joyned his Forces to thoſe of *France*, and of the Dowagers, in the plain of *Caſſalle*, and betook himſelf to

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the enterprize with firm opinion of good ſucceſs; being come to the Walls of *Alleſſandria*, he quartered himſelf in the Orchard neer thereunto, on both ſides of the *Tanaro*, and ſent Viſcount *Turen* to take up his quarters on the Eaſt ſide.

The Governour *Siruela* began to doubt *Valenza*, by reaſon of the joyning of the Forces in the Plain before *Caſſalle*, and by the Prince his ſpeedy march; wherefore he went from *Pavia* where he then was thither ward, giving order to his men to follow him: But having heard before he came to *Valenza*, that the Prince was gone with all his Forces to before *Alleſſandria* he was much more ſurpriſed, by reaſon of the ſmall Garriſon which he knew was in it; wherefore he ſent for Count *Galliazzo Trotti* and ordered him that he ſhould endeavour by all poſſible means to get quickly into *Alleſſandria* with all the Horſe that he could muſter. *Trotti* failed not in obeying his orders, and having gathered together about 1500 Horſe, went about it, he knew that it was not ſafe to enter by the Gate which was neareſt *Valenza*, becauſe the Prince was incamp'd before it; he therefore reſolved to enter by the Gate which looks towards *Genoa*, on the oppoſite ſide. But doubting Count *Turen*, who he knew was incamp'd on that ſide, he marched towards *Tortona*, ſeeming as if he went to guard that City; and when he was advanced ſo far by that way as none could obſerve him, he returned on the right hand and went towards *Caſtellazzo*, where he paſt over the *Bormio*, and deceived *Turen*, who conceiving that his march towards *Tortona* was but feig ned, and that he would ſoon return by the ſame way, & foording over the *Bormia* there would endeavour to get into *Alleſſandria*, ſet himſelf to guard the foord over *Bormio*, which is uſually frequented by thoſe which paſs to and again from *Tortona*, which foord lies four miles below that of *Caſtellazzo*, hoping to light upon him there in his return. But *Trotti* who had paſt over *Bormio* a little higher came without any obſtacle, about break of day, to the walls of *Alleſſandria* ſo unlooked for, as he was plaied upon by the Cannon as an Enemy, till Colonel *Stoz*, who was very well known, advanc'd, and aſſuring the Defendant that it was ſuccour, was received with infinite joy and Jubile: *Trotti* being entred with ſo great a re inforcement, Don *Antonio Sottello*, Governour of the City, being as it were revived from the dead, went out and fell upon the Prince his quarters, where there hapned a long and bloody skirmiſh, which continued till the coming on of night; when the Prince finding for certain that ſo great a ſuccour was entred, and conſequently failing of his hopes, thought it beſt to make uſe of the obſcurity of night, and to retreat; ſo the City of *Alleſſandria* was miraculouſly free'd. Count *Siruela* ended his Government honourably with the recovery of *Tortona*, and the freeing of *Alleſſandria* from ſo neer and ſo imminent danger, who was ſucceeded by the Marqueſs of *Velada*, who was come from *Flanders*, where he had been General of the Horſe, and was therein ſucceeded by the Marqueſs *Caracena*; who having quitted the place of General of the Horſe in the State of *Millain*, wherein he had ſucceſsfully ſerved, went to take the like charge upon him in *Flanders*. As the beginning of this Government met with no favourable ſucceſs, ſo fared it not much better afterwards, *Villa nova* was ſurrendred to Marqueſs *Villa*; not without ſome imputation to the Governour of the Town, who

be ng cited to *Millain* to give an account of 3000 ſacks of Corn, which together with the Town were delivered to him, by which he might have maintained the Town longer, he durſt never appear; wherefore he was thought guilty of fraud in delivering up the Town: This loſs was ere long followed by the like of *Trino*; for Prince *Thomaſo* retreating from *Aleſſandria* to *Caſſalle*, after having ſtay'd a while in thoſe parts, cauſing no little jealouſie in the Towns of the State of *Millain*, confining upon *Piedmont*, he at laſt ſat down before *Trino*, the Garriſon whereof he knew was leſſened a little before by the new Governour. But having quartered his men at his firſt arrival in the neighbouring Towns, and ke ping as it were idle for three dayes, he gave occaſion for the entring of two ſuccours; the one of two Companies of Horſe, and one of Foot from *Vercelli*, the other of 300 Dragoons from *Bremi*; ſo as the Prince beginning to believe that if more relief ſhould be ſuffer'd to enter, the enterpriſe which he thought would have been eaſie would prove otherwiſe, he began to begirt the Town at a nearer diſtance, and drew his line round about it; and whilſt this was in doing, the oppoſers advanced by a covered way to a half moon, who being repuls'd by a fierce ſally made by the Governour *Batteville*, were forced to retreat a little with much loſs: But the line being afterwards perfected, the Prince, with his Brother Don *Mauritio*, and Viſcount *Turen*, divided the out-fortification between them, and fell to take the half moon; which when they had taken, they betook themſelves to the Cities Bulwark, and made a great mine underneath it, which made a great breach, by which the Prince did verily believe he ſhould enter the City. Wherefore before he came to an aſſault, he intimated to *Batteville*, that he would have him ſurrender; which *Batteville* refuſing to do, a fierce aſſault was made, which being thrice given was thrice repuls'd with loſs to the Aſſailants. But the Prince preparing for another aſſault, *Batteville* who found his Munition grow low, his men weary by their long pains taking, by their continual watching, and not able to make any longer defence, ſurrendred upon honourable conditions, in caſe he ſhould not be relieved within five dayes: Which being expired, and no relief appearing, he march'd with his men out of the Town, which was delivered over to the Prince, and furniſhed with a French Garriſon, as were all the other Towns of *Piedmont* which were regain'd. The Prince went from *Trino* with his Army much leſſened, by the running away, ſickneſs, and death of many, occaſion'd by the badneſs of that ayre, the malignity whereof had influence not onely upon the meaner ſort, but upon the chief Commanders; for *Turen*, Marqueſs *Villa*, and his Son Count *Camerano*, fell ſick, and were forc'd to return for cure to *Turin*. Nor did the Prince himſelf ſcape free, for falling ſick of a Fever he tarried many dayes in *Inurea*, ſo as the care and government of the Army fell to Monſieur *Pleſsis Pralin*, who being recruited with more men from *France* ſat down before *Ponteſtura*; where meeting with no reſiſtance ſave only ſome ſallies which the Garriſon made upon his quarters, he proceeded ſlowly in the ſiege; but having afterwards gotten into the Town by a breach made by Cannon, & taken it, he ſoon after took the Caſtle (upon conditions of fair war) whereinto the Garriſon was retreated; which Caſtle was afterwards demoliſh'd by the French

that

that they might not be forced to munite it, (as would have been requisite) with a good Garrison.

Thus did the Spaniards lose the Towns in *Piedmont*, which they had gotten with much effusion of blood, and expence of moneys, hoping to make themselves thereby sole Arbitrators of that State, and to keep the French out of the State of *Millain*: But by the misfortune of the Affairs of that Crown, they failed in these designs; for the Forces which were sent thither from *Spain*, having occasioned the coming of the French thither, the Spaniards saw the French not only possest of many Towns, and even of the Castle of *Turin*, but of those which were taken by the Spaniards, and which they recovered, just as befel the Citadel of *Cassalle*; so the Spaniards saw the French become Arbitrators of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, and saw them come even to the Confines of the State of *Millain*. The new Governour finding his Forces too weak to make resistance minded more the defence of the State of *Millain*, then the maintaining of what the Spaniards had gotten in *Piedmont*; wherefore he gave himself wholly to view the Forts, to furnish them with all things necessary, and to re-enforce them with strong Garrisons, in case they should be assaulted, as he feared they would be; there remained nothing to the entire recovery of *Piedmont*, but *Vercelli* and St. *Ia*; *Vercelli* had so strong a Garrison in it, and was so abundantly furnish'd with all provisions, as it was judged vain to attempt it without a puissant Army; and St. *Ia*, now that both Armies were retreated to their Winter-quarters, was reserved for one of the first enterprises of the next Campagnia; so as the Military affairs being by the sore Winter reduced almost to a tacite Truce; Prince *Thomaso* growing to confide more in the Court of *France*, now that Cardinal *Richlieu* was dead, resolved to go thither; from whence he returned much satisfied with not only honourable favours, but with imployments of great authority, being made Generalissimo of the French Forces in *Italy*, with power to use them in what enterprises he should please, for which he had good pay assigned him, and good store of men. The pay came to 200000 pounds *Sterling*; and the men to 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse. The Prince being return'd went into the field the beginning of the next Spring; and entring into the lower *Montferrat*, entertained himself in the *Langhe* in affairs of small importance; then going to *Cassalle* he sent Don *Mauritio* with a good strength of men towards *Arona*; and following after himself with the rest, he endeavoured to take it; which he easily might have done, had not Camp-master *Fra Jovanni Pallavicino*, who marched with incredible speed, prevented him with *Mortara*'s Brigade. Count *Riviera* accompanied *Pallavicino* in this march with a few men, and being both of them come in 24 hours to *Anghiera*, fifty good miles from *Mortara*, they found Don *Mauritio* before *Arona*, busie in digging Trenches and raising Batteries; and the Prince meeting with so great opposition, and hearing that the Governour drew near with all his Forces, resolved to give over the enterprise, and returned with all his men into *Piedmont*: whither when he was come, he sat down before St. *Ia*, and having made his Approaches, and his Batteries, he gave himself wholly to the taking of it; but he was detained by an accident of no small importance; for the City of *Alessan-*

dria having kept her Gates lock'd one whole day; about two a clock at night, sent out 1500 Horse, under Don *Vincenzo Gonzaga*, and two Foot Brigades: the one of *Fra. Giovanni Pallavicino's*, the other of Don *Gregorio Brisio*. *Gonzaga* was to take the City of *Asti*, and *Pallavicino* and *Brisio* the Citadel; *Gonzaga* failed of his intent; but *Pallavicino* and *Brisio* fared better; for coming by night to the Citadel, they assaulted it at unawares, and took it before the Garrison, which was but weak, were well awake. The Dowager and the Prince, hearing of this so sudden and so unexpected success, sent both of them speedily to repair it. The Dowager, with fortunate speed, sent the Companies of her guard and of her Sons, commanded by the Counts of *Aglie*, *Feussasce*, *Pinasce* and *Tana*, who coming hastily to the City with their Souldiers, which were 300 Horse, and some Foot which they took up in their march, entred the City in sight of the Enemy who having taken the Citadel meant to take the City, which they easily might have done, had not the Citizens and the Garrison, who were encouraged by this recruit, put themselves in a posture of safety, not fearing to be overpowered, as they had hourly reason to doubt before; they therefore breathed a while, expecting the Prince his coming; who not being able to march so fast, by reason of the number of men which he brought with him to relieve the languishing City, came thither just then when the Enemy, by reason of his appearance, thought it good to draw off from the City, to the necessary defence of the Citadel. The Prince having reduced the City to her former condition of safety, did so munite it, as that it was not only able to defend it self, but to threaten the Citadel; and retreating to *Camerano* he gave himself to impede any attempt which might be made by the Spaniards, who notwithstanding conveyed both men and munition into the Citadel, which were sent them from the Governour, who was come into *Alessandria*: but the Siege of St. *Ia*, although somewhat disturb'd by this accident, was not given over; for the Prince having substituted the Governour of *Cassale*, *Covegne*, in his place, it was strongly continued; the Town was much plaid upon by batteries, and sallies stoutly repuls'd; insomuch as Don *Diego Alverado*, who was Governour of the Town, having made honourable resistance, when he saw the Town was no longer to be maintain'd, surrendred it upon honourable conditions. The Prince having rid his hands of this business, betook himself wholly to the recovery of the Citadel of *Asti*, which being besieged, and batter'd in vain, held out, and did not only annoy the besiegers with their great and small shot, but even the City it self; but not being able to do any more, it yielded to the Prince; who, since the defendants had suffered themselves to be reduced to the utmost extremity, would not receive them, but upon discretion; which he used, notwithstanding, very modestly, suffering the common sort to go forth friendly, and detaining their Captains and Officers only till such time as two piece of Cannon, which were drawn out of the Citadel, were restored by the Governour, and some prisoners of War that were in his hands. The City and Citadel of *Asti* being freed, the Prince went with some 5000 Foot into the *Langhe*; and having left Marquess *Villa*, with the Dowagers Horse, for a relief on his back, he advanced to the Ligustick Sea,

Sea, even neer to *Finale*, intending to fall upon that Marquisate both by land and sea, when the French Fleet should be come from *Catalogna* to *Provence*, and to make himself master of it; and the Prince being already come to the Gates of the Town was lodged in the Church called *Pia*, within Musket-shot of *Finale*, and had taken up some other convenient quarters. The Garrison was but weak in *Finale*, a good part thereof being sent two days before by Don *John di Castro*, Governour of that Marquisate, to defend *Cingio*, fearing lest the Prince should assault it; and it wanted provision of bread, but both these wants were supplied by *Genova* the Spanish Embassadour: victuals were sent thither by Sea, and the Governour sent *Fra. Jovanni Pallavicino* with 1300 Foot from *Millain*, who with no less speed and fortune then he had done at *Arona*, past over the Mountains neer *Genoa*, and being come to *Voltri* went by the sea side to *Finale*, where he entred with his men before the face of the Enemy. The Prince had not brought victuals with him to feed his men in that barren Country, for he expected to be furnished therewith by the French Fleet; which not appearing, the Prince seeing the Town well recruited and provided, himself and his men in great scarcity of victuals, and hearing that the Militia gathered together apace round about, knew he could not tarry there without much danger; wherefore he gave over the enterprise, and retreated into *Montferrat*, freeing that Marquisate from the danger it would have fallen into, had the Prince tarried therebut one day longer; for the very next day after his departure the Fleet appeared at Sea; which hearing that the Prince was gone towards *Montferrat*, return'd also to *Provence*, from whence it was come.

This being the last thing that was done by the Spaniards, French and Piedmontese, in the year 1644, (for the Armies were sent to their Winter Quarters, after this business of *Finale*;) We will end this our second part: and in the third, will treat of the Wars which were raised elsewhere, between the Pope, on the one side, and the Commonwealth of *Venice*, the great Duke of *Tuscany*, the Dukes of *Modena* and *Parma*, on the other side; which having hapned at the same time that these by us related did, we, that we might not confound order in the Affairs of the two first Books, have reserved for the following part; where looking back they shall be related and pursued with all truth and sincerity.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

